

CIULIUS CÆSAR PERPETUAL DICTATO

THE

COMMENTARIES

OF

CÆSAR,

TRANSLATED into ENGLISH

By WILLIAM DUNCAN Fosessfor of Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen.

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XVIII.C.10

TO HIS

ROYAL HIGHNESS

G E O R G E

PRINCE of WALES.

SIR,

Performance of mine can be intitled to the Honour of Your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S Patronage, yet, as the following Work is a Translation of the Memoirs of the greatest General of Antiquity, I hope the Merit of the Original, and the Name of Casar, will in some measure excuse the Presumption of this Address.

In these Memoirs Your ROYAL HIGHNESS will see displayed all that is great and most confurmate in the Art of War. The ablest Commander of the most warlike People upon Earth entertains You with the History of his own Campaigns. You are informed of the Motives which determined him in all his Enterprises, of the various Difficulties he had to encounter, and of the Steps

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by which in the End he was enabled to surmount all Opposition. In a word, Prudence in Counsel, Courage and Intrepidity in the Field, a calm Prefence of Mind in the Midst of Dangers, and an amazing Dexterity in sudden and unforeseen Emergencies, are here exemplified in the Conduct of a Leader, whom all succeeding Ages have agreed to regard as the most finished Pattern of military Merit.

It is the Observation of one of the wisest of the Roman Historians, "That War is in a peculiar "Manner the Province of a Prince; and that though civil Accomplishments are by no means to be neglected, yet to the Person of the Sove- reign more immediately belongs the Merit and and Praise of being a great General." And indeed as it is among the principal Duties of a King, to protect his Subjects from foreign Invasions, to bassle the Attempts of ambitious and aspiring Tyrants, and to guard against the Incroachments of powerful Neighbours, nothing can be more evident, than that a due Institution in the Art of War ought to be considered as an essential Part of the Education of a Prince.

Some perhaps may be of opinion, that the ividations of the present Age, which forbid Kings to appear in Person at the Head of Armies, and injoin them rather to delegate their Power to others, render military Talents less necessary in

the Rulers of Nations. But though this be in Reality a very wife-Policy, and excellently calculated to prevent these unjust Wars, which have no other Foundation But the perional Ambition and Glory of Princes, yet does it by no means dispense with the Obligation of applying to the Study of Arms. The due modelling of the Army, the introducing a proper Discipline among the Troops, and the Disposal of military Preferments, are intirely in the Breast of the Sovereign, who would be but ill qualified for the Exercise of so great a Trust, if wholly unacquainted with martial Affairs. It is likewise well known, that in dangerous domestic Seditions, to which all States are at times liable, nothing tends more to confirm the well-affected in their Duty, and to check the Machinations of the Factious, than when a King every way qualified to command, appears in Person at the Head of his Troops. In general Confederacies too, where many Nations unite to oppose some threatening overgrown Power, it is often impossible to reconcile their various Interests, and preserve the Unanimity necessary to give Force and Vigour to their Operations, unless some Prince of distinguished Reputation, and eminent Quality in the League, charge himself with the Conduct of the War, and employ his whole Authority to prevent those Competitions, Jealousies and mutual Animosities, which are every Moment ready to break out in an Army composed of so many separate and divided Bodies.

HENCE it is that Valour and the military Virtues have always been considered as Objects highly worthy the Pursuit of a Prince; nor do they ever fail to meet with their due Share of Applause, unless where they degenerate into that hurtful Ambition, that immoderate Thirst of Conquest, which prompts Men rather to be the Destroyers, than to be the Protectors of Nations. As the Commentaries of Casar furnish the best Lesions and Precepts of War, fo the Example and History of the same Cæsar demonstrate, that the greatest Talents, when not directed to laudable Ends, are utterly infussicient, either for present Security, or future Fame. Though his Abilities as a General and a Statesman, were never perhaps equalled before or fince; yet as he employed them, not to promote the Welfare, but to diffurb the Peace of Society; not to defend, but to overturn the Liberties of his Country; he could neither escape the Hatred of the Age in which he lived, nor the Reproaches of Posterity. We find him often in Distress, and sometimes in Despair, ready to fly his Country, threatened with being tried and condemned as a publick Criminal; and at last, after a restless Life, tull of Anxiety and Care, cut off by a violent and untimely Death, just as he had established his Tyranny, though with it he could not establish his own Happiness. Had he employed his Authority and Address to preserve publick Liberty; had he, for this glorious End, exerted his Industry and admirable Talents; how amiable must he have

have appeared, in what Security might he have lived, and with what Veneration would he have been regarded by all future Ages?

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS is born to govern a Feople, who have at all Times distinguished themselves by their Love of Liberty; a People always obedient to just Laws, but impatient under Oppression, and infinitely jealous of their Privileges. Tacitus speaking of them sifteen hundred Years ago fays, "That they cheerfully complied with the Levies of Men, with the Imposition " of Tribute, and with all the necessary Demands " of Government, provided they received no il-" legal Treatment or Insults from their Goveron nors; for those they bore with Impatience: "Nor did they acknowledge any other Subie jection to the Romans, than what consisted in " an Obedience to just Laws, not the Submission " of Slaves." Such was the Character of the British People at that Time, such has been their Character in all Ages, and fuch it remains to this Day. Princes who observed the Laws always found them peaceable Subjects, and ready to comply with their just Demands: But when Infringements were made upon the publick Liberty, they grew uneasy and discontented, and the Sovereign, by grasping at too much, frequently lost all.

INDEED it appears in our History, that the Design of assuming an Authority independent of the

the Laws, was never entertained by any of the best and ablest of our Princes; who always esteemed it more glorious to rule over a free People, than to command a Nation of Slaves. Among many remarkable Examples of this, that of the ever-memorable Henry the Fifth seems in a particular Manner deserving of Notice. He was a wife and valiant Prince, who scorned to incroach upon the Liberties of the Subjects, and abhorred the unjustifiable Arts by which they had been impaired. He esteemed their Courage, Strength, and Love, to be his greatest Advantage, Riches, and Glory; and readily joined with them to extinguish the mischievous Abuses that had been introduced by some of his Predecessors. He aimed at making good his Claim to the Crown of France, which he knew was only to be effected by the Bravery of a free and well-satisfied People. Slaves will always be Cowards, and, and when they dare declare themselves, Enemies to their Master; by bringing his Subjects into that Condition, he must infallibly have ruined his own Designs, and made them unfit to fight either for him or for themselves. 'He defired not only that his People should be free during his Time, but that his Successors should not be able to deprive them of so valuable a Blessing. He knew that he did not reign for himself but for his People, and regarding their Safety as the fupreme Law of Government, always passed with . he utmost Cheerfulness such Laws as were prefented to him in behalf of public Liberty. The

Event

Event was such as might be expected. Never Prince was Better ob 'yed and served by his Subjects, more successful and formidable abroad, more beloved at home, or more sincerely lamented after his Death. In sine, History no where furnishes a more perfect Pattern of a wise, valiant, and virtuous King.

It has been the good Fortune of these Nations for some Time past to be blest with a Series of such Princes. The excellent Principles of Government adopted by King William at the Revolution, have been steadily adhered to by his Successors of your illustrious House. Nor has the Security of domestic Freedom alone employed their Attention. Like that glorious Monarch they have exerted their utmost Instuence to preserve the Independency of the other States of Europe, and by a Conduct so truly noble merited the greatest of all Titles, that of being The Patrons of Public Liberty, and The Friends of Mankind.

Your Royal Highness is now at an Age when Examples of this Kind make the deepest Impression; and the early good Dispositions You discover, joined to the excellent Institution under which You have the Happiness to be formed, give the justest Reason to believe, that they will not fail of having their due Effect. The Public beholds with Pleasure the Seeds of your many ripening Virtues, and charmed with the Prospect of the Advantages

Advantages to be reaped from their Maturity, feems to address you in the Words of Æneas to his Son Ascanius, a young Prince of great Expectation, in whose Person were centered the Hopes of a whole People.

— Te, Animo repetentem Exempla tuorum, Et Pater Æneas, et Avunculus excitet Hector.

THAT You may improve daily in every laudable and useful Quality, and that when by the Appointment of Providence You are called to the Exercise of the Government, You may long sway the British Scepter with uninterrupted Prosperity, and the intire Love of your Subjects, is the sincere and ardent Prayer of,

SIR,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS's most bumble

most dutiful, and

most obedient Servant,

WILLIAM DUNCAN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

was done from the celebrated Edition of the late Dr. Clarke, printed for J. Tonson in 1712. All possible Care has been taken to render it exact, and to preserve the Distinctness and Perspicuity of Expression for which the Original is so justly famous. The Reader will perceive, that the very Turn and Manner of Casar has been copied with the utmost Attention; and though the Success may not always answer Expectation, yet Candor will induce him to make great Allowances, when he considers the inimitable Beauty of the Latin, and the Difficulty of expressing ancient Manners and Transactions in modern Language.

The ancient Names of Places are retained in the Translation, as well to avoid giving too modern a Turn to the Author by a contrary Practice, as because they are sufficiently familiar to an English Ear, being constantly made use of by all Historians who treat of those Times in our Language. But as the following Work may perhaps fall into the Hands of Persons at leaquainted with ancient Geography, and who would therefore be at a loss in comparing Casar's Descriptions with the present Face of the Country, the Reader will sind at the End of the Book a large geographical Index, in which the ancient Names of Places, as near as can be discovered with any Certainty, are explained by the Modern.

ADVERTISEMENT.

It may be just proper to mention, that besides the Seven Books of the Gallic War, and the Three of the Civil, written by Cæsar him.elf, the Supplements of A. Hirtius Pansa are likewise inserted in the following Translation, consisting of one additional Book to the Gallic War, and three Books of the Alexandrian, Asrican and Spanish Wars.

J.ULIUS CÆSAR's

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OF HIS

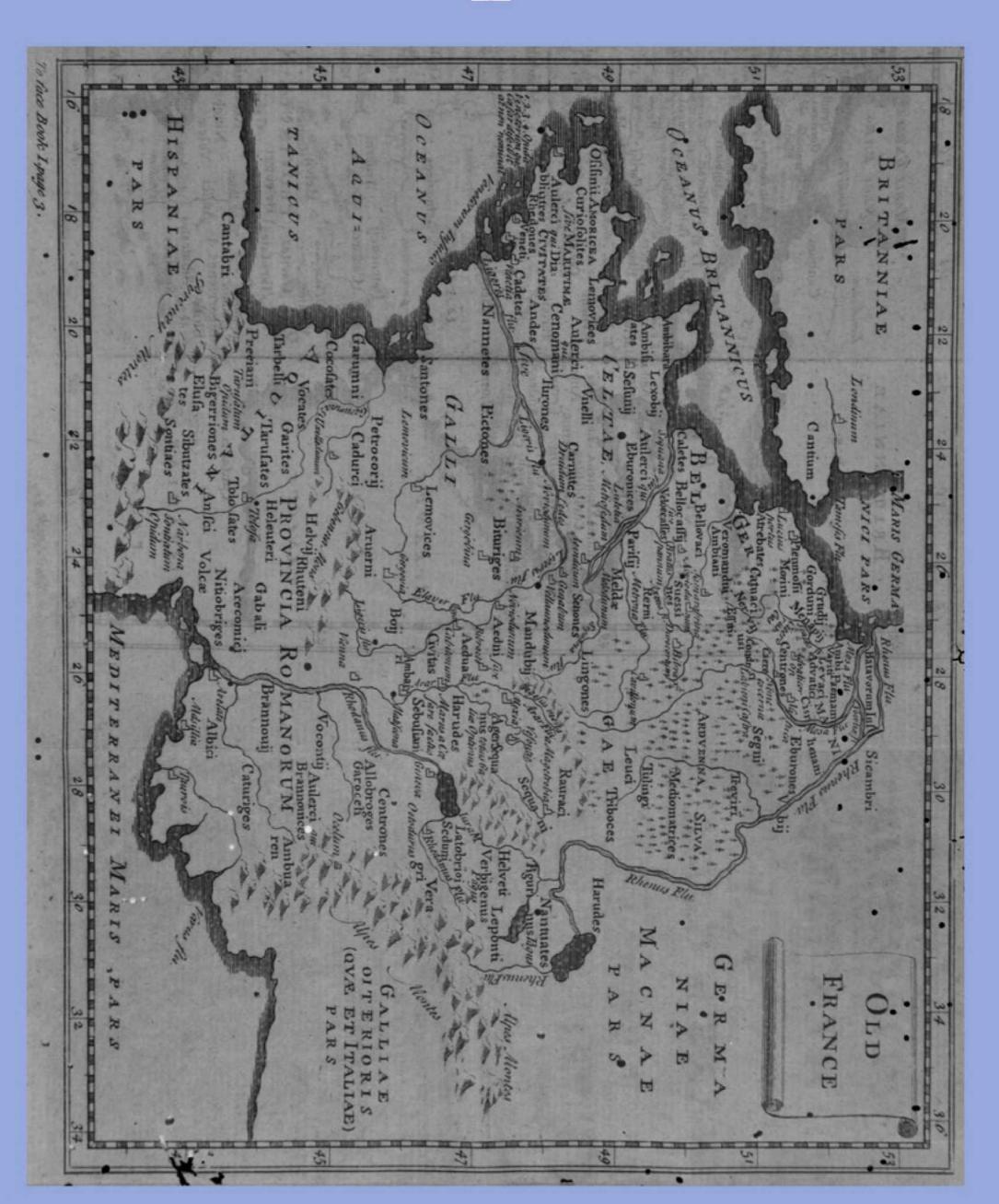
NARS in GAUL.

BOOK I.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Description and Division of Gaul. II. Design & Helvetians of invading it. III. Preparations. Difficulties. VII. March. VIII. Cæsar's Reso to binder it. X. He attacks and defeats them a River Arar. XI. Their Embassy to Castar, and Answer. XIV. Cæsar reduced to great Strait. want of Corn, by the Perfidy of Dumnorix the Atd whom nevertheless he pardons. XVII. Cæsar.d. the Helvetians in a second Battle. XXI. They render, and are obliged to return to their own Con XXII. The Gauls congratulate Cæsar upon his Vi. XXIII. And complain to him of the Irruption Germans into Gaul under Ariovistus. XXIV. sar's Embassy to Ariovistus. XXVII. His An XXVIII. Cæsar leads bis Army against Ariov XXX. The Consternation that seizes his To XXXI. He animates them by a Speech. XXX Interview between Cæsar and Ariovistus. XXX Breaks off by the Approach of the German Car XXXVIII. Perfidy and Cruelty of Ariovi XXXIX. Cæsar and Ariovistus prepare for B. Manner of fighting in use among the German H XLI. Cæsar defeats the Germans with great Slauge obliges them to repass the Rhine; and by one B. puts an End to the War.





E. JULIUS CÆSAR's O M M E N T A R I E S

OF HIS

WARS in GAUL.

BOOK I.

HE whole Country of Gaul is divided into three Parts: of which the Belgians inhabit one; the. Aguitains another; and a People called in their Language Celts, in ours Gauls, the third. These Fer from each other in their Language, Customs, aws. The Gauls are divided from the Aquitains by iver Garonne, and by the Marne and the Seine from Of all these Nations the Belgians are the warlike; as being farthest removed from the Culand Refinements of the Province, and but-little ed to by Merchants, who furnish the Means of ery and Voluptuousness. They are also situated to the Germans, who inhabit beyond the Rhine, whom they are continually engaged in War. For Reason likewise the Helvetians are distinguished by Bravery beyond the rest of the Gauls; because they 'most constantly at war with the Germans, either he Defence of their own Territories, or acting h'ves as the Aggressors. One of these Divisions, w. on we have faid was possessed by the Gauls, beat . ae River Rhine, and is bounded by the Garonne, Deean, and the Territories of the Belgians. It es also, towards the Helvetians at d Sequani, upon River Rhine, extending otfelf northward. . try of the Belgians, commencing from the remotest nes of Gaul, stretches as far as the lower Rhine, ng all the Way between the North and East. B 2 Aquitai -

Aquitain extends from the Garonne to the Pyrenean Mountains, and that Part of the Ocean which borders upon Spain. Its Situation is North-West.

- II. ORGETORIX was by far the richest and most illustrious of the Helvetians. This Nobleman, in the Confulship of M. Messala and M. Pijo, prompted b aspiring Ambition, formed a Confederacy of the cipal Men of the State; and perfuaded the Peopl quit their Country in a Body, representing: " th: " they surpassed all the Nations around them in Va. " it would be easy for them to gain the intire S reignty of Gaul." He the sooner brought them this Design, because the Helvetians, by the Natas their Situation, are every where confined within narrow Territories: On one fide by the Rhine, a t and deep River, which separates their Country from of the Germans: On the other by Mount Jura, a Ridge of Hills, which runs between them and Sequani: Lastly, by the Lake Lemanus, and the I Rhone, which is the Boundary on the Side of the R Province. By this means it happened, that they c not so easily enlarge their Territories, or make quests on the neighbouring States; which, to Me a warlike Spirit, and fond of fighting, was abur Cause of Discontent: For being a numerous Pe and of great Fame for their Bravery, they the themselves much too strained in a Country, which but too hundred and forty Miles in length, and a one hundred and eighty in breadth.
- III. URGED by these Considerations, and still by the Authority and Persuasions of Orgetoria, the solved to provide every thing necessary for an Extion; to buy up a great number of Waggons and riage-Horses; to form large Magazines of Cornettey might have sufficient to supply them in their I to establish Peace and Amity with the neighborstates. They imagined two Years would be suffered to begin their March on the third. The whole Mannett of this Design was committed to Orgeta in, undertook an Embassy to the neighbouring States. this Occasion he persuaded Castrons, the Son of

mantales, of the Nation of the Sequani, whose Father had for many Years enjoyed the Sovereignty over that People, and been stilled Friend and Ally by the Senate ome, to possess himself of the supreme Authority in wn Country, which his Father had held before him. ikewife perfuaded Dumnorix the Æduan, the Brother ivitiacus, who was at that time the leading Man in wn State, and greatly beloved by the People, to apt the same among the Æduans: and the more to e him to his Interest, gave him his Daughter in riage. He told them, "That they might with the reatest Facility accomplish their Designs; as he was mself assured of attaining the supreme Authority in is own State, which was without Dispute the most owerful and confiderable of all Gaul; and would ien employ his whole Interest and Forces, to estalish them in their respective Sovereignties." hese Considerations, they reciprocally bound themby a solemn Oath; not doubting, when they had attained the chief Sway in their feveral States, with united Forces of three fuch powerful and mighty ions, to render themselves Masters of all Gaul. vetians having Notice of this Design, obliged Orge-, according to the Custom of their Country, to ver to the Charge brought against him in Chains: had he been found guilty, the Law condemned him e burnt alive. On the Day appointed for his Trial, .ffembled all his Slaves and Domesticks amounting en thousand Men; and all his Clients and Debtors, which the Number was very great: By their Means rescued himself out of the Hands of his Judges. tile the People, provoked at this Contempt of the vs, were preparing to support their Authority by ce, and the Magistrates had affembled a great Num-. of Men for that Purpose; Orgetoria died: Nor are Tevetians without Suspicion of his having made away . . ri felf.

7. AFTER his Death, the Helvetians still continued prosecute with the same Di igence, the Design they formed of quitting their Country. When they had apleted their Preparations, they set fire to all their was, to the Number of twelve; to their Boroughs illages, which amounted to four hundred; and

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- to their other private Buildings. They likewise burnt all their Corn, except what they had resolved to carry along with them; that having no Hope of returning to their own Country, they might be the more dispend to confront all Dangers. Each Man had Orders carry out with him Provisions for three Months. Rauraci, Tulingians, and Latobrigians, neighbout Nations, being perfuaded to follow the same Cour. likewife fet fire to their Towns and Villages, and joi with them in the Expedition. The Brians too, . had formerly inhabited beyond the Rhine, and pai over into Noricum, had settled in that Country, possessed themselves of Norvia its capital City, affociated into the Defign.
- V. THERE were only two Ways by which they ci march out of their own Country: One through Territories of the Sequani, between Mount Jura the Rhene, narrow and difficult, infomuch that in I Places a fingle File of Waggons could hardly I The impending Mountain was besides very high .. Reep, so that a handful of Men was sufficient to .. them. The other lay through our Province, far e and readier; because the Rhone, which flows betw the Confines of the Helwetians and Allobrogians, a Pe lately subjected to the Romans, was in some Pl fordable: And Gineva, a frontier Town of the. brogians, adjoining to the Territories of the Helvet. had a Bridge belonging to this last People. T therefore doubted not, cither of perfuading the . bregians, who as yet feemed to bear no great Affel to the People of Rome; or at least of obliging t by Force, to grant them a Passage through their T tories. Every Thing being now ready for the E. dition, they appointed a Day for their general Ren yous on the Binks of the Rhone. The Day fixed was the Twenty-eighth of March, in the Confill L. Pijo and A. Gabinius.
- VI. CASAR having Notice of these Proceedings. that it was the Delign of the Heinetians to atterr Paffage through the Province, hellened his Depa from Rome, and posting by great Journeys into fa Gaul, came to Geneva. He began with breaking t

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Bridge over the Rhone; and as there was at that ne but one Roman Legion in Transalpine Gaul, he ored great Levies to be made throughout the whole vince. The Helvetians being informed of his Ar-!, deputed several Noblemen of the first Rank, with veius and Verodectius at their Head, to wait upon in the Name of the State, and represent, "That ney meant not to offer the least Injury to the Reman Province; that Necessity alone had determined them to the Design of passing through it, because they had no other Way by which to direct their March; that they therefore intreated they might have his Permission for that Purpose." But Cæsar, bearing in nd, that L. Cassius the Consul had been slain, and Army routed, and made to pass under the Yoke by Helvetians, did not think proper to grant their Reest. Neither could be persuade himself, that Men so affected to the People of Rome, if permitted to pass eigh the Province, would abstain from Acts of offility and Violence. However, that he might gain me, till the Troops he had ordered to be raised could emble; he told the Ambassadors he would consider their Demand, and that if they returned by the Nineenth of April, they should have his final Answer. eanwhile with the Legion he then had, and the Solers that came in to him from all Parts of the Province, ran a Wall fixteen Feet high, and nineteen Miles : Length, with a Ditch, from the Lake Lemanus into nich the Rhone discharges itself, to Mount Jura, which vides the Territories of the Sequeni from the Helve-This Work finished, he raised Redoubts from pace to Space, and manned them with Troops, that the Enemy should attempt to force a Paslage, he When the ight be in a Condition to hinder them. 'a' appointed came, and the Ambassadors returned for wer, he told them; that he could not, confident in in Usage and Behaviour of the People of Rome a the like Occasions, grant any Troops a Passage ir ugh the Province; and should they attempt it by o. Je, he let them fee he was prepared to oppose them.

VII. THE Helicetians, driven from this Hope, endeamoured to force the Paliage of the River; some with Bo scoupled together, or Floats which they had preCÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES OF

pared in great Numbers; others by the Fords c Rhone, where was the least Depth of Water; some by Day, but oftener in the Night: but being rej by the Strength of the Works, the Concourse c Troops, and the Discharge of Darts, they at last doned the Attempt. There was still one Wa through the Territories of the Sequani, by which, ever, without the Consent of the Natives, they not march, because of the Narrowness of the Pass they were not able to prevail by their own Applic they fent Ambassadors to Dumnorix the Æduan through his Intercession they might obtain this Fav the Sequani. Dumnorix, by his Popularity and Go fity, had great Influence with the Sequani, and w well affected to the Helvetians, because from them he had married the Daughter of Orgetorix fides, urged by ambitious Views, he was fram himself Schemes of Power, and wanted to have as States as possible bound to him by Offices of Kir He therefore charged himself with the Negociatio tained for the Helvetians the Liberty of passing the the Territories of the Sequani, and engaged the tw tions mutually to give Hostages. The Sequani, molest the Helvetians in their March; and the Hela to pass without offering any Insult or Injury to the Cc

VIII. CASAR foon had Intelligence of their I and that they now defigned to pass through the try of the Sequani and Eduans into the Territe: the Santones, which border upon those of the Tolo a State that makes Part of the Roman Province. this happen, he forefaw many Inconveniencies lil arise, from the Neighbourhood of a warlike as affected People, in an open and plentiful C For these Reasons he gave the Command of the Works he had raised to T. Labienus his Lieutena: he himself hastened by great Journeys into Italhe raised two Legions, and drew three more, cantoned round aquileia, out of their Winterand with these five Legions, took the nearest W the Alps into farther Gaul. The Centrones, G. and Caturigians, seizing the higher Grounds, end vouted to oppose his March. But having repulsed t. in several Encounters, he in sevent Days after i out out from Ocelum, a City in the extreme Confines of the rer Province, arrived among the Vocantians, whose Terpries lie within the farther Province. Thence he led his a y into the Country of the Allobrogians; and crossing in Territories, entered upon the Lands of the Segusians. The are the first on the other Side the Rhone, beyond appundaries of the Roman Province.

IX. THE Helvetians, had by this Time marched their orces through the narrow Pass of Mount Jura, and e Territories of the Sequani; and were come into the puntry of the Æduans, psundering their Lands. The duans, unable to defend themselves and Possessions om the Violence of their Enemies, sent Ambassadors Cæsar to request Aid. They told him, "That such at all Times had been their Merit with the People of Rome, that they might challenge greater Regard, than to have their Lands laid waste, their Children and into Captivity, and their Towns affaulted and taken, almost in the very Sight of a Roman Army." at the same time also the Ambarri, Friends and Allies f the Æduans, sent to inform him: "That compelled to abandon the open Country, they could hardly defend their Towns from the Rage of the Enemy." The Allobrogians likewise, who had Dwellings and Posessions beyond the Rhone, fled to him for Protection, and affured him: "That there was nothing left them but a naked and desolate Country." Whereupon Casar, moved by these Complaints and Remonstrances, resolved not to wait 'till the Fortunes of his Allies hould be confumed, and the Helvetians arrive in the Territories of the Santones.

X. The River Arar flows into the Rhone, through the Confines of the Æduans and Sequani, with a Current in Edibly smooth and gentle, insomuch that it is imposed to 12 distinguish by the Eye, which Way its Water give. The Helvetians were at this Time employed in assing it on Floats and a Bridge of Boats. When Cae was informed by his Spies, that three Parts of heir Forces were got over the River, and that the fourth I remained on this Side; he left his Camp about daught with three Legions, and camp up with the PM of the Enemy that had not yet passed. As he found

TO CESAR'S COMMENTARIES OF Book L

found them unprepared, and incumbered with th gage, he attacked their immediately, and killed Number on the Spot. The rest sled, and i themselves in the rearest Woods. This was ca Tigurine Canton, being one of the four into w whole Body of the Heivetians are divided. T Canton, in the Memory of our Fathers, march of their own Territories, had vanquished and k Conful L. Callius, and obliged his Army to pa the Yoke. Thus, whether by Chance or the L. of the immortal Gods, that Part of the Helveti which had brought fo fignal a Calamity upon man People, were the first to feel the Weight Refentment. In this Cajar avenged not only t lick, but likewise his own domestick Injuries; in the same Battle with Cassius, war slain also his Lieutenant, the Grandfather of L. Pifo, Father-in-law.

XI. AFTER this Battle, that he might come the remaining Forces of the Helvetians, he Bridge to be made across the Arar, and carried Army. The Helvetians, difinayed at his fud proach, as he had spent only one Day in par-River, which they had with the utmost Diffic complished in twenty, sent an Embassy to him Head of which was Divice, who had been Gethe Helvetians in the War against Cassius. He: Cafar to this Effect: "That if the People . were disposed to conclude a Peace with the " : far:, they would go and fettle in whatever " Cafar should think fit to assign them: but 66 perfifted in the Defign of making War, he v weil to call to mind the ancient Difgrace Roman People, and the Valour of the Helt 66 tion: That in having furprifed one of the (" while the others, who had paffed the River, c e return to fuccour it, there was no Reason to clated on the Advantage, nor to despise his E " That the Het retians had learned of their A to depend more on Courage than on Cunn

funbushes; and it therefore in ported him to ocher to not to render the Place where they were then ported famous and memorable with Posterity, by a new Defeat

- Defeat of the Roman People and the Destruction of their Army?
 - I. To this Cæsar replied: "That he therefore i less doubted of the lilue, as he well knew all the . cumstances of the Affair to which the Helvetians stored; and refented them the more strongly, as ney had happened undefervedly to the Roman People: "hat had they been conscious of any Injury on their side, it would have been easy for them to have kept pon their Guard; but herein were they deceived, nat neither did they know of any Thing which night give them Cause of Fear, nor could they aprehend they had any Thing to fear without Cause: hat supposing him inclined to overlook old Injuries, ould they expect he would also forget their late Inalts, in attempting, against his Will, to force a Pasage through the Province, and laying waste the Ter-. rics of the Æduans, Ambarri, and Allobrogians? hat their boasting so insolently of their Victory, nd wondering that Vengeance had been deferred fo ong, were a new Set of Provocations. But they ught to remember, that the immortal Gods were ometimes wont to grant long Impunity, and a great Lun of Prosperity to Men, whom they pursued with he Punishment of their Crimes, that by the sad Reerse of their Condition, Vengeance might fall the eavier. Though these were just Grounds of Resentnent, yet, if they would fatisfy the Æduans and their illies for the Ravages committed in their Country, s likewise the Allobrogians, and give Hostages for the 'erformance of their Promises, he was ready to conlude a Peace with them." Divice replied: "That ach were the Institutions of the Helvetians, derived m their Ancestors, that they had been accustomed receive, not to give Hostages; and that no body : y i better than the Romans." Having returned Mayer, he departed.
 - H. The next Day they decamped. Cafar did the ; and ordered all the Cavalry, whom, to the Num-of four thousand, he had raised in the Province, drawn together from the Æduans and their Allies, to before, and observe the Enemy's March. But pressing

CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES OF . Book I.

pressing too close uson their Rear, they were obliged to engage in a disadvantageous Place, and less a sew Men. The Helvetians, encouraged by this Success, as with no more than five hundred Horse, represent a Multitude, began to face us more bold sometimes to fally from their Rear, and attack a Cassar kept back his Men from fighting; this sufficient for the present, to straiten the Enemages, and prevent their ravaging and plunder Country. In this Manner the Armies march fifteen Days together; insomuch that between o and the Rear of the Helvetians, the Distance exceed five or six Miles.

XIV. In the mean time Cæsar daily pressed duans for the Corn which they had promised Name of the Publick. For by Reason of the C of the Climate, (Gaul, as we have faid, lying co ably to the North,) he was so far from finding th ripe in the Fields, that there was not even fi Forage for the Horses. Neither could be make those Supplies which came to him by the Way Arar, because the Helvetians had turned off fi River, and he was determined not to leave them. Æduans put him off from Day to Day with fair Sp fometimes pretending that it was bought up, and to be fent; sometimes, that it was actually Way. But when he saw no End of these Delay that the Day approached for delivering out Corn Army; calling together their Chiefs, of whom a great Number in his Camp; among the rest L cus, and Liscus, their supreme Magistrate, who i Vergobret in the Language of the Country, and yearly, with a Power of Life and Death; he f inveighed against them: "That at a Time wher was neither to be procured for Money, nor h of the Fields, in so urgent a Conjuncture, and the Enemy was fo near, they had not taken " fupply him;" adding, "That as he had enga that War chiefly at their Request, he had the « Reason to complain of their abandoning him."

XV. UPON this, Liscus, moved by Carfan's St thought proper to declare what he had hitherto con cealed: cealed: "That there were some among them whose " Authority with the People was very great; and who, 46 though but private Mars had yet more Power than the Magnitrates themselves: That these, by artful and ous Speeches, alarmed the Multitude, and pera them to keep back their Corn; infinuating, if their own State could not obtain the Sovety of Gaul, it would be better for them to obey Telatians, Gauls like themselves, than the Ro-; there not being the least Reason to question, these last, after having subdued the Helvetians, d, along with the rest of Gaul, deprive the Æs also of their Liberty: That the very same Men Intelligence to the Enemy of all the Defigns ne Romans, and whatfoever was transacted in their up; his Authority not being sufficient to restrain a: Nay, that though compelled by Necessity, he now made a Discovery of the whole Matter to in, he was not ignorant of the Danger to which exposed himself by such a Conduct; and had, for : Reason, chosen to be filem, as long as he ught it confiltent with the Safety of the State." perceived, that Dumnorix, the Brother of Diviwas pointed at by this Speech. But as he was ling that these Matters should be debated in the nce of so many Witnesses, he speedily dismissed ouncil, retaining only Liseus. He then questioned apart on what he had just faid, and was answered greater Courage and Freedom. He put the fame tions to others aifo in private, who all confirmed Fruth of what had been told nim: "That Dumrix was a Man of an enterpriting Spirit, fond of evolutions, and in great Favour with the Peoe, because of his Liberality: That he had for any Years farmed the Cultoms, and other publick evenues of the Adams, at a very low Price; no ne daring to bid against him: That by this Means had confiderably increased his Estate, and was enbled to extend his Bounty to all about him: That constantly kept a great Neumber of Horf inen in ay, who attended him wherever heavent : 'I hat his iterest was not confined a crely to his own Couny, but extended likewise to the neighbouring Sentes: That the better to fresport this Interest, he had mar-" ried

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se ried his Mother to a Man of principal Rank and Authority among the Baurigians, had himself taken a "Wife from among the Herorians, and matched his "Sifter and the rest of his Kindred into other the m of powerful States: That he favoured and wifned v 66 to the Helwetians on the Score of that Alliance ee personally hated Cassar, and the Romans, because " their Arrival his Power had been diminished, " Divitiacus his Brother restored to his former Cr. " and Authority: That should the Romans be or thrown, he was in great hopes of obtaining the vereignty by Means of the Helvetians. On the " trary, thould they prevail, he must not only giv " these Hopes, but even all Expectation of retas " the Influence he had already acquired." Cæfa wise found upon Inquiry, that in the last Engagen? of the Horse, Dumnorix, who commanded the Æ6 Cavalry, was the first that fled, and by that Fl struck a Terror into the rest of the Troops.

XVI. THESE Things appearing, and other undou Circumstances concurring to heighten his Suspicic That he had procured for the Helvetians a Paf through the Territories of the Sequani: That he effected an Exchange of Hostages between the two tions: That he had done all this not only without. mission from him, or his own State, but even without t Knowledge and Participation: That he was acc. by the chief Magistrate of the Æduans: They see altogether a sufficient Ground to Cæsar, why he she either himself take cognizance of the Matter, or c the State to proceed against him. One Thing, h ever, still kept him in Suspense; the Consideratio. his Brother Divitiacus, a Man of singular Proi Justice, and Moderation; a faithful Ally of the Re, People, and on the Foot of Friendship with Co That he might not therefore give offence to one whom he had so great a Value: before he tool farther Step in the Affair, he fent for Divitiants; having removed the usual Interpreters, addressed his Ci. Valerius Procillus, a Prince of the Province of C his intimate Friend, in whom he reposed the erc Confidence He put him in mind of what had? said of Dumnoris in his own Presence in the Con

of the Gauls, and repeated the fresh Complaints made to himself against him in priva. He urged, and even requested, that without O nee to him, he might either proceed against him himself, or order the State to take the Matter under Consideration. Divitiacus, embracing Casar with many Tears, begged him not to take any severe Resolution against his Brother. "He was sen-

" "," he told him, " of the Truth of all that was ed, and had himfelf more Reason to be diffied than any Man: That at a Time when his nority was great, both at Home and in the other inces of Gaul, and his Brother but little coned on Account of his Youth, he had used his rest to bring him into Credit: That though morix had made use of that Power acquired by leans, to diminish his Favour with the People, even to urge on his Ruin, he nevertheless still ad himself swayed by his Affection, and a Regard the Esteem of the Publick: That should his Bromeet with any rigorous Treatment from Cafar, le he himself possessed so large a Share of his Far, all Men would believe it done with his Con-, and the Minds of the Gauls be for ever alieed from him." Casser, observing his Concern, im by the Hand, comforted him, defired him to an end of speaking, affured him, that such was egard for him, he would for his Sake overlook ly his own Injuries, but even those of the Rek. He then fent for Dumnoria, called him into other's Presence, declared the Subjects of Comhe had against him, mentioned what he himself , what was laid to his Charge by the State, and nished him for the future to avoid all Cause of zion; adding, that he would forgive what was for the Sake of his Brecher Divitiacus. He aphowever, some to have an Eye over him, that

ht be informed of his Behaviour, and of those he ad with.

I. The same Day, having learnt be his Scouts, Enemy had posted themselves ainder a Hill out Miles from his Camp, he sent out a Party the Ground, and examine the Ascen of the I hese reporting it to be entremely easy, he detached

tached T. Labienus his Lieutenant about Midnight, with two Legions, and the sime Guides who had examined the Ground the Day befor and having acquainted him with his Design, ordered him to get Possession of the Top of the Hill. He himself set out three Hours after with the rest of his Army, by the same Loute the Helvetians had taken, and sent all the Cavalry before. P. Considius, an Officer of Reputation, who had in the Army of L. Sylla, and afterwards that Crasses, advanced with a small Party to get Intellig

XVIII. AT Day-break, when Labienus had go fession of the Top of the Hill, and Casar was wi Mile and a half of the Enemies Camp; while th the mean time, as he afterwards learnt from his ners, knew nothing either of his, or Labienus proach: Considius came galloping back, and Cæfur, that the Summit of the Mountain was po by the Enemy, and that he had feen the Gallick and Enfigns there Cæsar retired to a neight Hill, and drew up his Men in Order of Battle bienus, whose Instructions were, not to engage th my till he saw the rest of the Army approaching Camp, that the Attack might be made on all S the same Time; having gained the Top of th waited the Arrival of our Men, without stirring f Post. At length, when the Day was far spent, understood by his Spies, that Labienus was in poof the Mountain, that the Enemy had decampe that Considius, blinded by Fear, had reported v never saw. The rest of that Day he followed the my at the usual Distance, and encamped within Miles of them.

XIX. THE Day after, as the Time drew redelivering out Corn to the Army, and as he washove eighteen Miles, from Bibracte, the Capital Aduans, where he hoped to find sufficient Supports the Subsistence of his Troops; he quitted the Putthe Helvetians, and directed his March thither Enemy being informed of this Motion by some ters, who had belonged to the Troop of L. Em Officer of Horse among the Gauls; and either a it to Fear in the Romans, the rather, because the

not attacked them the Day before, though possessed of the higher Ground; or flattering themselves with the Hopes of intercepting the Provisions: all on a sudden changed their Resolution, and instead of continuing their former March, began to pursue and harass our Rear. Eafar observing this, retired to a neighbouring Hill, and fent his Cavalry to sustain the Charge of the Enemy. In the mean time he drew up his four vettern Legions in three Lines towards the Middle c' the Hill; in such a Manner, that the two Legions ne v.y raised in Cifalpine Gaul, and all the Auxiliarie were posted above them; and the whole Mountain ,was covered with his Troops. He ordered all the Bagg age to be brought into one Place, and committed it : - the Charge of those who stood on the upper Part of the Hill. The Helvetians following with all their Forces, drew their Carriages likewife into one Place; and having repulfed our Cavalry, and formed themselves into a Phalanx, advanced in close Order to attack our Van.

XX. CESAR having first fent away his own Horse, and afterwards those of all his Officers, that by making the Danger equal, no Hope might remain but in Victory; encouraged his Men, and began the Charge. The Romans, who fought with the Advantage of the higher Ground, pouring their Darts upon the Enemy from above, easily broke their Phalanx; and then sell upon them Sword in Hand. What greatly incumbered the Gauls in this Fight was, that their Targets being many of them pierced and pinned together by the Javelins of the Romans, they could neither draw out the J-velins, because forked at the Extremity, nor act with Agility in the Battle, because deprived in a manner of the Use of their left Arms: so that many, after long toffing their Targets to and fro to no Purpose to disengage whem, charte rather to throw them away, and expose themselves it Defence to the Weapons of their Enemies. At however, being overpowered with Wounds, they began to give ground; and observing a Mountain at about a Mile's Distance, gradually retreated thither. Firing gained the Mountain, and our Men pursuing the Boians and Tulingians, who to the Number of fifted n thousand covered their Retreat, and served as

as they advanced, began to furround them. This being perceived by the Helvetian who had retired to the Mountain, they again returned upon us, and renewed the Fight. The Romans facing about, charged the Enemy in three Bodies; their first and second Line making head against those who had been forced to retreat, and their third sustains the

treat, and their third fustaining th and Tulingians. The Battle was for a long time doubtful; but th obliged to give way, one Part with whither they had before retreated. themselves behind the Carriages Action, though it lasted from one noon till Evening, no Man faw t The Fight was renewed with g Carriages, and continued till the For the Gauls making use of the Rampart, darted their Javelins and some thrusting their Lances 1 the Waggons, wounded our Mei pute, we at last got possession c Camp. A Son and Daughter of among the Prisoners. Only an thousand of the Enemy survived treating all that Night, and cor without Intermission, arrived on 1 Testitories of the Lingones. Th made no Attempt to purfue the Wounded, and of burying their I continue upon the Spot three Day and Messengers to the Lingones, no Corn or other Necessaries, if they upon themselves the same Treatme and after a Repose of three Days, them with all his Forces.

Want of all Things, fent Ambassabout a Surrender. These meeting and throwing themselves at his Terms, and with many Tears, be gave them no express Answer at the Helvetians to wait for him in

then were, which they did accordingly. Upon his Arrival, he demanded Hosh ges, their Arms, and the Slaves who had deserted to their Camp. As the Execution of all the took up some Time; about four thousand Men of the Canton called Urbigenus, either fearing Punishment" should they deliver up their Arms, or induced by the Hopes of escaping; because in so great a Multitude they fancied their Flight might be concealed, nay perhaps remain altogether unknown; stole out of the Camp in the beginning of the Night, and took the Route of Germany and the Rhine. Cafar being informed of it, dispatched Orders to those through whose Territories they must pass, to stop and send them back wherever they should be found, if they meant to acquit themselves of favouring their Escape. He was obeyed, and the fugitive Urbigenians were treated as Enemies. All the rest, upon delivering the Hostages that were required of them, their Arms, and the Deserters, were admitted to a Surrender-The Helvetians, Tulingians, and Latobrigians, had Orders to return to their own Country, and rebuild the Towns and Villages they had burnt. And because having lost all their Corn, they were utterly without the Means of subsisting themselves, he gave it in charge to the Allobrogians to supply them. Casar's Design in this was, that the Lands deserted by the Helvetians might not be left vacant, lest the Germans beyond the Rhine, drawn by the Goodness of the Soil, should be tempted to feize them, and thereby become Neighbours to the Allobrogians and the Roman Province in Gaul. The Boians, at the Request of the Æduans, who esteemed them highly on account of their Valour, were permitted to fettle in their Territories; where they assigned them Lands, and by degrees admitted them to all the Rights and Privileges of Natives. A Roll was found in the Heluctian Camp, written in Greek Characters, and brought to Cafar. It contained a List of all who had set out upon this Expedition capable of bearing Arms; likewise of the Children, Wonen, and old Men. By this it appeared, that the Number of the Helvetians was two Hundred and Thousand, of the Tulingians thirty-fix fixty-three Thousan', of the Latobrigians fourteen Thousand, of the Regraci twenty-three Thousand, of the Beiam thirtytwo Thousand; in all three hundred and fixty-eight C 2 Thousand,

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Thousand, of which ninety-two Thousand were fit to bear Arms. A Review bein made by Casar's Command, of those that returned to their own Country, the Number was found to be an hundred and ten Thousand.

XXII. THE War with the Helvetians being ended, Ambassadors from all Parts of Gaul, Men of principal Consideration in their several States, waited upon Cafar to congratulate his Success. They told him; "That "tho' they were sensible the People of Rome, in the War against the Helvetians, meant chiefly to avenge the "Injuries formerly received from that Nation, yet had "the Event of it been highly advantageous to all Gaul; " because in a Time of full Prosperity, the Heluetians " had left their Territories with Defign to make War " upon the other States; that having brought them un-" der Subjection, they might choose themselves a Habi-" tation at pleafure, and render all the rest of the Coun-" try tributary." They requested, " That they might " have his Permission to hold by a Day prefixed, a ge-" neral Assembly of all the Provinces of Gaul; their be-" ing some Things they wanted to discuss and propose to "him, which concerned the whole Nation in common." Leave being granted accordingly, they fixed the Day for the Assembly, and bound themselves by an Oath, not to discover their Deliberations to any, unless named for that Purpose by general Consent.

Chiefs of the States as before, returned to Cæfar, and begged to be admitted to confer with him in private, of Matters that regarded their own and the common Safety. Their Defire being granted, they all threw themselve at his Feet, and with Tears represented; "That it was of no less Importance to them to have their present Descriptions kept secret, than to succeed in the Request they were going to make; because should any Discovery happen, they were in danger of being exposed to the utmost Cruelties." Divitiacus the Adman spoke in the name of the rest. He told him; "That two Factions divided all Gaul; one headed by the Admans, the other by the Averni; that after a Contention of m. by Years between these for the Superiority, the Averni and Some

quani came at last to a Resolution of calling in the Germans: That at first early lifteen Thousand had crossed the I nine; but being a wild and savage People, and great v liking the Customs, Manners, and plenteous "Councry of the Gauls, others foon followed; infomuch that at present there were not less than an hundred and "twenty Thousand of them in Gaul: That the Æduans, " and their Allies, had frequently tried their Strength " against them in Battle; but by a Succession of Defeats had loft all their Nobility, Senate, and Cavalry: That broken by these Calamities and Losses, though formerly they had held the first Sway in Gaul, both by their own Valgur, and the Favour and Friendship of the People of Rome, yet now they were reduced to the Necessity of sending their principal Noblemen as Hostages to the " Sequani, and of obliging themselves by an Oath, neither to demand their Hoftages back, nor implore the Assistance of the Roman People, nor refuse a perpetual "Submission to the Dominion and Authority of the Sequani: That he alone of all the Ædkars had refused to take the Oath, or give his Children for Hostages, and on that Account had fled his Country, and came to Rome to implore the Assistance of the Senate; as being the only Man in the State, whom neither Obligation of Oath, nor the Restraint of Hostages, withhold from fuch a Step: That after all it had fared worse with the victorious Sequani, than with the vanquished Eduans; because Arievistus, King of the Germans, had feated himself in their Territories, had seized a Third of their Lands, the most fertile in all Gaul, and now ordered them to give up another Third in behalf of the Harudes, who had passed the Rhine a few Months before with twenty-four Thousand Men, and wanted a " Settlement and Habitations: That in a few Years all the native Gauls would be driven from their Territo-"rics, and . 'I the Germans transplant themselves over the Rhine, the Climate being far superior to that of their own Country, and the Way of living not admitting a Comparison: That Ariovistus, ever fince the 13 Defeat c. the Gauls at Amagetobria, had behaved with unher d-of Tyranny and Haughtinets, demanding the " Chadren of the first Wobility as Hostages, and exerciing all Manner of Cruelties upon them, if his Orders

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were not implicitly followed in every thing: That he was a Man of a savage, sionate, and imperious Character, whose Government was no longer to ha borne; and unless some Resource was found i 1 Cæsa. and the People of Rome, the Gauls must all fallow the Example of the Helvetians, and like them abandon " their Country, in order to find some other Habitation and Settlement, remote from the Cermans, wherever "Fortune should point it out to them: That were these " Complaints and Representations to come to the Know-1edge of Ariovistus, he made no doubt of his inflicting the severest Punishments upon all the Hostages, in his "Hands: but that it would be easy for Cæsar, by his " own Authority, and that of the Army he commanded; by the Fame of his late Victory, and the Terror of the Roman Name; to hinder any mor Germans from paf-" fing the Rhine, and to defend Gaul from the Insults of " Ariovistus."

XXIV. WHEN Divitiacus had made an end of speaking, all who were present, with many Tears, began to implore Cæsar's Aid. He observed that the Sequani alone did nothing of all this; but pensive, and with downçast Looks, kept their Eyes fixed upon the Ground. Wondering what might be the Cause, he questioned them up-Still they made him no Answer, but continued filent, as before, with the same Air of Dejection. When he had interrogated them several Times, without being able to obtain one Word in return, Divitiacus the Æduan again resumed the Discourse, and observed: " That the ** Condition of the Sequani was by so much more deplorable and wretched than that of the rest of the Gauls; as they alone durst not, even in secret, complain of their Wrongs, or apply any where for Redress; and no less dre-ded the Cruelty of Ariovistus, when absent, than if actually present before their Eyes: That other States had it still in their Power to escape by Flight; but the Sequani, who had received him into their Territories, and put him in possession of all their Towns, were exposed upon D'scovery to every kind of 'i'on nent." Cafar being made acquainted with these Things, er ouraged the Gault and promised to have a regard to their Complaints. He told them: " That he was in great Ho es Ariovillus,

Arionistus, induced by his In ercession, and the Authority of the People of Arme, would put an end to his Opp thions." Having returned this Answer, he distrifted the Assembly.

XXV. Many urgent Reasons occurred upon this Occasion to Casar, why he should consider seriously of the Proposals of the Gauls, and redress the Injuries of which they comploined. He saw the Æduans, Friends and Allies of the People of Rome, held in Subjection and Servitude by the Germans, and compelled to give Hostages 20 Arievistus and the Sequani; which, in the present flourishing State of the Roman Affairs, ofeemed highly dishonourable both to himself and the Commonwealth. He saw it likewise of dangerous Consequence, to suffer the Germans by little and little to transport themselves over the Rhine, and settle in great Multitudes in Gaul. For that fierce and favage People, having once possessed themselves of the whole Country of Gaul, were but too likely, after the Example of the Textones and Cimbri, to break into the Roman Province, and thence advance to Italy itself; more especially as the Rhone was the only Boundary by which the Sequani were divided from the Territories of the Republick. It therefore appeared necessary to provide without Delay against these Evils; and the rather, because Ariovistus was become so insolent, and took so much upon him, that his Conduct was no lenger to be endured.

Ambassadors to Ariovistus, to desire he would appoint a Place for an Interview, that they might discourse together about some publick Affairs of the highest Importance to them both, Ariovistus replied: "That if he had wanted any thing of Casar, he would himself have waited on him for that Purpose; and if Casar had any thing to desire of him, he must likewise come in person to demand it: That for his own part, he could neither venture into these Provinces of Gaul where Casar comma ded without an Army, nor bring an Army into he Field without great. Trouble and Expence: "That he besides wendered extremely, what Business either Casar, or the People of Rome, could have in his

Division of Gaul, which belonged to him by right of Conquest." This Answer being reported to Casfar, he again tent an Embassy to him to this Effect "That " tince, notwithstanding the great Obligations he lay under both to himself and the People of Rome, in having, during his Consulship, been declared King and "Ally by the Senate; he yet manifested so little Ac-* knowledgment to either, as even to refuse an Interview, " and decline treating of Affairs that regarded the com-46 mon Interest; these were the Particulars he required of him: First, not to bring any more Germans over the " Rhine into Gaul. Secondly, to restore the Hostages he " had taken from the Æduans, and permit the Sequani is likewise to do the same. Lastly, to forbear all Injuries towards the *Eduans*, and neither make War upon them nor their Allies. That his Compliance with these Conditions would establish a perpetual Friend-" ship and Amity between him and the People of Rome. "But if he refused Conditions so just; as the Senate had decreed in the Confulfhip of M. Messala and M. " Pijo, that whoever had the Charge of the Province of "Gaul, should, as far as was consistent with the Interest of the Commonwealth, defend the Æduans, and the other Allies of the People of Rome; he thought him? " felf bound not to overlook their just Complaints."

XXVII. To this Ariovistus replied: "That by the " Laws of War, the Conqueror had a Right to impose " what Terms he pleased upon the Conquered: That in consequence of this, the People of Rome did not govern the vanquished by the Prescriptions of another, but according to their own Pleasure: That if he did not intermeddle with the Roman Conquests, but lest them to the free Enjoyment of their Rights, no more ought they to concern themselves in what regarded 66 him: That the Æduans having tried the Fortune of . War, had been overcome and rendered tributary; and it would be the highest Injustice in Caster to offer at diminishing his just Revenues: That he was resolved not to part v ith the Hostages the Educas ad put, into, his Hands; out would nevertheless engage, neither to make War upon their nor their Allies, provided they observed the Treaty he had made with them, and reee gula.ly

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gularly paid the Tribute agreed upon; if otherwise, the itle of Friends and Africs of the People of Rome would be found to stand them but in little stead: That as to Casfar's Menace of not overlooking the Complaints of the Eduans, he would have him know, no one had ever entered into a War with Ariovistus, but to his own Destruction: That he might when he pleased bring it to a Trial, and would, he doubted not, soon be made sensible what the invincible Germans, trained up from their Insancy in the Exercise of Arms, and who for sourceen Years together had never slept under a Roof, were capable of atchieving."

XXVIII. At the same time that Casur received this Answer, Ambassadors also arrived from the Æduans and Treviri. From the Æduans, to complain: " That the " Harudes, who had lately come over into Gaul, were 66 plundering their Territories; insomuch that even by " their Submissions and Hostages they were not able to 66 obtain Peace of Ariovistus." From the Treviri, to inform him: " That an hundred Cantons of the Sucvians, " headed by two Brothers, Nasua and Cimberius, were " arrived upon the Banks of the Rhine, with Defign to "cross that River." Cæsar, deeply affected with this Intelligence, determined to undertake the War without Delay, lest this new Band of Suevians, joining the old Forces of Ariovistus, should enable him to make a greater Resistance. Having therefore with all Diligence provided for the Subfistence of his Army, he advanced towards him by great Marches.

XXIX. The third Day he was informed that Ariowiflus approached with all his Forces to take possession of Testrio, the Capital of the Sequani; and that he had already got three Days March beyond his own Territories. Catar judged it by all means necessary to prevent him in this Design, as the Town itself was not only sull of all forts of warlike Ammunition, but likewise strongly fortified by IS sture, and commodiously situated for carrying on the War. For the River Doux forming a Circle round it, as if described with a pair of Compasses, leaves on' in Interval of six hundred Feet, which is also instable by reason of a very high and steep Mountain, whose Roots are washed on each Side by the River. This Mountain is shut in with a Wall, which forming a Citadel, joins it to the Town. Hither Casar marched Da and Night without Intermission; and having offessed himself of the Place, put a Garrison into it.

XXX. WHILST he tarried here a few Days, to fettle the Order of his Convoys and Supplies, the Curiofity of our Men, and the Talk of the Gauls, (who proclaimed on all Occasions the prodigious Stature of the Germans, their invincible Courage, and great Skill in Arms; infomuch that in the frequent Ercounters with them, they had found it impossible to withstand their very Looks) spread such a sudden Terror through the whole Army, that they were not a little disturbed by the Apprehensions it occasioned. This Fear first began amongst the Military Tribunes; the Officers of the Allies, and others that had voluntarily followed Gæsar from Rome; who being but little acquainted with military Affairs, lamented the great Danger to which they fanceed themselves exposed. Some of these, upon various Pretences, desired leave to return. Others, out of Shame, and unwilling to incur the Suspicion of Cowardice, continued in the Camp. But these last, incapable of putting on a cheerful Countenance, and at times even unable to suppress their Tears, sculked in their Tents, either bemoaning their Fate, or discoursing with their Companions upon the common Danger. Wills were made all over the Camp, and the Consternation began to seize even those of more Experience, the veteran Soldiers, the Centurions, and the Officers of the Cavalry. Such among them as affected a greater Shew of Resolution, said it was not the Enemy they feared, but the narrow Passes and vast Forests that' lay between them and Ariovifus, and the Difficulty there would be in furnishing the Army with Provisions. Some even told Cæsar, that when he gave Orders for marching, the Army, attentive to nothing but their Fears, would refuse to obey.

XXXI. CASER observing the general Con 'ernation, called a Council of War; and having summoned all the Centurions of the Army to be present, inveighed against them with great Severity; for presuming to enquire, or

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at all concern themselves, which Way, or on what Design they we'e to march. " Ariovistus," he told them, " duof the Roman People. Why therefore should any one "imagine, he would so rashly and hastily depart from his Engagements? That on the contrary, he washimfelf firmly perfuaded, that as foon as he came to know " his Demands, and the equal Conditions he was about to propose to him, he would be very far from rejecting either his Friendship, or that of the People of Rome. But if urged on by Madness and Rage, he was resolvel upon War, what, after all, had they to be afraid of? Or why should they distrust either their own Bravery, or his Care and Conduct? That they were to deal with Enemies of whom Trial had been already " made in the Memory of their Fathers, when by the " Victory of C. Marius over the Teutones and Cimbri, " the Army itself acquired no less Glory than the Gene-" ral who commanded it: That Trial had likewise been " lately made of them in Italy in the Servile War, when " they had also the Advantage of being exercised in the "Roman Discipline; on which Occasion it appeared, "how much Resolution and Constancy were able to effect; fince they had vanquished in the end those very Enemies armed and flushed with Victory, whom at " first they had without Cause dreaded even unarmed. "In fine, that they were the very same Germans with whom the Helvetians had so often fought, not only in "in their own Country, but in Germany itself, and for " the most part come off victorious, though they had by or no means been a Match for our Army: That if the "Defeat and Flight of the Gauls gave Uneafiness to any, " these would readily find upon Enquiry, that Ariovistus, " confining himself many Months to his Camp and Fast-" nesses, and declining a general Action, had thereby " tired out the Gauls with the Length of the War; who "despairing at last of a Battle, and beginning to disperse, were the eupon attacked and routed, rather by Conduct and Craft, than the superior Valour of the Germans. Fut though a Stratagem of this Kind might take with . .de and uncultivated People, yet could not even the German himself hope that it would avail against a Koman, Army; That as to those who sheltered their 66 Cowardice

Cowardice under the Pretence of narrow Pastes, and " the Difficulty of procuring Provisions, he thought it argued no small Presumption in them, either to betray fuch a Distrust of their General's Conduct, or offer to of prescribe to him what he ought to do: That these & things fell properly under his Care: That the Sequani, Leuci, and Lingones were to furnish him with Provisions: That the Corn was now ripe in the Fields; and that themselves would soon be Judges as to what regarded the Ways: That the Report of the Army's refusing to obey him gave him not the least Disturbance; because he very well knew, that no General had ever been so far slighted by his Soldiers, whose ill Success, Avarice, or other Crimes, had not justly drawn that Misfortune upon him: That in all these Respects he fancied himself secure, as the whole Course of his Life would witness for his Integrity, and his good Fortune had shewn itself in the War against the Helvetians: That he was therefore resolved to execute without Delay, what he otherwise intended to have que put off a little longer; and would give Orders for decamping the very next Night, three Hours before Day, that he might as foon as possible know, whether Honour and a Sense of Duty, or an ignominious Cowar- . dice had the Ascendant in his Army: Nay, that should all the rest of the Troops abandon him, he would nevertheless march with the tenth Legion alone, of " whose Fidelity and Courage he had no Manner of Doubt, and which should serve him for his Pretorian Guard." Casar had always principally favoured this Legion, and placed his chief Confidence in it, on account of its Valour.

XXXII. This Speech made a wonderful Change upon the Minds of all, and begot an uncommon Alacrity and Eagerness for the War. The tenth Legion in particular, returned him thanks by their Tribunes, for the favourable Opinion he had expressed of them, and assured him of their readiness to follow him. Nor were the other Legions less industrious, by their Tribunes and principal Centurions, to reconcile themselves to Caesar; protessing they had never either Coubted or searce, nor ever imagined that it belonged to them, but to the Green in agriculture of the coupled to them, but to the Green in agriculture of the coupled to them, but to the Green in agriculture of the coupled to them, but to the Green in agriculture of the coupled to them, but to the Green in agriculture of the coupled to them, but to the Green in agriculture of the coupled to them, but to the Green in agriculture of the coupled to them, but to the Green in agriculture of the coupled to them, but to the Green in agriculture of the coupled to them, but to the Green in agriculture of the coupled to them, but to the Green in agriculture of the coupled to them.

neral, to direct in Matters of War. Having accepted of their Submission, and informed himself by Means of Divitiacus, in whom of all the Gauls he most consided, that by taking a Circuit of above forty Miles, he might avoid the narrow Passes, and lead his Army through an open Country; he set forward three Hours after Midnight, as he had said; and after a March of seven Days successively, understood by his Scouts, that he was within four and twenty Miles of Ariovistus's Camp.

XXXIII. ARIOVISTUS being informed of his Arrival, fent Ambassadors to acquaint him: "That he was now willing to accept of an Interview, as they were come nearer one another, and he believed it might be done without Danger." Cæsar did not decline the Proposal, imagining he was now disposed to listen to Reason, since he offered that of his own accord, which he had before refused at his Request: Neither was he without Hope, that in regard of the Benefits he had received, both from himself and the People of Rome, he would, upon knowing his Demands, deflit from his Obstinacy. The fifth Day after was appointed for the Interview. Mean-time, as Ambassadors were continually passing and repassing, .Trivistus, under Pretence that he was afraid of an Ambuicade, demanded: " That Cæsar should bring no In-" fantry with him to the Conference: That they should 66 both come attended by their Cavalry only: That otherwise he could not resolve to give him a meeting." Cafar unwilling to drop the Design of the Interview; but neither caring to trust his Safety to the Gauls; thought the best Way was, to dismount all the Gallick Cavalry, and give their Horses to the Soldiers of the tenth Legion, who had the greatest Share of his Confidence; that in case of Danger, he might have a Guard on which he could rely. This being done accordingly, one of the Soldiers of that Legion faid pleafantly enough, " That " Cæsur had done even more than he had promised; that he had only given them hopes of becoming his Preteries Guard; and now he had raised them to the " Rank of Horfe."

XXXIV. THER was a large Plain, and in the midst a rising Ground of considerable Height, equally dis-

SO CESAR' COMMENTARIES OF . Book I.

tant from both Camps. At this Place, by Appointment, the Conference was held. Confar stationed the legionary Soldiers, whom he had brought with him on the Horses of the Gauls, two-hundred Paces from the Mour.t. Arievistus did the same with the German Cavalry. Conversation was on horseback, each being accompanied by ten Friends or principal Officers, for so Ariovistus had desired. When they were come to the Place, Cafar began by putting him in mind of the Favours he had received both from himself and the People of Rome; "That he had been stiled Friend and Ally by the Senate; that very confiderable Presents had been sent him that these Honours, conferred by the Romans on very few, and only for fignal Services to the State, had yet been bestowed on him, not on account of any just-Claim on his Side, but merely by the Favour of Casar, and the Bounty of the Senate." He told him likewise, of the just and ancient Alliance between the Romans and the Æduans; of the many honourable Decrees of the Senate in their Favour: That they had always held the first Rank and Authority in Gaul, even before their Alliance with Rome: That it was the constant Maxim of the Roman People, not only to defend their Friends and Allies in the Possession of their just Rights, but. se likewise to study the Enlargement of their Honour, "Interest, and Dignity: That it could never therefore be supposed, they would submit to see them stript of " those Privileges which had belonged to them, before "they were received into their Friendship." In fine, he concluded with repeating the same Demands which he had before made by his Ambassadors; " That he would not make War upon the Æduans or their Allies; that he would restore their Hostages; that if he could not. ce oblige any of the Germans to repais the Rhine, at " least he would suffer no more of them to come into " Gaul."

mands, but enlarged greatly on his own Virtu's: "That he had croffed the Rhine, not of his own Motion, but invited and increated by the Gauls themselve: That the great Hopes and Expectations they had given him, had been his only Inducement to quit his Coum and

and Relations: That he had Settlements in Gaul af-66 figned, by the Gauls themselves; Hostages voluntarily 66 sent; and a Tribute in consequence of the Rights of ". War; it being the constant Practice of Conquerors, to impose that Mark of Subjection on those they had fubdued: That he had not made War upon the Gauls,... but the Gauls upon him: That though all their several States had united against him, and brought up their Forces with design to crush him, he had yet sound means to vanquish and disperse them in one Battle: That if they were again resolved to try the Fortune of War, he was ready and prepared to receive them; but 's if 'hey rather chose Peace, it was unjust in them to refuse a Tribute which they had hitherto voluntarily paid: That the Friendship of the People of Rome ought to be an Honour and Security to him, not a Detriment; nor had he courted it in any other View: but if by their Alliance he must submit to lose his Tributes, and his Right over the People he had subdued, he was no less willing to give it up, than he 66 had been ambitious to obtain it: That he had indeed brought over a Multitude of Germans into Gaul, yet not with any Design of disturbing the Country, but merely for his own Security; as appeared by his not coming but at the Request of the Natives; and his of not attacking them, but defending himself: That his Arrival in Gaul was prior to that of the Romans, whose Army had never till that time passed the Boundaries of their own Province. What could they mean by coming into a Country that belonged to him? Or why should they concern themselves with a Part of Gaul that was no less his Property, than the Province itself was that of the People of Rome? If it would not be allowable in him to make any Attempt upon their e Possessions, neither could they without Injustice disturb him in the Enjoyment of his Rights. That as to the Pretence of Alliance between the Romans and « Æduans, he was not fo much a Barbarian, nor io wholly a Stranger to the Affairs of the World, as not to know that neither had the Eduans assisted the Romans. in the late War against the A. lobrogians; nor receive any Assistance from them, in their many Cor sicts with himse fand the Sequani. That he ought

CASAR'S COMMENTARIES OF Book I

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"to be jealous of Cæsor's pretended Regard to the Æ-" duans; and had but too much Reason to suspect, that " the Continuance of the Foman Army in Guul could be with no other Design than that of oppressing him. "That if he did not therefore depart, and withdraw his "Troops out of those Parts, he would no longer look " upon him as a Friend, but an Enemy. That he was "well assured, should he even slay him in Battle, he " should do a Pleasure to many of the Nobles and great "Men at Rome, who had explained themselves to him by "Couriers, and whose Favour and Friendship he might " procure by his Death: but that if he would ratire, and leave him in the undiffurbed Possession of Gard, he would not only amply reward him, but engage, at his own Cost and Hazard, to put an end to any War " Cæsar should think fit to undertake."

XXXVI. MANY Reasons were offered by Cæsar, in return to this Speech, why he could not depart from his first Demands: "That neither his own Honour, nor that of the People of Rome, would suffer him to abandon Allies, who had deserved so well of the Commonwealth: That it no way appeared to him, wherein Ariovistus had a juster Claim to the Possession of Gaul than the Romans: That the Averni and Ruteni had been subdued by D. Fabius Maximus; who yet contented with their Submission, had neither reduced their Country into a Province, nor subjected it to a Tribute: That if Antiquity of Title was to decide, the Romans had an undoubted Right to the Sovereignty of Gaul: If, on the contrary, the Decree of the Senate was to take place, Gaul must remain free, and subject only to its own Laws."

XXXVII. WHILST these things passed at the Interview, Cosar was informed, that Ariovistus's Cavalry were drawing nearer the Mount, and had even assaulted the Romans with Stones and Darts. Casar immediately broke off the Conference, retreated to his own Men, and strictly charged them to forbear all Acts of Hostility towards the Energy. He did not fear the Success of an Action, with that chosen Legion, against the German Cavalry; but he was willing to naintain a Condust perticular

feetly clear, and not give the Enemy the least Handle to affert, that they had been treacherously drawn into an Ambuscade by a pretended Conference. When it was known in the Camp, with what Haugntines Arivoislus had behaved at the Interview; that he had ordered the Romans to depart out of Gaul; that his Cavalry had fallen upon Cassar's Guard; and that an End had thereby been put to the Conference; a much greater Alacrity and Defire of fighting spread themselves through the whole Army.

XXXVIII. Two Days after, Ariovistus sent Ambassadors to Cæsar, to propose a Renewal of the Negotiation begun; and that he would either again appoint a Day for a Conference, or depute some one to bring the Treaty to a Conclusion. Cofar saw no Reason for granting a fecond Interview, more especially when he considered, that the time before, the Germans could not be restrained from falling upon our Men. Neither was he inclined to send any of his principal Officers; it seeming too great a Venture, to expose them to the Perfidy of these Barbarians. He therefore cast his Eyes upon C. Valerius Procillus, the Son of C. Valerius Caburus, a young Man of great wlerit and Politeness, whose Father had been made free of the City by C. Valerius Flaccus. His fingular Inteority, and Knowledge of the Language of the Gauls, which Ariovistus, by reason of long Stay in those Parts, spoke readily, fitted him in a particular Manner for this Embaffy: and as he was likewise one towards whom it would no way avail the Germans to use any Treachery, he thought him less liable to an Insult of that Kind. M. Mettius was joined in Commission with him, who was alhed to Arjovistus by the Rights of Hospitality. Their Instructions were, to hear the German's Proposals, and carry back a Report of them to Cafar. But no fooner were they arrived in Ariovistus's Camp, than in Presence of the whole Army, calling out to know their Bufiness, and whether they were come as Spies, he commanded them to be put in I pns, without fuffering them to make any Reply.

his Forces, and lodged himself under a Hill, about his Miles from our Camp. The Day after he went two Miles

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Miles, beyond it, to cut off Cæsar's Communication with the Eduans and Sequan, from whom he received all his Provisions. Cafar, for five Days continually, drew up his Mer in order of Battle before the Camp, that if Ariovistus had a mind, he might not be without an Opportunity of coming to an Engagement. The Germans kept all that time vithin their Lines; only we had daily Skirmishes with their Cavalry, whose Manner of fighting was this: They had about fix Thousand Horse, who chose a like Number out of the Foot, each his Man, and all remarkable for Strength and Agility. These continually accompanied them in Battle, arid served as a Rear-guard, to which, when hard presset, they might retire: if the Action became dangerous, they advanced to their Relief: if any Horseman was considerably wounded, and fell from his Horse, they gathered round to defend him: if Speed was required, either for a hasty Pursuit, or sudden Retreat, they were become so nimble and alert by continual Exercise, that laying hold of the Mains of the Horses, they could run as fast as they.

XL. CESAR finding that Ariovistus declined a Battle, thought it necessary to provide for the Freedom of his Convoye. With this View he marked out a Place for a Camp, fix hundred Paces beyond that of the Enemy, whither he marched with his whole Army drawn up in three Lines. The first and second Line had Orders to continue under Arms, and the Third to employ themselves in sortifying the Camp. Ariovistus sent sixteen Thousand light-armed Foot, and all his Horse, to alarm our Men, and hinder the Work. But Casar remained firm to his first Design, ordering the two Lines that continued under Arms to keep off the Enemy, and the Third to go on with the Intrenchments. The Work being finished, he left two Legions there, with part of the Auxiliaries, and carried back the other four to his former Camp. The next Day he affembled all his Troops from both Camps, drew them up according to Custom, and c fered the Enemy Battle: but they still refusing to come oan Engagement, he retired again about Noon. Ariou, us then de-, tached part of his Forces to attack the leffer Camp. tharp Conflict ensued, that lasted till Night, set Ariovistus thought proper to sound a Retreat, many many Wounds given and received. Cafar inquiring of the Prisoners, why Ariovistus so obstinately resused an Engagement, sound, that it was the Custom among the Germans, for the Women to decide by Lots and Divination, when it was proper to hazard a Battle; and that these had declared, the Army could not be victorious if they sought before the new Moon.

XLI. THE Day after, Cafar having left a sufficient Guard in his two Camps, ranged all the auxiliary Troops before the lesser Camp, placing them directly in View of the Enemy for the greater Shew, because the Number of legionary Soldiers was but inconsiderable, compared with that of the Germans. Then advancing at the Head of all his Forces in three Lines, he marched quite up to the Enemy's Camp. Upon this the Germans, compelled by Necessity, appeared before their Intrenchments; and having distributed their Troops by Nations, and disposed them at equal Distances one from another the Harudes, Marcomani, Tribocci, Pangiones, Nemetes, Sedusians, and Suevians; encompassed the whole Army with a Line of Carriages, to take away all Hopes of Safety by Flight. The Women, mounted upon these Carriages, weeping and tearing their Hair, conjured the Soldiers as they advanced to Battle, not to suffer them to become Slaves to the Romans. A Cæsar having appointed a Lieutenant and Questor to each Legion, to serve as Witnesses of every Man's Courage and Behaviour, began the Battle in perfon at the Head of the right Wing, observing the Enemy to be weakest on that Side. The Signal being given, our Men charged fo brifkly, and the Enemy advanced fo swiftly and suddenly to meet them, that the Romans, not having time to throw their Darts, betook themselves immediately to their Swords. But the Germans quickly casting themselves into a Phalanx, according to the Custom of their Country, sustained the Shock with great Firmness. Many of our Soldiers leaped upon the Phalanx, tore up the Bucklers of the Enemy with their Hands, and vounded those that lay under them. Their Left Wing , as foon routed and put to flight; but on the right the, had the Advantage, and were like to overpower the Romans by their Numbers. Young Graffus, who commanded the Cavalry, and was more at liberty than those immediately engaged in the Fight, observing D 2 this,

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this, made the third Line advance to support them. Upon thiso the Battle was renewed, and the Enemy Flight till they had reached the Banks of the Rhine, about fifty Miles distant from the Place of Combat. There only a few escaped; some by iwimining, others by Boats. Of this last Number was Ariocustus, who embarking in a small Vessel he found by the Edge of the River, got safe to the other Side. All the Kett were cut to Pieces in the Pursuit by our Cavalry. Ariovistus had two Wives; one a Suevian. whom he had brought with him from Germany; the other a Norican, Sifter to King Vocion, whom he had married in Gaul. Both perished in this Flight. Of his two Daughters, one was killed, the other taken Prisoner. C. Vaierius Procillus, whom his Keepers dragged after them ir their Flight, bound with a triple Chain, fell in with Cæsar in person, as he was pursuing the German Cavalry. Nor was the Victory itself more grateful to that General, than his good Fortune in recovering out of the Hands of the Enemy a Man, the most distinguished for his Probity of the whole Province of Gaul, his intimate and familiar Friend; and to find the Joy and Success of that Day no way diminished or clouded, by the Loss of a Person he so highly esteemed. Procillus told him, that Lots had been thrice drawn in his own Presence, to decide whether he should be burnt alive upon the Spot, or referved for another Time; and that the Lot three Times favourable, had preserved nis Life. Mettius was likewise recovered and brought.

the Suevians, who were advanced as far as the Banks of that River, thought proper to return to their own Country. But retreating in Diforder and Confusion, they were attacked by the Ubians, a People bordering upon the Rhine, and many of them cut to Pieces. Cafar having in one Campaign put an End to two very confiderable Wars, went into Winter- warters somewhat sooner han the Season of the Year required. He distributed his Army among the Sequani, let Labienus to command in his Absence, and st out himself tor Cisalpine Gaul, to preside in the Assembly of the States.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in GAUL.

BOOK II.

THE ARGUMENT

The Confederacy of the Belgians against the People of Rome. III. The Rhemi submit upon the Approach of Ciesar. IV. And inform him of the Strength and Designs of the Confederates. VI. Cæsar passes the Axona with his Armiv. VII. Bibrax, a Town belonging to the Rhemi, assaulted by the Belgians. VIII. Cæsar relieves it, und obliges the Belgians to retire. IX. The Armies drawn up on both Sides, but without coming to an Engagement. XI. The Belgians, desparing of Success, decamp and return home. All. Cæsar attack their Rear, and makes great Slaughter. XIII. He then marches against the Suessiones, and obliges them to submit. XIV. Advancing next into the Country of the Bellovaci, he pardons them at the Intercession of Divitiacus. XVI. The Ambiani surrender, but the Nervians stand on their Defence. XXIII. They are defeated however in a long and Heady Engagement, and almost all cut off. XXIX. Caesar prepares to uttack the Atuatici. XXXI. They submit. XXXIII. But falling treacherously upon the Romans during the Night; XXXIV. Are many of them cut to Pieces, and the rest sold for Slaves.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's C. OMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in GAUL.

BOOK II.

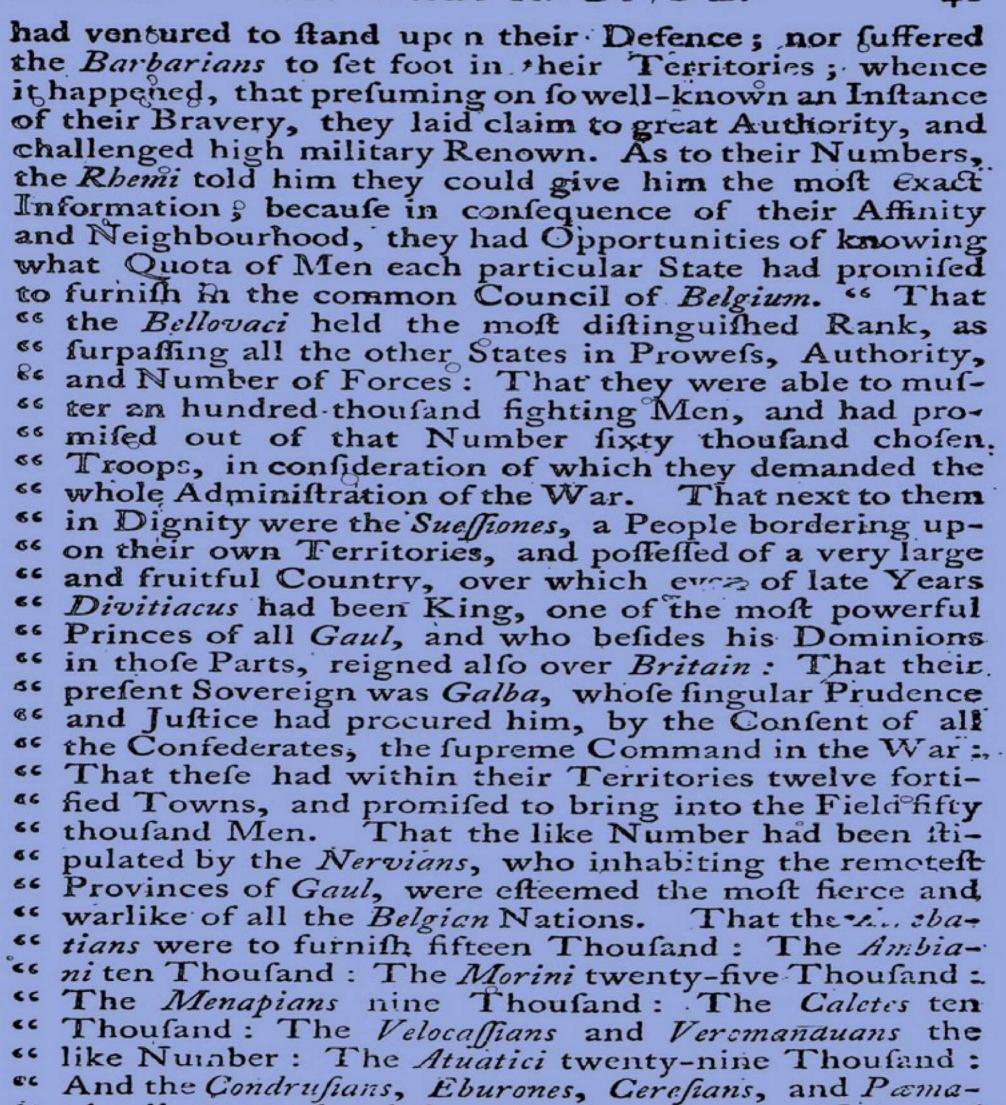
I. TN the Winter, whilst Cæsar was in Hither Gaul, as we have intimated above, he was alarmed by frequent Reports, which were also confirmed by Letters from Labienus, that all the Belgians, who, as has been faid, possessed one of the three Divisions of Gaul, had joined in a League against the People of Rome, and ratihed it by an Exchange of Hostages. The Causes of this Confederacy were: First, their Fear lest the Romans, having subdued all the rest of Gaul, should next turn their Arms against them: And then the Persuasions and Importunity of some among the Celtæ; many of whom, as they had greatly disliked the Neighbourhood of the Germans in Gaul, so were they no less displeased to see a Roman Army take up Winter-quarters and grow habitual in the Country: Others, from a Levity and Inconstancy of Temper, were fond of every Project that tended to a Revolution. In fine, some were influenced by ambitious Views, it being usual in Gaul, for such as were most powerful in their several States, and had Men and Money at command, to exercise a Kind of Sovereignty over their Fellow-subjects, which they foresaw would be greatly checked by the Authority and Credit of the Romans in Gaul.

II. CÆSAR, roused by these Messages and Reports, levied two new Legio is in Hither Gaul; and early in the Spring, sent 2. Pedius his Lieutenant to conduct D 4

them over the Alps. Hitnself, as soon as there began to be Forage in the Fields, cam: to the Army. He commissioned the Senones, and other Gauls who bordered on the Belgians, to inform themselves of the Motions and Designs of the Confederates, and send him from time to time an exact Account. They all agree in their Reports; that they were levying Troops, and drawing their Forces to a general Rendezvous. Whereupon thinking he ought no longer to delay marching against them, and having settled the necessary Supplies for his Army, he decamped, and in sisteen Days arrived on the Consines of the Belgians.

III. As his Approach was sudden, and much earlier than had been expected, the Rhemi, who of all the Belgians lay the nearest to Celtic Gaul, dispatched Iccius and Autobrigius, the two principal Men of their State, to represent to Cæsar: "That they put themselves and Fortunes under the Power and Protection of the Re-" mans, as having neither approved of the Designs of the rest of the Bullians, nor had any Share in their Confe-"deracy against the People of Rome: That on the con-"trary, they were ready to give Hostages, to execute his Commands, to receive him into their Towns, and to furnish him with Corn and other Supplies for his "Army: That indeed the rest of the Belgians were all in 66 Arms, and that the Germans on this Side the Rhine " had affociated with them: Nay, that so universal and or prevalent was the Infatuation, they had not even been able to draw off the Suessiones, a People united to them by the nearest Ties of Blood and Friendship, who were subject to the same Laws, lived under the same "Form of Government, and acknowledged but one " common Magistrate."

IV. Esar inquiring of the Ambassadors, what States had taken up Arms, of what Name and Consideration, and what Forces they could bring into the Field; found: That the Belgians were for the most part Germans originally, who having formerly crossed the Rhine, had been drawn by the Pertility of the Country to settle in those Parts, after driving out the ancient Inhabitants: That in the late Irruption of the Tentones and Cimbri, when all the other Provinces of Gaul were over-run, they alone



V. Cæsar exhorting the Men of Rheims to continue firm in their Alliance, and promiting amply to reward their Fidelity, ordered the whole Body of their Senate to repaid

" ni, all comprehended under the common Name of

Germans, forty Thousand.

C.ESAR'S COMMENTARIES OF Book II.

repair to his Camp, and the Sens of their principal Nobility to be brought him as Holtages; all which was accordingly performed by the Day appointed. He then addressed himself to Divitiacus the Eduan, representing in the warmest Manner, of what Consequence it was to the common Cause, to divide the Forces of the Enemy, that he might not be reduced to the Necessity of encountering so great a Multitude at once. This he told him, might easily be effected, if the Eduans would march their Forces into the Territories of the Bellovaci, to plunder and lay waste the Country With these Instructions he dismissed them.

VI. MEAN-TIME, being informed by his Scouts, and the Feople of Rheims, that all the Forces of the Belgians were marching towards him ir. a Body, and that they were even advanced within a few Miles, he made all the hafte he could to pass his Army over the Axona, which divides the Rhemi from the rest of the Belgians, and encamped on the farther Side of that River. By this Situation he secured all behind him, covered one side of his Camp with the River, and rendered the Communication with the Rhemi, and those other States, whence he expected to be supplied with Provisions, safe and easy. . Adjoining to his Camp was a Bridge over the River; there he placed a strong Guard, and left Q. Titurius Sabinus his Lieutenant on the other Side with fix Cohorts. He then drew round his Camp a Ditch eighteen Foot broad, strengthened with a Rampart twelve Foot high.

VII. THE Belgians in their March fell furiously upon Bibraze, a Town belonging to the Rhemi, about eight Miles distant from Cæsar's Camp. The Inhabitants with great Difficulty held out against that Day's Assault. The Manner of storming a Town is the same among the Belgians as among the Gauls: for having surrounded the Walls with the whole Body of their Army, and by a continual Discharge from their Slings cleared the Ramparts, they approach the Gates under covert of their Bucklers, and undermine the Walls. This was easy in the present Case; because the Multitude employed inthrowing Stones and Darts was so great, that none of the Garrison durst appear upon the Walls. When Night had put an end to the Assault, Leius, who then commanded

manded in the Town, a l'Ian of principal Rank and Authority among the Rhen i, and one of those who had come Ambassadors to Cæsar to treat about a Peace, dispatched Messengers to acquaint him, that unless he was speedily relieved, it would be impossible for him to hold out any longer.

VIII. HEREUPON Cæsar, making use of those for Guides who had come express to his Camp from Iccius, detached about Midnight a Party of Gretan and Numidian Archers, with some Balearean Slingers, to the Assistance of the Garrison. Their Arrival encouraged the Besieged to stand upon their defence, and inspired them with Hopes of repulsing the Enemy, who now began to despair of Success, when they heard that a Reinforcement had entered the Town. Wherefore, after a short Stay before the Place, having plundered all the Country round about, and burnt the Houses and Villages wherever they came, they marched in a Body towards Cæsar's Camp, and posted themselves within two Miles of his Army, inclofing a Space of more than eight thousand Paces in Circumference, as near as could be computed from the Smoke and Fires of their Camp.

IX. CESAR at first resolved to avoid coming to a Battle, as well on account of the Numbers of the Enemy as the high Opinion entertained of their Courage. He suffered the Horse however to engage daily in small Skirmishes, that he might the better judge of the Valour of the Belgian Troops, and the Resolution and Bravery of his own Men. Finding that the Romans were nothing inferior to the Enemy in Courage, he resolved es ...it for them before his Camp; the Ground being very commodious, and as it were formed by Nature for the Reception of an Army. For the Hill on which the Camp stood, rising with an easy Ascent from the Plain, was but just of a fufficient Breadth on the Side facing the Enemy, to receive the several Lines of the Army drawn up in Order On the right Hand and on the left the Defcent was steep; whereby the Mountain swelling in front, but gradually abating its Declivity as you advanced towards the Bottom, came at last to a Plain. Side of the Hill Gæsard ig a Trench of about four hundred Paces in length, at I built Forts at the Extremities,

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where he placed Engines to repulse the Enemy, should they offer to attack him it Flank, or endeavour, during the Fight, to surround him with their Numbers. There Dispositions being made, and having left the two new levied Legions in his Camp, as a Body of Reserve in case of Need, he drew up the other six in Order of Battle The Belgians likewise drew up their Troops, and stood fronting our Army.

X. Between Cafar and the Enemy there was a small Morais. The Belgians waited to see if we would pass it: Our Men on the other hand were ready in Arms, that should the Enemy attempt to come over, they might fall upon them, and take advantage of their Confusion. Mean-time the Cavalry on both Sides engaged > but as neither Army would hazard the Passage of the Morass, Cæsar, who had the better in the Skirmish of the Horse, led back his Men to their Camp. The Belgians marched directly towards the Axona, which, as we have said, lay behind on. Camp; and having found a Ford, endeavoured to pass over Part of their Army. Their Design was, if possible, to make themselves Masters of the Fort where Q. Titurius commanded, and break down the Bridge; or, should they fail in that Attempt, to ravage and lay waste the Territories of the Rhemi, whence our Army was supplied with Provisions.

XI. CÆSAR being informed of these things by Titurius, crossed the Bridge with his Cavalry, light-armed Numidians, Archers, and Slingers, and marched to attack the Enemy. A very sharp Conflict ensued: for the Romans falmig upon them while they were yet passing the River, and by reason of their Disorder unable to defend themfelves, flew great Numbers. The rest, who with undaunted Courage advanced upon the Bodies of their Companions, were repulsed by the Multitude of Darts from our Men; and the Cavalry furrounding those that were already got over, put them all to the Sword. The Belgians being thus disappointed, both in their Design upon Bibrax, and th Passage of the Axona; finding too that Provisions began to be scarce, and that our Army could not be drawn to fight them at a Difadvantage, called a Council of War. It was there judged most expedient to separate, and return every Man to his own Country; With

in defence of that State whose Territories should be first invided by the Romans: tor they concluded it much safer to carry on the War at home, where they might have Provisions and every thing at command, than venture a Battle within the Confines of a foreign State. These Reasons were at the same time backed by a still more powerful Consideration: for the Bellovaci having Intell gence that Divitiacus and the Eduans were advancing towards their Territories, could not be restrained from marching directly homewards, to defend their own Country.

XII. This Resolution being taken; about the second Watch, of the Night, they left their Camp with great Noise and Tumult, regarding neither the Order of their March, nor the due Subordination of Command, but each Man pressing for the foremost Rank, that he might get the sooner home, insomuch that their Retreat had all the Appearance of a precipitate Flight. Cafar, who had immediate Notice of this from his Spres, apprehending some Stratagem, because he as yet knew nothing of the Reason of their Departure, would not stir out of his Tren-But early in the Morning, upon more certain Intelligence of their Retreat, he detached all the Cavalry, under Q. Pedius and L. Arunculeius Cotta, his Lieutenants, to harass and retard them in their March. T. Labienus had Orders to follow with three Legions. These falling upon their Rear, and pursuing them many Miles, made a dreadful Slaughter of the flying Troops. Whilst the Rear, upon finding themselves attacked, faced about, and valiantly sustained the Charge of our Men; the Vanguard, as fancying themselves out of Danger, were not to be restrained either by Neccssity or the Voice of their Commanders, but upon hearing the Alarm behind them, broke their Ranks, and betook themselves to Hight. Thus the Romans, with little or no Loss on their Side, continued the Slaughter all the remaining Part of the Day. About Sun-set they gave over the Pursuit, and in Obedience to the Orders they had received, returned to their Camp.

XIII. THE next Da, before the Enemy had Time to rally, or recover out o their Consternation, Casar led his

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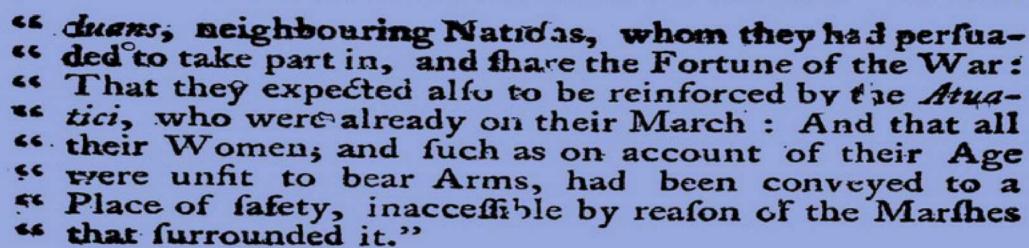
his Army into the Territories of the Sueffiones, which join to those of the Rhemi; and after a long March reached Noviodunum. He was in Hopes of carrying the Town by Assault, because he understood it was destitute of a Garrison: but as the Ditch was broad, and the Wall very high, the Defendants, though few in Number, withstood all his Efforts. Wherefore having fortified his Camp, he began to provide Engines, and get every thing in readiness for a Siege. Mean-time such of the Sueffiones as had escaped the late Slaughter, threw themselves during the Night into the Town. But Cæsar advancing his Preparations with great Expedition, and approaching under Cover of his Mantelets to the very Walls, where he cast up a Mount, and planted his battering Towers; auls, astonished at the Greatness of the Works, as having never feen or heard of any fuch before, and at the Difpatch wherewith they were carried on, sent Deputies to treat about a Surrender, and by the Mediation of the Rhemi obtained Conditions of Peace.

XIV. CESAR having received the principal Men of their State as Hostages, amongst whom were the two Sons of Galba, their King; and obliged them to deliver up all their Arms, admitted the Suessiones to a Surrender, and led his Army against the Bellovaci. These retiring with their Effects into Bratuspantium, their capital City, and understanding that Cæsar was advanced within five Miles of the Town, sent a Deputation of all their old Men, who came forth in venerable Procession to meet him, signifying by out-stretched Hands, and in the most submitfive Terms, that they put themselves under his Power and Detection, nor pretended to appear in Arms against the People of Rome: and when he approached still nearer the City, and encamped within View of the Walls, the Women and Children from the Ramparts, with extended Arms, according to the Custom of their Country, hefought the Romans for Peace.

XV. HEREUPON Divitiacus, who after the Retreat of the Belgian Arn y, had difmissed the Eduans, and returned to Caesar's Camp, interposed in their Behalf, representing: "That the Bellovaci had always lived in strict Friendship and Alliance with the Eduans of That the artful Insinuations of their Chiefs, who misrepresent-

ed Cafar, as one that had enflaved the Æduan State, " and held it under an ignominious Tyranny and Opor pression, had alone induced them to forfake their ancient Allies, and take up Arms against the People of "Rome: That the Authors of this Advice, feeing its es pernicious Effects, and the Ruin they had brought upon their Country, were retired into Britain: That not only the Bellovaci themselves, but the Æduans too, " in their Behalf, implored his Clemency and Forgiveness: That in granting their Request, he would great-" ly enlarge the Credit and Authority of the Æduans among the Belgian States; which was of so much the greater Moment, as in all their Wars they were wont to have recourse to them for Assistance."- Casar, out of Regard to Divitiacus and the Æduans, promised to grant them Pardon and Protection; but as they were posfessed of very extensive Territories, and surpassed in Power and Number of Forces all the other Belgian States, he demanded fix hundred Hoftages.

XVI. THESE being accordingly derivered, together with all their Arms, Cæsar left their City, and advanced into the Country of the Ambiani; who submitted immediately upon his Approach. Adjoining to them were the Nervians; of whose Manners and Genius Cafar inquiring, found: "That they suffered no Resort of " Merchants into their Cities, nor would allow of the "Importation of Wine, or other Commodities tending to Luxury; as imagining that thereby the Minds of Men were enfeebled, and their martial Fire and Cou-" rage extinguished: That they were Men of a warlike "Spirit; but altogether unacquainted with the P-5-2ments of Life: that they continually inveighed against the rest of the Belgians, for ignominiously submitting " to the Roman Yoke, and abandoning the steady Bra-" very of their Ancestors: In fine, that they had open-" If declared their Resolution, of neither sending Ambassadors to Cæsar, nor accepting any Terms of Peace." Cafar, after a March of three Days cross their Territories, understood from some Prisoners: " That he was now advanced within ten Miles of the Sambre, on the other Side of which the Enemy had posted themselves, and there waited the Coming up of the Romans: That they had been joined by the Atrebatians and Veroman-" duans.



XVII. CESAR, upon this Intelligence, sent his Scouts and Centurions before, to choose out a convenient Place for his Camp. Mean-time, as many of the Belgians who had lately submitted, and also not a few Gauls, followed the Roman Army; some of these, as was afterwards known from the Prisoners, observing the Order and Disposition of our March, deserted in the Night to the Enemy, and informed them: " That the feveral Legions were separated from one another, by a Number of Carriages posted between them: that they would therefore have a favourable Opportunity, as foon as the first Legion was arrived in the Camp, and while the rest were yet a great way behind, of falling upon " it incumbered with the Baggage, and obtaining an easy Victory; by which, and the Plunder of the Carriages, they would strike such a Terror through the whole Army, as must necessarily draw after it a total "Defeat." This Advice was the more readily listened to, because of old the Nervians, being very weak in Horse, (nor even as yet have they greatly increased their Strength this way, placing their whole Confidence in their Foot, in order to secure themselves against the Inroads of the Garaly of the neighbouring Nations, had every where fortified the Country with Barricades of young Trees; which being split in the Middle, and bent down on both Sides; the void Spaces were so closely interwoven with Brambles, Thorns, and a Multitude of Boughs, issuing from the Trees theniselves, that they formed a Fence not only impossible to be passed, but even to be seen through. As these therefore must greatly impede and perplex the March of the Roman Army, they thought the Advice given them by the Belgians was by no means to be neglected.

XVIII. The Place chosen by our Men for their Camp

was a Hill, running with an even Descent from the Summit till it reached the Banks of the Sambre. Directly opposite to this, on the farther Side of the River, and at the Distance of about two hundred Paces, was another Hill, of a like Acclivity with the former, plain and open round the Bottom, but covered on the Top with Woods, so thick that they hindered the Prospect. Among these Woods the Enemy lay concealed, and only a few Squadrons of Horse appeared on the open Ground by the River-side, whose Depth in that Place did not exceed three Foot.

XIX. CESAR having sent the Cavalry before, followed himself with the rest of the Army. But the Order and Disposition of his March differed from the Account given in to the Enemy by the Belgians. For knowing that the Nervians were near, he led up fix Legions in front, ready equipped for Battle, according to his usual Custom. After them followed the Baggage of the whole Army; and then the two new Legions, who closed the March and served as a Guard to the Carriages. Meantime the Roman Cavalry, with the Slingers and Archers, having passed the River, engaged the Enemy's Horse: but as they retired from time to time into the Woods, and again sallied upon our Men, who durst not pursue them beyond the open Ground; the fix Legions that formed the Van coming up during these successive Rencounters, began to intrench themselves. When the first Line of our Carriages appeared within Sight of those that lay concealed in the Woods, which was the Time previously concerted by the Enemy for giving the Onfet, the Nervians, who stood ready drawn up within the Thicket, and had mutually exhorted one another to a resolute Behaviour, rushed suddenly forward with all their Forces, and fell furiously upon our Cavalry. These being easily repulsed and broken; they ran down with incredible Speed to the Sambre, infomuch that at one and the same Instant, they seemed to be in the Woods, in the River, and charging our Men on the other Side. Nor were they less expeditious in mounting the Hill, and attacking those who were employed in fortifying the Camp.

XX. Now had Casar all the Parts of a General upon nis Hands at once: to exect the Standard, which was the E Signal

Signal for the Men to fly to Arms: to proclain the Battle by Sound of Trumpet: to draw off the Soldiers from the Works: to recal those that were gone to fitch Materials for the Rampart: to draw up the Army in Order of Battle: to encourage his Men: and give the Word of Onset: in most of which he was prevented by the shortness of the Time, and the Judden Aslault of the Enemy. In this Emergency, two Things chiefly contributed to the Preservation of the Romans: one, the Ability and Experience of the Soldiers, who, practifed in former Battles, knew their Duty, and what was expedient in the present Conjuncture, no less than the Officers themfelves: the other, the Orders given by Cæsar to his several Lieutenants, not to quit the Works, and the Legions where they commanded, till the Fortifications of the Camp were finished. For these, upon seeing the Danger, and sudden Approach of the Enemy, waited not for new Instructions from the General, but gave forth fuch Orders, as their own Prudence, and the present Necessity suggested.

XXI. Cæsar having made the necessary Dispositions. ran to encourage his Men; and, as Chance ordered it fell in with the tenth Legion. When exhorting them ir. few Words to exert their wonted Bravery, and manfully fustain the Assault without Terror or Dismay; as he saw the Enemy within reach of Dart, he gave the Signal to engage. Hastening thence to another Quarter of the Field, he found the Battle already begun. So short was the Time allowed us to prepare ourselves, and such the Resolution and Impetuosity of the Nervians in rushing to the Encounter, that neither could the Officers find Leifure to regulate the Enfigns, nor the Soldiers to put on their Helmets, or uncase their Targets. Each Man, as he arrived from the Works, joined himself to the first Standard that came in his Way, that he might not lose that Time in looking for his own Company, which was to be employed in fighting the Enemy

XXII. THE Army being drawn up, rather according to the Nature of the Place, the Declivity of the Hill, and the particular Necessity of the Time; than agreeable to Order and the Rules of War: is the Legions were force to engage separately, some in one Place, some in and there

ther; and the View of the Fight was every where interrupted by the thick Hedges described above e it was not
possible in these Circumstances, to distinguish with any
Certainty, where to send the necessary Supplies; how to
provide against the Exigencies of the Field; nor indeed
for one Man to have an Eye to all the Occurrences that
called for Notice and Redress. In such an unequal Situation of Things therefore, much Room was left for the
various Events and Interposition of Fortune.

XXIII. THE Soldiers of the ninth and tenth Legions, who were upon the left ofothe Army, having cast their Darts, advanced against the Atrebatians, with whom it was their Fortune to engage. These now weary, breathless, and overpowered with Wounds, were quickly driven from the higher Ground quite back to the Sambre, where the Romans, still pressing them Sword in Hand, slew great Numbers as they endeavoured to pass the River. Nor did our Men decline pursuing them to the other Side: but following too far, till they were drawn into a Place of Disadvantage, the Enemy suddenly faced about, and renewed the Charge; yet were a second Time obliged to betake themselves to Flight. So likewise, in another Quarter of the Field, the eleventh and eight Legions, having overthrown the Veromanduans, against whom they fought, drove them from the higher Ground to the very Banks of the River.

XXIV. As by this Means the Front, and left Side of the Raman Camp, lay in a Manner quite exposed; for the twelfth Legion, and not far from that the Seventh, were posted in the right Wing: the Nervians, headed by Bidungnatus their King, advanced thither in a close Body; and whilst one Party endeavoured to surround the Legions, by taking them in Flank, the rest mounted the Hill in order to get possession of the Camp. At the same Time our Cavalry, with the light-armed Insancry, who in the very Beginning of the Fingagement had been repulsed and broken, as we have related above; returning to the Camp, and meeting the Finency in Front, again betook themselves to Fright. The creates too of the Army, who from the Top of the Hill had beheld our Mentorious, and pursuing the Enemy cross the River; having sallied out for the Sake of Plunder; when they

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now booked back, and faw the Nervians in possession of the Camp, fled with the utmost Precipitation. This Confution was still more increased by the Clamour and Uproar of those that attended the Carriages; insomuch that the Panick spreading on all Sides, each Man thought of providing for his Safety by Flight. The Cavalry of Treves, who were in the highest Esteem among the Gauls for their Valour, and had been fent by the State to reinforce Cæsur's Army; alarmed by these several Appearances: when they faw our Camp filled with Multitudes of the Enemy; the Legions overpowered, and in a Manner quite surrounded; the Horse, Archers, Slingers, and Numidians, routed, dispersed, and flying on all Hands: imagining all was lost, returned to their own Country, and reported, that the Romans were utterly overthrown, and their Camp and Baggage in roffession of the Enemy.

XXV. CESAR having encouraged the tenth Legion, haftened to the right Wing of the Army. He there found his Men overpowered by the Enemy; the Enfigns of the twelfth Legion all crowded into one Place, and the Soldiers themselves standing so close together, that they had not Room to use their Arms; all the Centurions of the fourth Cohort flain, the Standard-bearer killed, and the Standard taken; the Centurions of the other Cohorts almost all either killed or dangerously wounded; among there P. Sextius Baculus, the first Centurion of the Legion, a Man of great Courage, so weakened by the Multitude of his Wounds, that he was hardly able to support himfelf; the rest discouraged and avoiding the Fight, and tonie even running away, because abandoned by the I roops that were to fustain them; the Enemy preffing vigoroully in Front from the lower Ground, and at the time Time flanking the Legions on either Side with great Fury; in a Word, Things reduced to the last Extremity, and no Body of Referve to restore the Battle. Whereupon matching a Buckler from a Soldier who stood in the Rear of the Legion, for he himfelf was come thither without one; and preffing to the Front of the Battle; he called the Centurios. by Name, encouraged the reft, and commanded the Soldiers to advance the Enfigns, and widen then Ranks, that they might be the more at Laberty moute their Swords. His Arrival inspiring the Men with Hope,

Hope, and reviving their Courage, as every one was ambitious of distinguishing himself in the Presence of his General, and even in his greatest Extremity, redoubled his Efforts; the Progress of the Enemy was a little checked.

XXVI. Cæsar observing that the seventh Legion, which fought at some Distance from the other, was likewife very much prefled by the Enemy, commanded the military Tribunes to draw the two Legions together by Degrees, and joining them Back to Back, oppose the Enemy with a double Front. This being done; as they were now in a Condition to support each other, and no longer feared being furrounded, they began to make a more vigorous Opposition, and fight with greater Courage. Mean-time the two new Legions that formed the Rear of our Army, and had been appointed to guard the Baggage; hearing of the Battle, advanced with all possible Speed, and were feen by the Nervians from the Top of the Hill: and T. Labienus, who had made himfelf Master of the Enemy's Camp, observing from the higher Ground how Matters went on our Side, detached the tenth Legion to our Assistance. These understanding, by the Flight of our Cavalry and Servants, the Distress we were in, and the Danger that threatened the Camp, the Legions, and the General, made all the Haste they could to join us.

XXVII. THE Arrival of this Detachment produced so great a Change in our Favour, that many of the Soldiers, who before lay oppressed with Wounds, now refuming Courage, and supporting themselves with their Shields, renewed the Fight. Nay, the very Servants of the Camp, observing the Consternation of the Enemy, marmed as they were, rushed amongst their armed Bat-The Lavalry too, striving by extraordinary Efforts of Valour to wipe away the Ignominy of their late Flight, charged the Enemy in all Places where the void Spaces between the Legions suffered them to advance. Me in-time the Nervians, though now reduced to the last Extremity, exerted themselves with luch determined Courage, that their front Ranks being cut off, those who it sod behind mounted the bodies of the flain, and thence continued to maintain the Fight; and when these too by E 3 their

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their Fall had raifed a Mountain of Carcases, such as remained ascending the Pile, poured their Javelins upon us as from a Rampart, and even returned the Darts thrown at them by our Men. Fame therefore deceived not in proclaiming so loudly the Bravery of a People, who thus adventured to cross a very broad River, climb the steepest Banks, and rush upon an Enemy possessed of all the Advantages of Ground: Difficulties, which though seemingly unsurmountable, appeared yet as nothing to Men of their Resolution and Magnanimity.

XXVIII. THE Battle being ended, and the Name and Nation of the Nervians in a Manner quite extinguished; the old Men, who with the Women and Children, as we have related above, had been conveyed into a Place furrounded with Bogs and Marshes; hearing of this terrible Overthrow, and judging that nothing would now be able to stop the Progress of the Conquerors, or protect the Conquered from their victorious Arms, refolved, with the Confent of all that survived the late Disaster, to fend Ambasiadors to Casar, and surrender themselves. These, in reciting the Calamities of their Coun try, represented: That of fix hundred Senators, there remained only three; and that from fixty thousand, fighting Men, they were reduced to five Hundred. Ca far, as a Proof of his Compassion towards this brave and unfortunate People, readily took them under his Protection, allowing them free and full Possession of their Towns and Territories, and strictly commanding all the neighbouring Nations to abstain from Injuries and Wrongs,

XXIX. The Atuatici, of whom Mention has been made above, being upon their March with all their Forces to join the Nerviaus, and hearing of their Defeat, immediately returned home: when aban loning all their other Towns and Caffles, they conveyed themselves and their Riches into a Place of great Strength, which Nature had fortified with uncommon Care. For it was on every Side forrounded with high Rocks and Precipices, having only ore Avenue of about two hundred Foot broad, that approached the Town with a gentle Rising. Here they raised a double Vall of prodigious Height, whereon, as a farther Security, they laid great Numbers of

huge Stenes, and strong pointed Beams. This People were descended from the Teutones and Cimbri, who in their March towards the Alps and Italy, lest their heavy Baggage on this Side the Rhine, with a Detachment of fix thousand Men to guard it. These, after the final Overthrow of their Countrymen, being for many Years harassed and persecuted by the neighbouring States; sometimes invading others, sometimes defending themselves; at last, with the Consent of all the bordering Nations, obtained Peace, and chose this Place for a Habitation.

XXX. On the first Arrival of the Roman Army, they made frequent Sallies from the Town, and engaged our Men in small Skirmishes. But Casar having drawn a Line of Contravallation, twelve Feet high, fifteen Miles in Circumference, and every where well fortified with Redoubts; they kept themselves within their Walls. When we had now finished our Approaches, cast up a Mount, and were preparing a Tower of Affault behind the Works; they began at first to deride us from the Battlements, and in reproachful Language ask the Meaning of that prodigious Engine, raised at such a Distance! With what Hands or Strength, Men of our Size and make, (for the Gauls, who are for the most part very tall, despise the small Stature of the Romans,) could hope to bring forward fo unwieldy a Machine against their Walls?

XXXI. But when they faw it removed and approaching near the Town, aftonished at the new and unusual Appearance, they sent Ambassadors to Cæsar to successor Peace. These being accordingly introduced, told him: That they doubted not but the Romans were aided in their Wars by the Gods themselves; it seeming to them a more than human Task, to transport with such Facility an Engine of that amazing Height, by which they were brought upon a Level with their Enemies, and enabled to engage them in close Fight. That they therefore put themselves and Fortunes into his Hands, requesting only, that if his Clemency and Goodness, of which they had neard so much from others, had determined him to spare the Atmetici, he

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he would not deprive them of their Arms: That the neighbouring Nations were almost all their Enemies, as envying their superior Valour; nor would it be possible for them to defend themselves from their Attacks, if their Arms were taken away: In fine, that if such must be their Fate, they would rather choose to undergo any Fortune from the Hands of the Romans, than expose themselves to be cruelly butchered by those over whom they had been wont to exercise Dominion."

XXXII. To this Cæsar replied: "That in regard of his usual Conduct on these Occasions, rather than for any Merit of theirs, he was willing to grant them Terms of Peace, provided they submitted before the 66 Battering-ram touched their Walls; but that no "Surrender would be accepted unless they agreed to "deliver up their Arms: That he would take the same "Care of them as he had before done of the Nervians, and lay his express Commands upon the neighbouring "Nations, to abstain from all Injuries towards a People who had put themselves under the Protection of the " Romans." The Ambassadors returning with this Anfwer to their Countrymen, they accepted in Appearance the Conditions offered them by Cæsar, and threw so vast a Quantity of Arms into the Ditch before the Town, that the Heap almost reached to the Top of the Wall. Nevertheless, as was afterwards known, they retained about a third Part, and concealed them privately within the Town. The Gates being thrown open, they enjoyed Peace for the remaining Part of that Day.

XXXIII. In the Evening Cæsar ordered the Gates to be shut, and the Soldiers to quit the Town, that no Injury might be offered to the Inhabitants during the Night. Whereupon the Atuatici, in consequence of a Design they had before concerted, imagining that the Romans, after the Surrender of the Place, would either set no Guard at all, or at least keep Watch with less Precaution: partly aiming themselves with such Weapons as they had privately retained, partly with Targets made of Bark or Wicker, and covered over hastily with Hides; made a surious Sally about Midnight with all

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their Forces, and charged our Works on that Side where they seemed to be of easiest Access.

XXXIV. THE Alarm being immediately given by lighting Fires, as Cæfar had before commanded, the Soldiers ran to the Attack from the neighbouring Forts. A very sharp Conslict ensued: for the Enemy, now driven to Despair, and having no Hope but in their Valour, fought with all possible Bravery, though the Romans had the Advancage of the Ground, and poured their Javelins upon them both from the Towers and the Top of the Rampart. About four Thousand were slain upon the Spot, and the Rest obliged to retire into the Town. Next Day the Gates were forced, no one offering to make the least Resistance; and the Army having taken possession of the Place, the Inhabitants, to the Number of sifty-three Thousand, were fold for Slaves.

XXXV. ABOUT the same Time P. Crassus, whom Cæsar had sent with a Legion against the Venetians, Unellians, Ossimians, Guriosolitæ, Sesuvians, Aulerci, and Rhedones, maritime States inhabiting along the Seacoast; dispatched Messengers to acquaint him, that all these Nations had submitted to the Dominion and Authority of the Romans.

XXXVI. THE Campaign being ended, and all the Provinces of Gaul subdued; such was the Opinion conceived of this War amongst all the Barbarians round about, that even the Nations beyond the Rhine sent Ambassadors to Cæsar, offering to give Hostages, and submit to his Commands. But he being then Hasse to return to Italy and Illyricum, ordered them to attend him the next Spring. Mean-time, having disposed his Army into Winter-quarters in the Territories of the Andes, Turnes, and Carnutes, which States lay the nearest to the Provinces that had been the Seat of the War, he himself set out for Italy. The Senate being informed of these Successes by Cæsar's Letters, decreed a Thanksgiving of fifteen Days: a Number never allowed to any General before.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in GAUL.

BOOK III.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. The Nantuates, Veragrians. and Seduni, fall unexpeetedly upon Ser. Galba, Cafar's Lieutenant. III. But are overthrown with great Slaughter. VI. Galba leads back his Legion into the Country of the Allobrogians. VII. At the same Time the Venetians and other States bordering upon the Ocean revolt. IY. Cæsar prepares to attack them, not without great Difficulty. X. He divides his Army, and distributes it into the several Provinces of Gaul. XII. The Advantages of the Venetians, and the Manner of their Defence. XIII. A Description of their Shipping, and its Suitableness to the Nature of the Coast. XIV. Cæsar finding it in vain to attack them by Land, comes to a naval Engagement with them, and gets the Victory. XVII. Mean-time Q. Titurius Sabinus, his Lieutenant, by an artful Stratagem defeats the Unellians. XXI. At the same Time P. Crassius in Aquitain, having vanquished the Sotiates, obliges them to Submit, XXIV. Together with Several other States of the same Province. XXIX. Cæsar attacks the Morini and Menapians with Success; but the Season being far advanced, he is obliged to send his Army into Winter-quarters.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in GAUL.

BOOK III.

I. CESAR, upon his Departure for Italy, sent Ser-gius Galba with the twelfth Legion and Part of the Cavalry, against the Nantuates, Veragrians, and Seduni, whose Territories extend from the Confines of the Allobrogians, the Lake Lemanus, and the River Rhone, all the Way to the Top of the Alps. His Design in this Expedition was to open a free Passage over those Mountains to the Roman Merchants, who had hitherto travelled them with great Danger, and subject to many grievous Exactions. Galba, whose Orders also were, to put the Legion into Winter-quarters in those Parts, if he faw it necessary; after some successful Encounters, and making himself Master of several Forts, was addresfed by Ambassadors from all Nations round. Having fettled the Terms of Peace, and received Hostages for their Fidelity; he resolved to quarter two Cohorts among the Nantuates; and himself, with the other Cohorts, to winter in a Town of the Veragrians, called Octodurus. . This Town, which is fituated in the Midst of a Valley, upon a Plain of no great Extent, is bounded on all Sides by very high Mountains. As it was divided into two Parts by a River, he left one Part to the Gauls, and assigned the other to his Legion for their Winter-quarters, commanding it to be fortified with a Ditch and Rampart.

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II. AFTER many Days spent here, and that Orders had been given for the bringing in of Corn to supply the Camp; he was suddenly informed by his Spies, that the Gauls had abandoned in the Night that Part of the City allotted to them, and that the impending Mountains were covered with great Multitudes of the Veragrians and Seduni. Many Reasons conspired to induce the Gauls to this sudden Resolution of renewing the War, and falling upon our Men. First, the small Number of the Roman Troops, who were therefore despised by the Enemy, as not amounting in all to one Legion; two entire Cohorts having been detached, and even of those that remained with Galba, many being gone out in quest of Provisions: And then their Persuasion, that by Reason of the Inequality of the Ground, where it would be easy for them to pour upoi. us from the Tops of the Mountains, and overwhelm us with their Darts, our Men would not be able to stand the very first Asfault. Add to all this their inward Regret, at seeing their Children torn from them under the Name of Hostages; and that they firmly believed it to be the Design of the Romans, in seizing the Summits of the Mountains, not only to open a free Passage over the Alps, but to secure to themselves the perpetual Possession of those Parts, and annex them to the adjoining Province.

III. UPON this Intelligence Galba, who had neither completed the Fortifications of his Camp, nor laid in sufficient Store of Corn and other Provisions; as little apprehending an Insurrection of this Kind, among a People that had submitted and given Hostages; having speedily assembled a Council of War, began to ask their Advice in the present Exigence. As the Danger which threatened them was sudden and unexpected, and as they faw the Mountains on every Side overed with Multitudes of armed Soldiers; infomuch that there was no Room to hope, either for Succours, or any Convoys of Provision, because the Enemy were in Possession of all the Avenues to the Camp: Some believing the Case to be altogethe. desperate, proposed. to abandon the Baggage, and attempt by a Sally the Recovery of their old Quarters. But the greater Number were for referring this Expedient to the last Extremity,

Extremity, and in the Mean-time to wait the Decision of Fortune, and in the best Manner they were able defend the Camp.

IV. AFTER a short Space, and even before there was sufficient Time for the putting in execution what had been resolved on; the Enemy, at a Signal given, came rushing upon us from all Parts, and begun the Assault by a Shower of Stones and Darts. Our Men at first made a brave and vigorous Resistance, plying them with their Javelins from the Ramparts, whence not a single Weapon was discharged in vain: And as any Part of the Camp appeared hard pressed for want of Men to defend it, thither they ran, and made head against the Assailants. But in this the Gauls had greatly the Advantage, that when fatigued with the Length of the Fight, they found themselves under a Necessity to retire, fresh Men succeeded in their Place; whereas on our Side, by reason of the small Number of Troops, no Resource of this Kind was left: So that not only such as were wearied with fighting were yet obliged to continue in their Posts; but we could not even permit the Wounded to retire, or for a Moment abandon the Charge.

V. THE Battle had now lasted upwards of fix Hours without Intermission; insomuch that the Romans not only found their Strength greatly exhausted, but even began to be in want of Weapons, wherewith to annov the Enemy. The Gauls, on the other Hand, urged the Combat with greater Fury than ever; and meeting with but a faint Resistance, fell to demolishing the Rampart, and filling up the Dirch. All was giving way before them, when P. Sextius Baculys, a Centurion of the first Rank, the same who, as we have related above, received fo many Wo .nds in the Battle against the Nervians; as likewise C. . 'olusenus, a military Tribune, one equally distinguished for his Conduct and Bravery; came to Galba, and represented: That the only Refuge now left, was by a fudden Sally, to put all upon the Islue of a bol Attack. Accordingly Galba calling the Centu-·rions together, by them gave immediate Notice to the Soldiers, to keep for some Time only on the defensive; and having provided themselves with the Weapons thiown

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thrown at them by the Enemy, and a little recovered their Strength, upon a Signal given, to fally out of the Camp, and place all their Hopes of Safety in their Valour. 1. These Orders were exactly followed: And the Romans rushing furiously upon the Enemy, from all Parts, neither gave them Time to comprehend the Meaning of so unexpected an Attack, nor to recover out of the Confusion into which it had thrown them. Fortune changing Sides, they every where furrounded and put to the Sword the Gauls, who had so rately entertained Hopes of mastering our Camp. Of thirty thoufand armed Troops, which Number, as appeared afterwards, were present in this Assault, more than ten Thousand perished in the Field. The rest sled in great Terror and Confusion, and were even forced to abandon the Summits of the Mountains. The Romans feeing the Enemy entirely dispersed, and obliged every where to throw down their Arms, quitted the Pursuit, and retired within their Intrenchments.

VI. AFTER this Battle; Galba, unwilling a fecond Time to expose himself to the Inconstancy of Fortune, and besides considering, that he had met with an Opposition he little expected, when he first resolved to winter in these Parts: Above all, finding himself in great want of Corn and Forage; the next Day set fire to the Town, and began his March back into the Province. As there was no Enemy in the Field to disturb or oppose him in his Retreat, he brought the Legion safe into the Country of the Nantuates, and thence into the Territories of the Allobrogians, where he put them into Winterquarters.

VII. THE Infurrection being thus entirely quelled, Cafar for many Reasons believed, that Gaul was now restored to a State of Tranquillity. The Belians had been overcome, the Germans expelled, and the Scauni, and other Inhabitants of the Alps, forced to submit. He therefore in the Beginning of Winter ventured upon a Progress into Illyricum, from a Desire he had to visit those Nations, and acquaint himself with the Country: when all on a sudden a new War broke out in Gauk. The Occasion of it was as follows: The seventh Legion, commanded by young Crassus, was quartered among the

Andes, a People bordering upon the Ocean. As there was great Scarcity of Corno in these Parts, Crassus sent some Officers of the Cavalry, and military Tribunes, to solicit a Supply from the neighbouring States. Of this Number were T. Terrasidius, sent to the Eusubians; M. Trebius Gallus, to the Curiosolitæ; and Q. Velanius, and T. Silius, to the Venetians.

VIII. THIS last State is by far the most powerful and considerable of all the Nations inhabiting along the Sea-coast; and that not only on account of their vast Shipping, wherewith they drive a mighty Traffick to Britain; and their Skill and Experience in naval Affairs, in which they greatly furpass the other maritime States; but because lying upon a large and open Coast, against which the Sea rages with great Violence, and where the Havens being few in Number, are all subject to their Jurisdiction; they have most of the Nations that trade in those Seas Tributaries to their State. Among them the Revolt began by detaining Silius and Velanius; as by this Means they hoped to recover the Hostages they had put into the Hands of Crassus.' The neighbouring States, moved by their Authority and Example, as the Gauls are in general very sudden and forward in their Resolves, detained for the same Reason Trebius and Terrasidius; and speedily dispatching Ambassadors from one to another, they by their Princes entered into a Confederacy, of acting in all Things with common Consent, and alike expoting themselves to the same Issue of Fortune; earnestly soliciting at the same Time the other Provinces, rather to stand up in Defence of that Liberty they had received of their Ances tors, than tamely submit to the ignominious Yoke of the Romans. All the Nations upon the Sea-coast coming readily into this Alliance, they jointly fent Ambassadors to Crassus to acquaint him; That if he expected to have his C.ficers restored, he must first send them back their Hostages.

IX. CESAR having Intelligence of these Things from Lrassus, and being then at a great Distance from Gaul, ordered in the Mean-time, that a Number of Calleys should be built upon the Loire, a River which runs into the Ocean; and that Mariners, Rowers, and Filots,

Pilots, should be drawn together from the Province. These Orders being executed with great Dispatch, he himself, as soom as the Season of the Year permitted, came to the Army. The Venetians, and other States in Alliance with them, having Notice of his Arrival; and reflecting at the same Time upon the Greatness of their Crime in detaining and loading with Irons Ambassadors, a Name ever looked upon amongst all Nations as sacred and inviolable; began to make Preparations proportioned to the Danger that threatened them; more especially to provide themselves with all Kinds of warlike Stores; and that with fo much the greater Alacrity and Confidence, as the Nature and Situation of the Country gave them good Hopes of being able to-defend themselves. They knew that the Passes by Land were every where cut asunder, by the many Friths and Arms of the Ocean, that run up in those Parts; and that the Approach by Sea was not less difficult, on account of the small Number of Harbours, and the little Knowledge the Romans had of the Coast. Neither did they imagine it possible for our Army to continue long in that Country, by reason of the great Scarcity of Corn: And should even all these Expectations deceive them, they had still a mighty Confidence in the Strength and Number of their Shipping. The Romans, they were sensible, had but a very inconsiderable Fleet; and were besides perfect Strangers to the Ports, Islands, and Shallows of the Coast, where the chief Weight of the War was like to fall. At the Time they forefaw, that our Pilots, accustomed only to the Navigation of the Mediterranean, a Sea bounded and shut in on all Sides by the Continent, must needs find themselves greatly at a Loss, when they came to enter the vast and open Spaces of the wide Atlantic Ocean. In consequence of these Reflections, and the Refolutions formed upon them, they set about fortifying their Towns, and conveying all their Corn into Places of Strength, or lering as many Ships as could be got together to rendezvous in the Venetian Ports; it appearing, that Cæsar intended to begin the War by attacking that State. They likewin brought over to their Alliance the Ossmiens, Lexovians, No netes Ambiani, Morini, Diablintes, and Menapians; and difpatched Ambassadors into Britain, which lies over against their Coast, to solicit Ass. Jance from thence.

X. ALL

ALL these Difficulties before-mentioned attended the Prosecution of this Ware: But Cassar was urged by many Confiderations to undertake and carry it on with Vigo ir: The Infult offered to the Commonwealth in detairing the Roman Knights; Revolt, and Infugrection after Submission, and He tages given; the Confederacy of so many States; above all his Fear, lest by neglecting to oppose these irst Commotions, he should give Encouragement to the other Provinces of Gaul to follow the Example. Reflecting therefore upon the Genius and Temper of the Gauls, fond of Revolutions, and ever forward and ready to engage in new Wars; and confidering at the same Time, that it was the natural Bent and Dispassion of Mankind, to aspire after Liberty, and abhor the Yoke of Servitude; he determined, before the Infection should spread wider, to divide his Army, and distribute it into the several Provinces of Gaul.

XI. Pursuant to this Design, T. Labienus his Lieutenant, was fent with the Cavalry to Treves, whose Territory extends along the Banks of the Rhine. To him he gave it in Charge, to take a Progress to Rheims, and the other Belgian States, in order to retain them in Obedience; as likewife to oppose the Germans, should they attempt by Force the Passage of the River; a Report then prevailing, that they had been invited over by the Belgians. P. Craffus, with twelve legionary Cohorts, and a great Body of Horse, had Orders to march into Aquitain, to prevent the Arrival of any Supplies from that Quarter, and the Junction of the Forces of so many powerful Nations. 2. Titurius Sabinus, at the Head of three Legions, entered the Country of the Unellians, Curiosolitie, and Lexovians, to find Employment for the Troops that had been drawn together in those Parts. To young Bruti; he gave the Command of the Flect, and of all the Veffels from Gaul, which he had ordered to be fitted out by the Santones, Pici.mes, and other Provinces that continued in Obedience; strongly recommending + nim at the same Time, to use the greatest Dispate's, an ' sail with all Expedition for the l'enetian Coair. He hanfelf, at the Head of the Land-Ariny, fet our upon his March thither.

XH. THE Situation of most of the Towns in those Parts is such, that standing apon the Edges of Promontories, or upon Points of Land that run out into the Sea, there is no approaching them with an Arm / at High-water, which happens always twice in t velve Hours. Neither is it , offible for a Fleet to draw near; because upon the Recess of the Tide, the Ships would be in danger of being dahed against the Shallows and Banks of Sand. Both these Reasons therefore concurred to secure their Towns from Assault; and if at any Time, by the Greatness of the Works carried on against them, and huge artificial Mounts that ferved to prevent the Ingress of the Sea, and were raited to an Height nearly equalifier their Walls, they faw themselves reduced to Extremity; then, by bringing up their Ships, of which they had always a great Number in Readiness, they afily found Means to carry off their Effects, and withdraw into the nearest Towns, where they again defended themselves by the same Advantages of Situation as before. In this Alanner did they elude all Cafar's Attempts during 2 great Part of the Summer, and that with fo much the more Success, because our Fleet was kept back by Tempetts, and found the Navigation extremely dangerous in that vaft and boundlefs Ocean, where the Tides are great, and the Havens both few in Number, and at a confiderable Diffance one from another.

XIII. For the Vinction Ships were built and fitted out in this Manner: Their Bottoms were fomewhat flatter than ours, the better to adapt themselves to the Shallows, and junctin without Danger the Regress of the Tides. Their Prow. were very high and erect, as likewise their Sterns, to bear the Hugeness of the Billows, and the Violence of Tempests. The Body of the Vessel was entirely of Oak, to kand the Shocks and Assaults of that tempestuous Ocean. The Benches of the Rowers were made of strong Beams of about a Foot in Breadth, and sastened with Iron Nails in Inch thick. Instead of Cables they secured their Ar hors with Chains of Iron; and made use of Shins, and a Sort of thin pliant Leather, by way of Sails; wither became they wanted Canvas, and were ignor int of the Art of making Sail-cloth; or, which is more probable, because they

Book III.

they imagined that Canvas-fails were not so proper to bear the Violence of Tempests, the Rage and Fury of the Winds, and to govern Ships of that Bulk and Burden. Between our Fleet, and Villels of such a Make, the lature of the Encounter we this; that in Agility, and a ready Command of Oa, we had indeed the Advantage; but in other Regiects, regarding the Situation of the Coast, and the Assaults of Storms, all Things ran very mugh in their Favour: For neither could our Ships injure them with their Beaks, so great was their Strength and Firmness; noro could we easily throw in our Darts, because of their Height above us: Which also was the Reason, that we found it extremely difficult to grapple the Enemy, and bring them to close Fight. Add to all this, that when the Sea began to rage, and they were forced to submit to the Pleasure of the Winds, they could both weather the Storm better, and more securely trust themselves among the Shallows, as fearing nothing from the Rocks and Cliffs, upon the Recess of the Tide. The Romans, on the other Hand, had Reason to be under a continual Dread of these and fuch like Accidents.

XIV. CESAR having taken many of their Towns, and finding that he only fatigued his Army to no Purpose, because he could neither prevent the Retreat of the Enemy, nor force their Garrisons to a Surrender; resolved to wait the Arrival of his Fleet. Which being accordingly come up, was no fooner descried by the Venetians, than about two hundred and twenty of their List Ships, well equipped for Service, and furnished with all Kind of Weapons, stood out to Sea, and drew up in Order of Battle agairnt us. Neither Brutus, who commanded the Fleet, nor the Centurions and military Tribunes who had the Charge of particular Vessels, knew what Courfs to take, or in what Manner to conduct the Fig'it For they were no Strangers to the Strength and Firmness of the Venetian Shipping, which rendered them proof against our Beaks; and when they had eve . . nifed Turrets upon the Decks, Set being still copped by the lofty Sterns of the Enemy, the Re-

mans could not w th any Advantage throw in their Darts; whereas inose int by the Gauss, coming from above, descended with great Violence on our Men. In this Exigence.

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Exigence, a particular Kind of Instrument used by the Mariners, proved of fignal Service in giving a far ourable Issue to the Combat. They had provided them! les with long Poles, armed at one End with long Scy hes, not unlike those mac use of in attacking the Walls of With these bey laid hold of the Fremy's Tackle, and drawing off he Galley by the extreme Force of Oars, cut afunder the Ropes that fastened the Sail-yards to the Mast. These giving way, the Sailyards necessarily came down; insomuch that as all the Hopes and Expectations of the Gauls depended entirely on their Sails and Rigging, by depriving them of this Resource, we at the same Time rendered their Vessels wholly unserviceable. The rest depended altogether upon the Valour of the Troops, in which the Romans had greatly the Advantage; and the rather, because they fought within View of Cafar and the whole Army, fo that not a fingle Act of Bravery could pass unobferved: for all the adjoining Hills and Eminences, which afforded a near Prospect of the Sea, were covered with our Men.

XV. THE Enemy's Sail-yards being, as we have faid, cut down; and many of their Ships fingly furrounded by two or three of ours at a Time; the Romans used their utmost Endeavours to board them: Which the Venetians observing, and that we had already made ourselves Masters of a great Part of their Fleet; as they could fall upon no Expedient to prevent fo great a Miffortune, they began to think of providing for their Safety by Flight. Accordingly they tacked about, in order to have the Advantage of the Wind; when all of a funden so dead a Calm ensued, that not a Vessel could stir.out of its Place. Nor could any Thing have fallen out more opportunely towards putting at once a final Period to the War; for the Romans attacking their Ships one after. another, took them with Ease; inform h that of all that vast Number that came out against is, but a very few, under favour of the Night, escaped a fe to Land, after a Connict that continued from rine in i. : Moining till Sun-fet.

XVI. Titt: Battle put an End to he Wer with: For indial the Nations upon the Sca-Coult. For

as the entire Body of their Youth, and all those also of more advanced Age, who were capable of serving their Go intry by their Credit and Counfels were present in the Action; and as they had likewife drawn together thei whole naval Strength: furb as furvived this Defeat, having neither any Place of Refuge whercunto to retire, nor Means left of de Ending their Towns, furrendered themselves and their all to Casar's Mercy. But he thought it necessary to proceed against them with the greater Severity, that he might impress upon the Minds of the Gauls for the future, a more inviolable Regard to the facred Character of Ambassadors. Having therefore caused all the r Senators to be put to death, he ordered the rest to be fold for Slaves.

XVII. During these Transactions against the Venetians, 2. Titurius Sabinus entered the Territories of the Uncllians, at the Head of the Troops put under his Command by Cæsar. Viridovix was invested with the fupreme Authority in these Parts, and had been appointed General in chief, by all the States concerned in the Revolt; out of which he had drawn together a very -: rumerous and powerful Army. Nav, but a very few Days before, the Aulerci, Eburovices, and Lexovians, having massacred their Senate, because they refused to engage in the War, had shut their Gates against the Romans, and joined themselves to Viridovix. Besides all this, he had very much strengthened his Army by the great Numbers that flocked to him from all Parts of Gaul; Men of desperate Fortunes, or accustomed to live Iv Robbery, whom the Hopes of Plunder, and Love of War, had drawn off from the daily Labours of their Calling and the Cares of Agriculture.

XVIII. SABINUS kept close within his Camp, which was ficuated in a Manner every way advantageous; whily Virido vix, who had posted himself at the Distance of about two Miles, daily drew out his Men, and offered him Bride This Behaviour of the Roman General, not or y drew upon him the Contempt of the Enemy, but occan ned also some murmuring among his own Troops, and filled the Gauls with fo high a Conceit of is Fear that her even adventured to come up to his very T enches. The Reafon of his acting in this Man-F 4

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ner was, that he thought it not justifiable in a Lieu'snant, in the Absence of the Commander in Chief to hazard a Battle with sc superior an Army, unless u on Terms of evident Advantage.

XIX. HAVING confin ned them in this Belief chat his Reserve was the Effect of Fear; he made choice of a a certain Gaul from among the Auxiliaries, a Man of Address, and every Way qualified for carrying on his Dcsign. Him ne persuaded by great Rewards, and still greater Promises, to go over to the Enemy, instructing him at the same Time in the Part he was to act. Gaul coming to their Camp as a Deserter, laid before them the Fear of the Romans, and the Extremities ter which Cæsar was reduced in the War against the Venetians: nor did he fail to infinuate, that there was great Reason to believe Sabinus intended the next Night privately to draw off his Army, and march to Cæsar's Assistance. No fooner was this heard by the Gauls, than they all cried our with one Voice, that they ought not to lose so fair an Occasion of Success, but go and attack the Roman Camp. Many Reasons concurred to fix them in this Resolution: The Reserve of Sabinus for some Days past: the Intelligence from the Deserter confirming their Belief of his Fear: the Want of Provisions, of which they had taken no great Care to lay in a sufficient Stock: the Hopes conceived from the Venetian War: and in fine, that Readiness with which Men are apt to believe what falls in with their Expectations and Wishes. Urged by these Considerations, they would not fuffer Viridovix and the rest of the general Officers to dismiss the Council, before they had obtained there Consent for the taking up of Arms, and falling upon the Roman Camp. The Proposil being at last agreed to, they provided themselves with Fascines and Hurdles to fill up the Ditch, and joyfully began their March, as to a certain Victory.

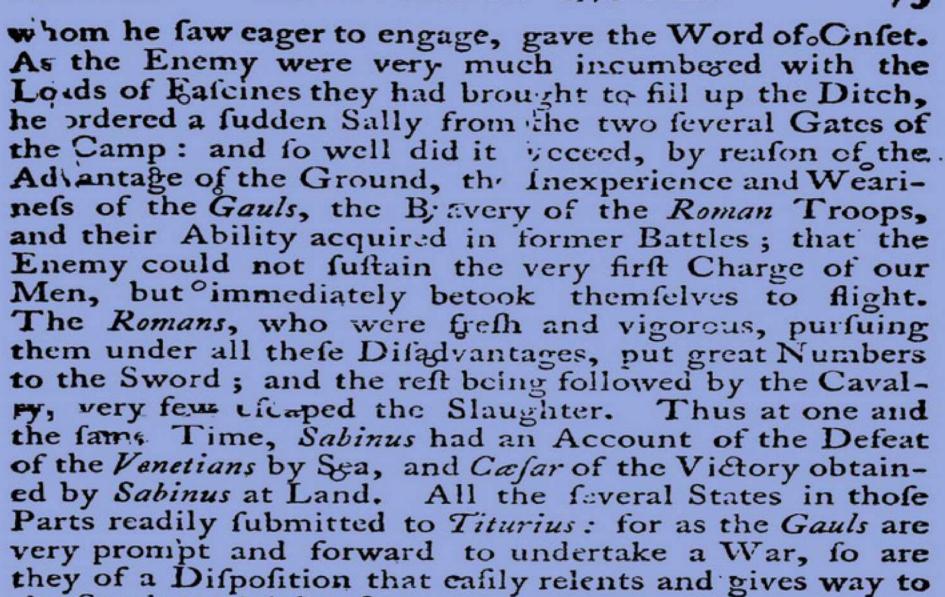
XX. THE Roman Camp stood upon an Eminence, which rose with a gentle Ascent, for the Space of about a Mile. Hither the Gauls advanced with so much Inste, in order to come upon our Troops unprepared, that by that Time they were arrived they had run hemselves quit out of Breath. Sabinus having shoot aged his Men,

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whom

Book III.

the Strokes of Adversity.



XXI. Much about the same Time P. Crassus arrived in Aquitain; a Country, which as we have before observed, for Extent of Territory, and Number of Inhabitants, is deservedly counted a third Part of Gaul. This General understanding that he was to conduct a War in those Parts, where but a few Years before L. Valerius Praconinus had been flain, and his Army put to the rout; and whence L. Manilius the Proconsul had been driven with the Loss of his Baggage: soon became scrible that he must act with piore than ordinary Circumspection and Vigour Having therefore made Provision of Corn, assembred his autilary Troops and Cavalry, and strengthe sed his Army with a choice Body of Volunteers, drawn together by Name from Toulouse, Daraifo, an' Marbonne, which States make up that Part of rue Rom n Province that lies the nearest to Aquitain; he advanced with all his Forces into the Territories of the Se nes. These, upon the first Notice of his Arrival having leved a great Army, and attacking him in his March wit i the whole Bedy of their Cavalry, in which their e nief Strength confifted, were neverthele's repuised and persued-by our Men. But all on a Sudder

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their Infantry appearing in a Valley, where they had been defignedly placed in Anibush, fell furiously upon the Romans, disordered with the Pursuit, and renewed her Fight.

XXII. THE Battle was long and obstinate. For the Sotiates, proud of their forme Victories, imagined that the Fate of all Aquitain depended fingly on their Bravery. The Romans, on the other hand, were ambitious of shewing what they could atchieve under a young Leader in the Absence of their General, and unsupported by the rest of the Legions. At length, however, the Enemy, overpowered with Wounds, betook themselves to flight; and a great Slaughter enfuing, Craffus marched immediately and invested their Capital; where meeting with a brave Resistance, he was forced to make his Approaches by Towers and Mantelets. The Enemy sometimes sallying out, sometimes carrying on their Mines to our very Works, (in which Kind of Service the Aquitains are particularly skilful, as inhabiting a Country that abounds in Veins of Copper;) when they faw that the Diligence of the Romans enabled them to furmount all these Difficulties, sent Ambassadors to Crafsus, and requested they might be admitted to a Surrender: Which being accordingly agreed to, they, in obedience to his Desire, delivered up their Arms.

XXIII. Bur while the Romans were wholly intent upon the Execution of the Treaty, Adiatomus, who commanded in chief, endeavoured to escape on the othe! Side of the Town, with a Body of fix hundred swort Friends, who in the L. nouage of the Country are called Soldurians. Their Condition and Manner of Life is this: To live in a perfect Com. nunity of Goods with those to whom they have engaged hemselves in Friendship: if any Misfortune befals them, to there in it, or make away with themselves : nor is there a fingle In. anco of any one upon Record, who upon the D'ath of him to whom he had vowed a Friendship, refusea to submit to the same Face. Adiatomus, as we have sain, endeavouring to make his Escape with his Body of Friends. and the Alarm being given on that Side of the Works, Combat ensued, in which he was at let repulsed, and driven

Grassius the same Conditions of Surrenders as had been granted to the rest of the Inhabitants.

XXIV. CRAssus having received their Arms and. Ho? ages, led his Troops into the Territories of the Vocations and Tarusations. But now the Gauls, roused by the unexpected Progress of the Romans, who had in a few Days after their Arrival made themselves Masters of a Town strongly fortified both by Art and Nature; began to send Ambassadors into all Parts; to join in a mutual League; to ratify their Engagements by an Exchange of Hostages; and to levy Troops. Ambassadors were likewise dispatched to all the States of Hither Spain that bordered upon Aquitain, to solicit a Supply of Troops and Leaders: upon whose Arrival, they immediately took the Field with great Confidence, and a numerous and well-appointed Army. None were suffered to command but such as had served under Sertorius, and were therefore accounted Men of consummate Ability and Experience in the Art of War. These, according to the Custom of the Romans, made it their Study to choose a Camp to Advantage; to secure themselves by Lines and Intrenchments; and to intercept our Convoys. Crassus perceiving their Design; as his own Army was not strong enough to admit of sending out Detachments; and as the Gauls could upon all Occasions employ numerous Parties, possess themselves of the Passes, and at the same Time have a sufficient Number of Troops to guard the Camp; by which Means he foresaw he must soon be reduced to great Straits for want of Provisions, while the Inemy would be every Day growing more powerful: he for vill these Reasons resolved not to delay coming to an Engagement. Havirg laid his Design before a Council of War, and finding them unanimous in their Approbatica of it, he appointed the next Day for the Engagemerzc.

XXV EARLY in the Morning he drew all his Forces out of the Camp, and disposing them in two Lines, with the auxiliary Troops in the Center, stood expecting what Resolution the Enemy would take. But the Gauls, though they relieved they might safely hazard a Battle, on account of their Numbers, their former Renoved a

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War, and the Handful of Men they were to oppose; yet thought it would be still better, by seizing the Passes, and intercepting our Convoys, to secure the Victory without Expence of Blood: and should the Want of Provisions at length force the Remans to think of a Retreat; they might then fall upon them embarrassed in their March, incumbered with their Baggage, and dejected by their Missortunes. This Resolution being approved by all their Leaders, they kept within their Camp, though our Men appeared before them in Order of Battle.

XXVI. Crassus perceiving their Design, and that this Delay ferved rather to abate the Courage of the Enemy, and add fresh Spirits to his own Men, among whom an universal Cry arose, that he ought no longer to put off the Engagement, but march directly to their Camp; having encouraged his Troops, he resolved to give way o their present Ardor, and accordingly led them to the Assault. There some were employed in filling up the Ditch; others in driving the Enemy with their Darts from the Works; while the Auxiliaries, in whom Crassus had no great Confidence, yet that they might appear to have some Share at least in the Engagement, were appointed to carry Stones and Darts to them that fought, and to supply Materials for raising the Mount. At the same Time the Enemy fought with great Constancy and Resolution, and made no small Havock with their Darts, which came upon us from above. During this Warmth of Opposition, the Cavalry having taken a Compass round the Camp, came and told Crassus, that the Intrenchments were not fortified with the same Care in all Parts, and that it would be easy to force an Latrance by the postern Gate.

the Cavalry to encourage their Men by groot Rewards and Promises, instructed them in the Part they were to act. They, in consequence of the Orders they had received, drawing out four Cohorts, which having been left to guard the Camp, were quite fresh and fit for Action; and fetching with them a large Compass, that they wight not be teen from the Engmy's Camp; while the Eyes and Minds of all were intent upon the Combat.

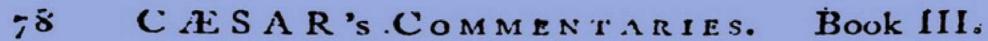
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Book III. HIS WARS IN GAUL.

fell suddenly upon that Part of the Intrenchments of which we have spoken above; and having forced their Way through, were actually got within the Camp before they were so much as seen by the Enemy, or any Apprehension entertained of what they were about. Upon this a great Uproar being heard on that Side, our Menredoubled their Efforts, and as always happens to Troops animated with the Hopes of Victory, began to push the Gauls with greater Fury than ever. The Enemy thus furroundedoon all Sides, and without Hopes of retrieving their Affairs, endeavoured to make their Escape over the Rampart, and fave themselves by Flight. being pursued by the Cavalry, who soon came up with them in these open and level Plains: of fifty thousand Men that had been drawn together out of Spain and Aquitain, scarce a fourth Part escaped; nor did the Horse return to the Camp till very late in the Evening, after they had quite tired themselves with the Slaughter.

XXVIII. Upon the Report of this Defeat, the greatest Part of Aquitain immediately submitted to Crassus, and of their own accord sent him Hostages. Of this Number were the Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Preciani, Vocates, Tarusates, Elusates, Garites, Ausci, Garumni, Siburzates, and Cocasates. Only a few Nations, and those the most remote, relying on the Season of the Year, because the Winter was at hand, neglected to take this Step.

AXIX. Much about the same Time Casar, though the Summer was now almost sper; yet because all the rest of Gaul being subdued, the Merini and Menapians were still in Arms, and had not sent Ambassadors to treat alout a Peace resolved to lead his Army against them, hoping he mould soon be able to put an End to that War. Their Manner of opposing him was very different from that of the other Gauls. For understanding that the most powerful Nations, when it came to a Battle, had always been overthrown and put to rout; and inhabiting themselves in a Country that abounded in Woods and Marshes, they retired thither with all their Effects. Casar coming to the Entrance of the Wood, began to intrench himself: and although to Enerry



Enemy in the Mean-time appeared, yet no sooner had our Men dispersed themselves in order to set about fortifying the Camp, than on a Sudden they came pouring upon us from all Parts of the Wood, and charged with great Briskness. The Romans immediately slew to their Arms, and drove them back with considerable Slaughter; but adventuring a little too far into the Wood, lost some Men.

XXX. CESAR spent the remaining Days in cutting down the Wood; and to screen his Men from any sudden and unexpected Attack, ordered the Trees that had been felled to be placed on each Side the Army, that they might serve as a Barricade against the Attempts of the Enemy. Having with incredible Dispatch advanced a great Way into the Wood in a few Days, insomuch that all their Cattle and Baggage feli into our Hands; they themselves retired into the thicker and more covered Spaces of the Forest. The Season growing bad, we were forced to intermit the Work; and the Rains soon became so violent and continual, that the Soldiers could no longer endure to lie in their Tents. Wherefore Cæsar having laid waste their Lands, and set fire to their Towns and Houses, led back his Army, and disposed it into Winter-quarters' among the Aulerci, Lexovians, and other States whom he had last subdued.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in GAUL.

BOOK IV.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. The Usipetes and Tenchtheri, German Nations, expelled by the Sucvians, come over into Gaul. II. The Manners and way of Life of the Suevians. III. And of the Ubians. IV. The Usipetes and Tenchtheri arive the Menapians from their Habitations. V. Cæfar knowing the wavering and unsettled Temper of the Gauls, repairs early in the Spring to the Army. VI. Embassy of the Germans to Cæsar, and his Answer. IX. An Action between the Cavairy, in which the Germans have the Advantage. X. But are afterwards driven from their Camp with great Slaughter. XIII. And pur fued Iv Casar, who makes a Bridge over the Rhine for that Purpose. XVI. Carfar lays waste the Territories of the Sicambri. XVII. And having freed the Ubians from the Servitude under which they lived, returns into Gaul. XVIII. He then passes over into Britain. XXII. And lands his Army with great Difficulty, the Natives making a vigorous Opposition. XXIV. They are defeated at length, and fend Ambassadors to sue for Peace. XXVI. Carsar's Fleet almost entirely ruined by a Storm, which induces the Britons to revolt. XXIX. Their Way of fighting from their Chariots. XXX. Which disconcerts the Romans at first. XXX1. But being aguin put to flight, they obtain Peace. XXXII. After which Cæsar returns into Gaul. XXXIII. And marching against the Morini, whom the Hope of Plund's tempted to fall upon some of his detached Parties, obliges them to jubmit.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

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BOOK IV.

I. THE following Winter, being that in which Cn. Pompey and M. Crassus were Consuls, the Usipetes and Tenchtheri, German Nations, passed the Rhine in a great Body, not far from its Mouth. The Cause of their taking this Step was, that being much exposed to the Hostilities of the Suevians, they had for many Years been harassed with continual Wars and hindered from cultivating their Lands.

II. THE Suevians are by far the most warlike ando considerable of all the German Nations. They are said to be composed of a hundred Cantons, each of which fen. s yearly into the Field a thousand armed Men. The rest, who continue in their several Districts, emplor themselves in cultivating their Lands, that it may furnish a sufficient Supply both for themselves and for the Army. These again take up Arms the following . Campaign, and are succeeded in the care of the Lands by the Troops that served the Year before. Thus they live in the con inual Exercise both of Agriculture and They allow of no fuch thing as Property or private Possession in the Distribution of their I ands; their Relidence, for the fake of Tillage, being confined to a fingle Year. Corn is not much in use among them, because they prefer a milk or fleth Diet, and are greatly addicted to Hunting. Thus the Quality of their Food,

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their perpetual Exercise, and free unconfined Manner of Life (because being from their Childhood settered by no Rules of Duty or Education, they acknowledge no Law but Will and Pleasure) contribute to make them strong, and of an extraordinary Stature. They have likewise accustomed themselves, though inhabiting a Climate naturally very cold, to bathe in their Rivers, and clothe themselves only with Skins, which, as they are very small, leave great Part of their Body quite uncovered. Merchants indeed refort to them, but rather to purchase their Spoils taken in War, than import any Goods into the Country: for even Beafts of Carriage, in which the Gauls take so much Delight, that they are ready to purchase them at any Price, are yet very little valued by the Germans when brought among them. And though those of their own Country are both finall and very ill shaped, yet by daily Exercise they make them capable of all Kinds of Service. Their Cavalry often dismount in Time of Action, to fight on Foot; and their Horses are so trained, that the ftir not from the Place where they are left, but wait the Return of their Riders, who betake themselves to them again in case of Necessity. Nothing is more dishonourable in their Account, or more opposite to their Customs, than the Use of Horse-furniture: and therefore however few themselves, they scruple not to attack any Number of their Enemies whom they fee fo equipped. They suffer no Wine to be imported into their Territories, as imagining that it both enervates the Mind, and unfits the Body for Exercise and Labour. It is accounted much to the Honour of the Nation, to have the Country for a great Way round them waste and uninhabited; for by this they think is intimated, that the united Force of many States has been found infufficient to withstand their single Valour. And hence it is, that on one Side, the Country is said to lie desolate for the Space of fix hundred Miles.

III. On the other Side they are bounded by the Ubians, heretofore a flourishing and potent People, and somewhat more civilized than the other German Nations; because inhabiting along the Banks of the Rhine, they are much resorted to by Merchants; and have besides, by bordering upon the States of Gaul, given into many of their Eustoms. The Survians having tried the Strength of

this People in many Wars and finding them too numerous and potent to be driven out of their Territories; prevailed yet so far as to impose a Tribute upon them, and very much reduce and weaken their Power.

IV. THE Usipetes and Tenchtheri, of whom we have spoken above, were likewise engaged in this Quarrel s and after withstanding the Power of the Suevians for many Years, were nevertheless at length driven from their Territories. Having wandered over many Regions of Germany during the Space of three Years, they arrived at last upon the Banks of the Rhine, towards those Parts inhabited by the Menapians, who had Houses, Lands, and Villages on both Sides the River. alarmed at the Approach of so prodigious a Multitude, they abandoned all their Habitations beyond the Rhine; and having disposed their Troops on this Side the River, set themselves to oppose the Passage of the Germans. These having tried every Expedient; and finding they could neither force the Passage, because of their Want of Shipping; nor steal over privately, by reason of the Guards kept by the Menapians; counterfeited a Retreat into their own Country; and after three Days March fuddenly turned back: when their Cavalry recovering all this Ground in the Space of one Night, cafily overpowered the Menapians, little expecting or prepared for fuch a Visit: for having been apprised by their Scouts of the Departure of the Germans, they had returned, fearless of Danger, to their Habitations beyond the Rhine. These being all put to the Sword, and their Shipping seized; before the Menapians on this Side had Intelligence of their Approach, they passed the River: and seizing all their Towns and Houses, supported themselves the rest of the Winter with the Provisions there found.

V. CÆSAR being informed of these Things, and dreading the Levity of the Gauls, who are very changeable in their Counsels, and fond of Novelties; determined to trust nothing to their Resolves. For it is the Custom of that People to stop Travellers even against their Will, and enquire of them what they have heard or know relating to any Assair: and in their Towns, upon the Arrival of a foreign Merchant, they gather round

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him in Crowds, and oblige him to tell what Country he comes from; and how Things stood at his Departure. Moved by these Reports, they often enter upon the most important Deliberations, and concert Measures they foon have Cause to repent, as being founded wholly on vain Rumours, and Answers seigned for the most Part defignedly to please them. Casar, who was aware of this Custom, fearing the War if neglected might become formidable, made all the haste he could to join the Army. Upon his Arrival he found, that Things were fallen out exactly as he had foreseen. Some of the States of Gaul had fent Ambassadors to the Germans, inviting them to leave the Banks of the Rhine, and affuring them that all their Demands should be readily complied with. The Germans, allured by these Hopes, were already extending their Incursions on all Sides, and had penetrated into the Territories of the Eburones and Condrusians, both which Nations are under the Protection of the Tre-Cæsar having assembled the Chiefs of the Gauls, dissembled his Knowledge of their secret Designs; and endeavouring rather to win them over, and confirm them in their Alliance with the People of Rome; demanded a a certain Number of Cavalry of them, and prepared to. march against the Germans.

VI. HAVING provided himself with Corn, and drawn together a select Body of Horse, he began his March towards those Parts where he understood the Germans then were. When he was come within a few Days Journey of their Camp, Ambassadors arrived from them, who addressed him to this Esfect: " That the Germans " had no Design of being the sirst to begin a War with " the People of Rome; but neither, if they were attack-" ed, would they decline having Recourse to Arms: "That it was the Custom of their Nation, handed "down to them by their Ancestors, rather to oppose " the Efforts of their Enemies, than expect Relief from 66 Remonstrances: but thus far they were however " willing to own, that it was against their Inclination "they were come into those Parts, having been driven " from their Habitations: That if the Romans were difposed to accept of their Friendship, they might become " very useful and serviceable Allies, and would rest " fatisfied either with fuch Lands as they should think " proper or proper to assign them, a. in the quiet Possession of " those they had already obtained by Force of Arms: That they yielded in Valour to the Suevians alone, for whom the immortal Gods themselves were not an equal Match; but knew of no other Nation under " Heaven able to resist the Efforts of their Bravery." Cæsar made such a Reply as best suited his present Views, but the Conclusion of his Speech was to this Purpose: That he could enter into no Treaty of Friendship with them so long as they continued in Gaul: That Men who had been unable to defend their own Tercc ritories were not likely to gain Countries by Force from others: That there were no uncultivated Lands in Gaul, sufficient to satisfy so great a Multitude, without invading the Properties of others: But that, es if they pleased, they might incorporate themselves with the Ubians, whose Ambassadors were then in his "Camp, to complain of the Injuries of the Suevians, and request his Aid against their Incroachments: This he promised to obtain for them of the Ubians." The Ambassadors replied, they would report this to their Countrymen, and in three Days return with an Answer: requesting in the Mean-time, that he would not advance with his Army. But this Cæsar refused; as knowing, that a few Days before they had sent a great Body of Cavalry over the Meuse, to forage and plunder in the Territories of the Ambivariti. He therefore concluded, that they only waited the Return of this Party, and with that View were for interposing Delays.

VII. THE Meufe riscs in the Mountains of Vause, in the Territories of the Lingones, and receiving a certain Branch of the Rhine, called the Vahal, forms with it the Island of the Batavians, about sourscore Miles below which it discharges itself into the Sea. The Rhine itself takes its Rise in the Territories of the Lepontians, who inhabit the Alps; and after a long and rapid Course through the Country of the Nantuates, Helvetians, Sequani, Mediomatrici, Treboci, and Treviri, divides itself as it approaches nearer the Sea into several Channels, and forming a great Number of very large Islands, inhabited for the most Part by sierce and savage Nations, some of whom are reported to seed only on Fish and the

Eggs of Birds; it at last discharges itself into the Ocean by many different Mouths.

VIII. CÆSAR being now only twelve Miles distant from the Enemy, was met upon his Way by the Ambasfadors on the Day appointed. They were very earnest in their Requests that he would advance no farther: but not being able to prevail, intreated; that he would fend to the Cavalry, who made the Advance-guard, to restrain them from beginning the Fight; and in the Mean-time permit them to fend Ambassadors to the Ubians: from whose Senate and Magistrates if they could obtain the Conditions offered them by Cæsar, under the Sanction of a solemn Oath, they declared themselves ready to accept them; requiring only that he would allow them the Space of three Days to bring Matters to a final But Cæsur imagining all these Proffers to have no other Tendency than the Delay of a few Days, till their Cavalry should arrive, told them nevertheless; that ho would advance that Day only four Miles farther for the fake of Water; but defired their Chiefs to attend him the Day after, that he might know their Demands. Mean time he sent Orders to the Officers of the Cavalry who were gone before, not to attack the Enemy; and in case they should be attacked themselves, only to maintain their Ground, till he should come up with the rest of the Army.

IX. But the Enemy, upon seeing our Horse advance, whose Number amounted to five Thousand; whereas they themselves did not exceed eight hundred, by reason of the Absence of those who had been sent to forage beyond the Mense: yet falling suddenly upon the Romans, who had no Apprehension of their Design, because they knew their Ambassadors had been with Cersar a little before, and obtained a Day's Truce; they easily put them into Disorder. And when our Men, recovering a little, began to make Resistance, they according to Custom dismounted, and stabbing our Horses under the Belly, and by that Means overthrowing many of the Riders. in a very short Time put the rest to slight; and so great was the Consternation, that they continued driving them before them, till at last they came within Sight of the Army. In this Skirmish we lost seventy four Men, and

among them Piso of Aquitain, a Man of distinguished Valour and illustrious Descent, whose Grandsather had been sovereign Magistrate in his own State, and been honoured by the Senate of Rome with the Title of Friend. This brave Officer, seeing his Brother surrounded by the Enemy, ran to his Assistance, and rescued him: but his own Horse being wounded, and he overthrown, the Enemy sell upon him, against whom nevertheless he made a brave Resistance; till at last, surrounded on all Sides, he sell overpowered with Wounds. Which his Brother, perceiving, who was by this Time out of Danger, and had got to a considerable Distance; setting Spurs to his Horse, he rushed among the thickest of the Enemy, and was slain.

X. AFTER this Battle, Cafar resolved neither to give Audience to their Ambassadors, nor admit them to Terms of Peace; seeing they had treacherously applied for 2 Truce, and afterwards of their own Accord broke it. He likewise considered, that it would be downright Madness to delay coming to an Action till their Army should be augmented, and their Cavalry join them; and the more so, because he was perfectly well acquainted with the Levity of the Gauls, among whom they had already acquired a confiderable Reputation by this fuccessful Attack, and to whom it therefore behoved him by no means to allow Time to enter into Measures against Upon all these Accounts he determined to come to an Engagement with the Enemy as foon as possible, and communicated his Defign to his Questor and Lieu-A very lucky Accident fell out to bring about Cafar's Purpose; for the Day after, in the Morning; the Germans perfiffing in their Treachery and Diffimulation, came in great Numbers to the Camp; all their Nobility and Princes making Part of their Embasly. Their Design was, as they pretended, to vindicate theinfelves in regard to what had happened the Day before; because contrary to Engagements made and come under at their own Request, they had fallen upon our Men; but their real Motive was to obtain if possible another infidious Truce. Cæfar, overjoved to have them thus in his Power, ordered them to be fecured, and immediately drew his Forces out of the Camp. The Cavalry, G 4

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Cavalry, whom he supposed terrified with the late Engagement, were commanded to follow in the Rear.

XI. HAVING drawn up his Army in three Lines, and made a very expeditious March of eight Miles, he appeared before the Enemy's Camp, before they had the least Apprehension of his Design. All Things conspiring to throw them into a sudden Consternation, which was not a little increased by our unexpected Appearance, and the Absence of their own Officers; and hardly any Time left them, either to take Council, or fly to Arms: they were utterly at a Loss what Course to take, whether to draw out their Forces and oppose the Enemy, or content themselves with defending the Camp, or in fine, to feek for Safety in Flight. As this Fear was evident from the Tumult and Uproar we perceived among them, our Soldiers, instigated by the Remembrance of their treacherous Behaviour the Day before, broke into the Camp. Such as could first provide themselves with Arms made a shew of Resistance, and for some Time maintained the Fight amidst the Baggage and Carriages. But the Women and Children (for the Germans had brought all their Families and Effects with them over the Rhine) betook themselves to Hight on all Sides. Cafar fent the Cavalry in pursuit of them.

XII. THE Germans hearing the Noise behind them, and seeing their Wives and Children put to the Sword, threw down their Arms, abandoned their Enfigns, and fled out of the Camp. Being arrived at the Confluence Of the Rhine and the Meufe, and finding it impossible to continue their Flight any farther; after a dreadful Slaughter of those that pretended to make Resistance, the rest threw themselves into the River; where what with Fear, Weariness, and the Force of the Current, they almost all perished. Thus our Army, without the Loss of a Man, and with very few wounded, returned to their Camp, having put an End to this formidable War, in which the Number of the Enemy amounted to four hundred and thirty Thousand. Cæsur offered those whom he had detained in his Camp Liberty to depart: but they dreading the Resentment of the Gauls, whose Lands Lands they had laid waste, chose rather to continue with him, and obtained his Consent for that Purpose.

XIII. THE War with the Germans being ended, Cæsar for many Reasons resolved to carry his Army over the Rhine. But what chiefly swayed with him was, that as he found the Germans were easily prevailed upon to transport their Forces into Gaul, he thought it might be of no small Service to alarm them upon their own Account, by eletting them see, that the Romans wanted neither Ability nor Resolution to pass the Rhine with an Army. Add to all this, that the Cavalry of the Usipetes and Tenchtheri, who, as we have related above, had passed the Meuse for the Sake of Forage and Plunder, and by that Means escaped the Disaster of the late Fight; upon hearing of the Defeat of their Countrymen, had repassed the Rhine, retired into the Territories of the Sicambrians, and joined their Forces to theirs. And upon Cæsar's sending Deputies to require, that these Troops which had presumed to make war upon him and the Gauls, might be delivered up, he had received for Answer: "That the Rhine was the Boun-" dary of the Roman Empire: That if he thought it " unjustifiable in the Germans to pass over into Gaul without his Leave, upon what Pretence could he claim any Power or Authority beyond the Rhine?"

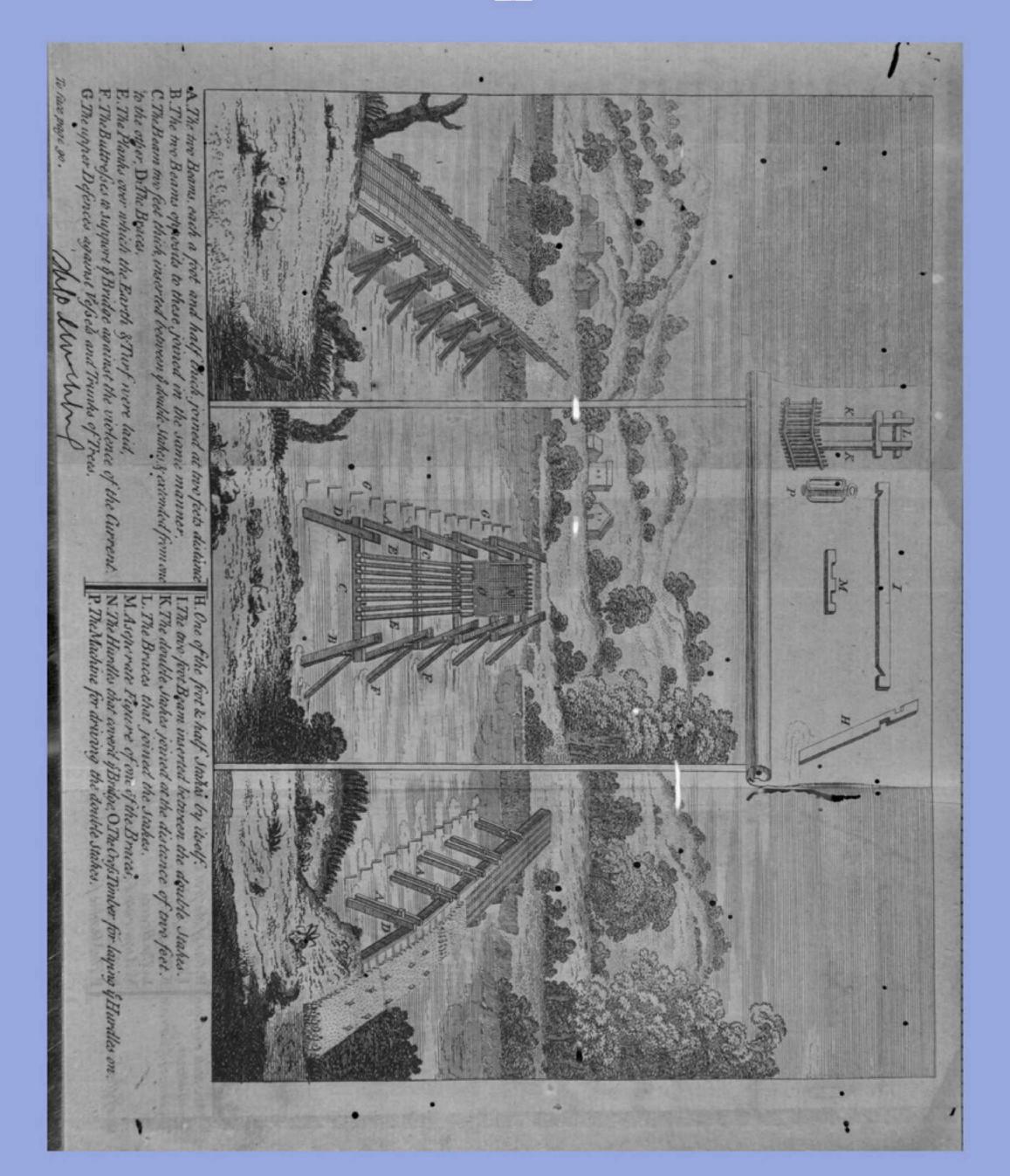
XIV. BUT the Ubians, who alone of all the Nations beyond the Rhine had sent Ambassadors to Casar, entered into an Alliance with him, and given him Hostages, earnestly intreated him to come over to their Assistance, they being very hard pressed by the Suevians: "Or, if the Affairs of the Commonwealth would not " allow of his being there in person, that he would only order his Army to cross the Rhine, which would both be sufficient for their present Support, and also see secure them for the Time to come. Because such was the Reputation and Opinion conceived of a Roman Army, even amongit the most semote German Nations, from their defeating Ariovillus, and the 66 Success of the last-Battle, that their Friendship and « Name would alone be a sufficient Defence. er promised likewise a great Number of Ships for the " transporting of the Army."

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XV. CESAR for all theseoReasons above-mentioned, determined to cross the Rhine. But to make use of Shipping appeared to him neither safe, nor suitable to the Dignity of the Roman Name. Wherefore, although he understood that the making of a Bridge would be attended with very great Difficulties, on account of the Breadth, Depth, and Rapidity of the River; yet was he of opinion, that in this Manner alone ought he to carry over his Army, or lay aside the Design altogether. The Form therefore and Contrivance of the Bridge was thus: Two Beams, each a Foot and a half thick, sharpened a little towards the lower End, and of a Length proportioned to the Depth of the River, were joined together at the Distance of about two Fcet." These were sunk into the River by Engines, and afterwards Hrongly driven with Rammers, not perpendicularly, but inclined according to the Direction of the Stream. Directly opposite to these, at the Distance of forty Feet lower down, were placed two other Beams joined together like the former, but sloping against the Current of the River. These Stakes were kept firm by a large Beam, extended from one to the other, and which being two Feet in Thickness, exactly filled the Interval of the two Stakes, and was strongly fastened at either End with Iron Nails, so contrived, that the Violence of the Stream served only to bind the Work faster together. This being continued through the whole Breadth of the River, he ordered Planks to be laid across, which for the greater Convenience of passing, were further covered with Hurdles. Towards the lower Part of the Stream other Stakes were sunk in the Form of Buttrefles, which supported the Bridge against the Violence of the Current; and above, at some Distance, there were others; that if Trunks of Trees or Vessels should be fent down the River by the Enemy, to destroy the Work, the Shock might be broken by these Defences, and the Bridge thereby secured from Damage.

KVI. THE Bridge being finished within ten Days from the Time hey began to fetch the Materials, Gasard led over his Army; and leaving a strong Guard on each Side of the River, marched directly into the Territories of the Sicambri. Mean-time Ambassadors arriving from teteral States to desire Peace, and court his Asliance, he





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them to fend Hostages. The Sicambri, when they understood that the Bridge was begun, by Advice of the Usipetes and Tenchtheri, who had taken Shelter among them, resolved upon a Retreat: And having abandoned their Territories, and carried off all their Effects, withdrew into the neighbouring Woods and Defarts.

XVII. CASAR, after a short Stay in their Country, having burne all their Houses and Villages, and cut down their Corn, marched into the Territories of the Ubians. As he had promised these last his Assistance against the Attempts of the Suevians, he understood from them That the Sucvians being informed by their Spics of the Bridge built upon the Rhine, had, according to their Custom, called a Council, and dispatched Orders into all Parts for the People to forfake their Towns, and convey their Wives, Children, and Effects into the Woods; commanding at the same Time, that all fuch as were able to bear Arms should meet at the Place of general Rendezvous, which they had appointed towards the Middle of the Country, resolving there to wait the Arrival of the Romans, and give them Battle. Cæsar, upon this Intelligence, having accomphished all he intended in carrying his Army over the Rhine, by spreading an universal Terror among the Germans, taking Vengeance of the Sicambri, and fetting the Utians at liberty; after a Stay of only eighteen Days beyond the Rhine, thinking he had done enough both for his own Reputation and the Service of the Republick, led back his Army into Gaul, and broke down the Bridge.

XVIII. THOUGH but a small Part of the Summer now remained; for in those Regions, Gaul, stretching very much to the North, the Winters begin early; Cafar nevertheless resolved to pass over into Britain, having certain Intelligence, that in all his Wars with the Gauls, the Enemies of the Commonwealth had ever received Assistance from thence. He indeed foresaw, that the Scason of the Year would not permit him to finish the War: Yet he thought it would be of no small Advantage, if he should but take a View of the Island, learn the Nature of the Inhabitants and acquaint himself

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himself with the Coast, Harbours, and Landing-places of to all which the Gauls were perfect Strangers. For almost none but Merchants refort to that fland; nor have even they any Knowledge of the Country, except the Sea-coast, and the Parts opposite to Gaul. Having therefore called together the Merchants from all Parts, they could neither inform him of the Large es of the Island, nor what or how powerful the Nations were that inhabited it; nor of their Customs, Ar of War, or the Harbours fit to receive large Ships. For these Reasons, before he embarked himself, he thought proper to fend C. Volusenus with a Galley, to get some Knowledge of these Things; commanding him, as soon as he had informed himfelf in what he wanted to know, to return with all Expedition. He himself marched with his whole Army into the Territories of the Morini, because thence was the nearest Passage into Britain. Here he ordered a great many Ships from the neighbouring Ports to attend him, and the Fleet he had made use of the Year before in the Vanetian War.

XIX. MEAN-WHILE the Britons, having Notice of his Defign, by the Merchants that reforted to their Island; Ambassadors from many of their States came to Cæsar, with an Offer of Hostages, and Submission to the Authority of the People of Rome. To these he gave a favourable Audience; and exhorting them to continue in the same Mind, sent them back into their own Country. Along with them he dispatched Comius, whom he had constituted King of the Atrebatians; a Man in whose Virtue, Wisdom, and Fidelity he greatly confided, and whose Authority in the Island was very considerable. To him he gave it in charge, to visit as many States as he could, and perfuade them to enter into an Alliance with the Romans, letting them know at the same Time that Cafar designed as soon as possible to come over in person to their Island. Voluscenus having taken a View of the Country, as far as was possible for one who had resolved not to quit his Ship, or trust himself in the Hands of the Barbarians, returned on the fifth Day, and acquainted Caefar with his Discoveries.

XX. WHILE Caefar continued in those Parts, for the Sake of getting ready his Fleet, Deputies arrived from

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om almost all the Cantons of the Morini, to excute reir late War with the People of Rome, as proceeding wholly from a national Fierceness, and their Ignorance of the Rot an Customs; promising likewise an entire Submission or the future. This fell out very opportunely for Colfar, who was unwilling to leave any Enemies behind him's nor would the Season of the Year have even allowed hin to engage in a War: Besides, he judged it by no Mea is proper so far to entangle himself in these trivial Affline, as to be obliged to postpone the Expedition into Britain. He therefore ordered them to send him a great Number of Hostages, and upon their being delivered, received them into his Alliance. Having got together about eighty Transports, which he thought would be sufficient for the arrying over two Legions; he distributed the Gallies he had over and above, to the Questor, Lieutenants, and Officers of the Cavalry. There were besides eighteen Transports detained by contrary Winds at a Port about eight Miles off, which he appointed to carry over the Cavalry. The rest of the Army, under the Command of Q. Titurius Sabinus, and L. Arunculeius Cotta, were sent against the Menapians, and those Cantons of the Morini which had not submitted. P. Sulpicius Rufus had the Charge of the Harbour where he embarked, with a strong Garrison to maintain it.

XXI. THINGS being in this Manner settled, and the Wind springing up fair, he weighed Anchor about One in the Morning, ordering the Cavalry to embark at the other Port, and follow him. But, as these Orders were executed but flowly, he himself about Ten in the. Morning reached the Coast of Britain, where he saw all the Cliffs covered with the Enemy's Forces. The Nature of the Place was such, that the Sea being bounded by steep Mountains, the Enemy might easily launch their Javelins upon us from above. Not thinking this therefore a convenient Landing-place, he refolved to lie by till Three in the Afternoon, and wait the Ar-Mean-while having r val of the rest of his Fleet. called the Lieutenants and military Tribunes together, he informed them of what he had learnt from Volusenus, instructed them in the Part they were to act, and particularly exhorted them to do every Thing with Readi94

mess and at a Signal given, agreeable to the Rules military Discipline, which in Sea Affairs especially bequired Expedition and Dispatch, because of all others the most changeable and uncertain. Having dismissed them, and finding both the Wind and Tide fi vourable, he made the Signal for weighing Anchor, and after failing about eight Miles farther, stopped over-aga nst a plain and open Shore.

XXII. BUT the Barbarians perceiving, our Design, fent their Cavalry and Chariots before, which they frequently make use of in Battle; and following with the rest of their Forces, endeavoured to oppose our Landing. And indeed we found the Difficulty very great on many Accounts: For the Ships being large, required a great Depth of Water; and the Soldiers, who were wholly unacquainted with the Places, and had their Hands embarrassed and loaden with a Weight of Armour, were at the same Time to leap from the Ships, Rand breast-high amidst the Waves, and encounter the Enemy; while they, fighting upon dry Ground, or advancing only a little Way into the Water; having the free Use of all their Limbs, and in Places which they perfectly knew, could boldly cast their Darts, and spur on their Horses, well inured to that Kind of Service. All these Circumstances serving to spread a Terror among our Men, who were wholly Strangers to this Way of Fighting; they pushed not the Enemy with the same Vigour and Spirit, as was usual for them in Combats upon dry Ground.

XXIII. CESAR observing this, ordered some Gallies, a Kind of Shipping less common with the Barbatians, and more eafily governed and put in Motion, to advance a little from the Transports towards the Shore, in order to fet upon the Enemy in Flank, and by means of their Engines, Slings, and Arrows, drive them to some Distance. This proved of considerable Service to our Men: For what with the Surprise occasioned by the Make of our Gallies, the Motion of the Oars, and the Playing of the Engines, the Enemy were forced to halt. and in a little Time began to give back. But our Men Hill demurring to leap into the Sea, chiefly because of the Depth of the Water in those Parts; the Standard-

Learer of the tenth Legion, having first invoked the Gods for Success, cried out aloud: 'Follow me, Fellow-Soldiers, unless you will betray the Roman Eagle into the Hands of the Enemy; for my Part, I am resolved to discharge my Duty to Cæsar and the Commonwealth.' Upon this we jumped into the Sea, and advanced with the Eagle against the Enemy; whereat our Men exhorting on another to prevent so signal a Disgrace; all that were nother than the Ship followed him: Which being perceived by hose in the nearest Vessels, they also did the like, and boldly approached the Enemy.

XXIV. THE Battle was obstinate on both Sides: But our Men, as being neither able to keep their Ranks, nor get firm Footing, nor follow their respective Standards; because leaping a smiscuously from their Ships, every one joined the first Ensign he met; were thereby thrown into great Confusion. The Enemy on the other Hand being well acquainted with the Shallows; when they faw our Men advancing fingly from the Ships, spurred on their Horses and attacked them in that Perplexity. In one Place great Numbers would gather round an Handful of the Romans: Others falling upon them in Flank, galled them mightily with their Darts. Which Cafar observing, ordered some small Boats to be manned, and ply about with Recruits. By this Means the foremost Ranks of our Men having got firm Footing, were followed by all the rest; when falling upon the Enemy briskly, they were soon put to the Rout. But as the Cavalry were not yet arrived, we could not pursue or advance far into the Island; which was the only Thing wanting to render the Victory complete.

XXV. THE Enemy being thus vanquished in Battle, no sooner got together after their Defeat, than they dispatched Ambassadors to Casar, to sue for Peace; offering Hostages, and an entire Submission to his Commands. Along with these Ambassadors came Comius the Atrevatian, whom Casar, as we have related above, had sent before him into Britain. The Natives seized him as toon as he landed, and though he was charged with a Commission from Casar, threw him into Irons. But upon their late Defeat they thought proper to send him back,

the Multitude, and begged of Cæsar to excuse a Fault proceeding from Ignorance. Cæsar, after some Complaints of their Behaviour, in that having of their own accord sent Ambassadors to the Continent to sue for Peace, they had yet without any Reason begun a War against him; told them at last he would so give their Fault, and ordered them to send a certain Number of Hostages. Part were sent immediately, and the rest, as living at some Distance, they promised to deliver in a sew Days. Mean-time they disbanded their Troops, and the several Chiefs came to Cæsar's Camp, to manage their own Concerns, and those of the States to which

they belonged.

XXVI. A Peace being thus concluded four Days after Cæsar's Arrival in Britain, the eighteen Transports appointed to carry the Cavalry, of whom we have spoken above, put to Sea with a gentle Gale. But when they had so near approached the Coast, as to be even within view of the Camp; so violent a Storm all on a sudden arose, that being unable to hold on their Course, some were obliged to return to the Port whence they fet out, and others driven to the lower End of the Island westward, not without great Danger. There they cast Anchor: but the Waves rising very high, so as to fill the Ships with Water, they were again in the Night obliged to stand out to Sea, and make for the Continent of Gaul. That very Night it happened to be full Moon, when the Tides upon the Sea-coast always rise highest, a Thing at that time wholly unknown to the Romans. Thus at one and the same Time, the Gallies which Cæsar made use of to transport his Men, and which he had ordered to be drawn up on the Strand, were filled with the Tide; and the Tempest fell furiously upon the Transports that lay at Anchor in the Road. Nor was it possible for our Men to attempt any thing for their Preservation. Many of the Ships being dashed to pieces, and the rest having lost their Anchors, Tackle, and Rigging, which rendered them altogether unfit for failing, a general Consternation spread itself. through the Camp. For there were no other Ships to carry back the Troops, nor any Materials to repair those that had been disabled by the Tempest. And as it had been all along Cæsur's Design to winter in Gaul, he was wholly

wholly without Corn to subsist the Troops in those Parts.

XXVII. ALL this being known to the British Chiefs, who after the Battle had repaired to Cafar's Camp, to perform the Conditions of the Treaty; they began to hold Confe ences among themselves. And as they plainly faw that the Romans were destitute both of Cavalry, Sh pping, and Corn; and eafily judged, from the Smallness of the Camp, that the Number of their Troops was but inconfiderable; in which Notion they were the more confirmed, because Casar having brought over the Legions without Baggage, had occasion to inclose but a finall Spot of Ground: they thought this a convenient Opportunity for taking up Arms, and by intercepting the Reman Convovs to protract the Affair till Winter; being confidently persuaded, that by defeating these Troops, or cutting off their Return, they should effectually put a Stop to all future Attempts upon Britain. Having therefor? entered into a joint Confederacy, they by Degrees left the Camp, and began to draw the Islanders together. But Cæsar, though he was not yet apprized of their Design, yet guessing in part at their Intentions, by the Disaster which had befallen his Fleet, and the Delays formed in relation to the Hostages, determined to provide against all Events. He therefore had Corn daily brought in to his Camp, and ordered the Timber of the Ships that had been most damaged to be made use of in repairing the rest, sending to Gaul for what other Materials he wanted. As the Soldiers were Indefatigable in this Service, his Fleet was soon in a Condition to fail, having lost only twelve Ships.

Legion being sent out to forage, according to Custom; as part were employed in cutting down the Corn, and part in carrying it to the Camp, without Suspicion of Attack; News was brought to Caser, that a greater Cloud of Rust than ordinary was seen on that Side where the Legion was. Casar, suspecting how Matters went, marched with the Cohorts that were upon Guard, ordering two others to succeed in their Room, and all the Soldiers in the Camp to arm and follow him as soon as possible. When he was advanced a little way from H

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the Camp, he saw his Men overpowered by the Enemy, and with great Difficulty able to sustain the Fight, being driven into a small Compass, and exposed on every Side to the Darts of their Adversaries. For as the Harvest was gathered in every where else, and one only Field left; the Enemy suspecting that our Men would come thither to forage, had hid themselves during the Night in the Woods; and waiting till ou Men had quitted their Arms, and dispersed themselves to fall a reaping; they suddenly attacked them, killed some, put the rest into Disorder, and began to surround them with their Horses and Chariots.

XXIX. THEIR Way of fighting with their Chariots is this: First they drive heir Chariots on all Sides, and throw their Darts; insuruch that by the very Terror of the Horses, and Noise of the Wheels, they often break the Ranks of the Enemy. When they have forced their Way into the Midst of the Cavalry, they quit their Chariots, and fight on Foot. Mean-time the Drivers retire a little from the Combat, and place themselves in such a Manner as to favour the Retreat of their Countrymen, should they be overpowered by the Enemy. Thus in Action they perform the Part both of nimble Horsemen, and stable Infantry: and by continual Exercise and Use, have arrived at that Expertness, that in the most steep and difficult Places, they can stop their Horses upon a full stretch, turn them which Way they please, run along the Pole, rest on the Harness, and throw themselves back into their Chariots with incredible Dexterity.

XXX. Our Men being aftenished and confounded with this new Way of fighting, Cafar came very timely to their Relief: for upon his Approach the Enemy made a stand, and the Romans began to recover from their Fear. This satisfied Cafar for the present, who not thinking it a proper Season to provoke the Enemy, and bring on a general Engagement, stood facing them for some Time, and then led back the Legions to the Camp. The continual Rains that followed for some Days after, both kept the Romans within their Intrenchments, and withheld the Enemy from attacking us. Mean-time the Britens disparence Messengers into all Parts, to make known

known to their Countrymen the small Number of the Roman Troops, and the favourable Opportunity they had of making immense Spoils, and freeing their Country for ever from all future Invations, by storming the Enemy's Camp. Having by this Means got together a great Body of Infantry and Cavalry, they drew towards our Is trenchments.

XXXI. C'ESAR, though he forefaw that the Enemy, if beaten, would, in the same Manner as before, escape the Danger by Flight; yet having got about thirty Horse; whom Comius the Atrebatian had brought over with him from Gaul; he drew up the Legions in Order of Battle before the Camp: and falling upon the Britons, who were not able to surain the Shock of our Men, soon put them to flight. The Romans pursuing them as long as their Strength would permit, made a terrible Slaughter; and setting fire to their Houses and Villages a great Way round, returned to the Camp.

XXXII: The same Day Ambessadors came from the Enemy to Casar to sue for Peace: Casar doubled the Number of Hostages he had before imposed upon them, and ordered them to be sent over to him into Gaul; because the Equinox coming on, and his Ships being leaky, he thought it not prudent to put off his Return till Winter: A fair Wind offering, he set sail a little after Midnight, and arrived safe in Gaul. Two of his Transports not being able to reach the same Port with the Rest, were driven into a Haven a little lower in the Country.

XXXIII. In these two Vessels were about three hundred Soldiers, who having landed, and being upon their March to the Camp; the Morini, who had submitted to Casar upon his setting out for Britain, drawn by the Hopes of Plunder, surrounded them at sirst with only a sew Men, and ordered them to lay down their Arms under Pain of being put to the Sword. But they, criting themselves into an Orb, stood upon their Desence; when all on a Sudden six thousand more of the Enemy appeared, rouzed by the Noise of the Combatants. Casar naving-Notice of what passed, tent all his Cavalry to the Assistance of the Remans. Mean-while our Men

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withstood all the Attacks of the Enemy, and bravely maintained the Fight for upwards of six Hours, having slain great Numbers of the Morini, while on their Side only a few were wounded. But no sooner did our Cavalry appear, than the Enemy, throwing down their Arms, betook themselves to Flight, and were almost all slain in the Pursuit.

WIXIV. THE Day after Cæsar sent S. Labienus, with the Legions returned out of Britain, against the rebellious Morini; who being deprived by the Drought of the Benefit of their Marshes, which had served them for Shelter the Year before, almost all fell into his Power. Mean-time Q. Titurius, and L. Cotta, who had been sent against the Menapians, having laid waste their Territories with Fire and Sword, and plundered their Habitations, returned to Gæsar, not being able to come up with the Menapians themselves, who had retired into impenetrable Forests. Cæsar quartered all his Troops among the Belgians. Only two of the British States sent Hostages into Gaal, the rest neglecting to perform the Conditions of the Treaty. For these Successes a Thanksgiving of twenty Days was decreed by the Senate.

C. JULIUS.CÆSAR's COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in GAUL.

BOOK V.

THE ARGUMENT.

I Cæsar, leaving Orders with his Lieutenants in Gaul to build a Fleet, sets out for Italy and Illyricum, where he puts a Stop to the Incursions of the Pirustæ. II. Returning thence into Gaul, he marches against the Treviri, and quiets the Disturbances in that Province. Dumnorix withdrawing from the Roman Camp with the Aduan Cavalry, is pursued and slain. VII. Cæsar passes over into Britain. VIII. And forces the Enemy from the Woods in which they had taken Shalter. IX. But understanding that his Firet had suffered greatly by a Storm, he quits the pursuit of the Britons, repairs his Fleet, fortifies his Camp, and then returns against the Enemy. X. A Description of Britain, and its Inhabitants. XI. Cæsar defeats the Britons in various Encounters. XIV. Passes the Thames. XIX. Returns into Gaul. XX. And because of the great Scarcity of Corn, diftributes his Legi ns among the several States. Tasgetius slain among the Carnutes. XXII. Ambiorix and Cativulous e. . to several States to a Revelt. XXIII. Ambiorix e, an .. ., il Speech persuades Titurius to quit his Camp, and attacking him in his March, cuts him off with his whole Party. XXX. Being afterwards joined by the Nervians, he falls upon Cicero's Camp. XXXVI. The noble Emulation of Pulfio and Varenus. XXXVII. Cæsar marches to Cicero's Relief. XLI. The Gauls quit the Siege, and advance to meet him. XLII. Cæsar defeats them in Battle. XLIV. And to prevent their continual Revolts, resolves to pass the Winter in Gaul. XLV. The Schones, Treviri, and other States, hear the Roman Yoke with Impatience. XLVII. Indutiomarus attacks Labienus's Camp. XLIX. But being Stain in the Attempt, the Gau' Separate, and Tranquillity is in a great Measure restored.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in GAUL.

BOOK V.

I. IN the Consulship of Lucius Domitius, and Appius Claudius, Cæsar, leaving his Winter-quarters to go into Italy, as was his yearly Custom, gave Orders to his Lieutenants, who had the Charge of the Legions, to build as many Ships as possible during the Winter, and to repair such as were old. He prescribed the Form and Manner of building; ordering them to be somewhat lower than was usual in the Mediterranean, for the convenience of embarking and landing his Men; which he judged the more necessary, as he had observed, that by reason of the frequent Returns of the Tide, there was less Depth of Water upon the British Coast. He likewife commanded them to be built broader than ordinary, ... that they might receive the greater Number of Horses and Carriages; and to be contrived for Lightness and Expedition, to which the Lowness of their Decks greatly contributed. He sent to Spain for the Materials necellary in building and equipping them; and having finished the Diet of Cifalpine Gaul, set out for Illyricum, upon Advice that the Piruflæ were laying waste the Province by, their Incursions. When he arrived there, he ordered the several States to furnish their Contingents, and appointed a Place of general Rendezvous. Report of this no fooner spread among the Pirusta, than they fent Amballadors to inform him; that nothing had been done against the Province by publick Authority, H 4

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and that they were ready to make what Satisfaction he required. Cofar, pleased with their Submission, ordered them to bring him Hostages, and named the Day by which they were to be delivered; threatening them with a fierce War in case of Disobedience. These being accordingly brought by the Day prefixed, he appointed Arbitrators between the contending States, to estimate the Damages, and determine what Reparation was to be made.

- II. HAVING dispatched these Affairs, and held a general Diet of the Province, he returned again into Cifalpine Gaul, and thence went to the Army. Upon his Arrival, he visited all the Quarters of the Legions; and found, that by the fingular Diligence of the Soldiers, notwithstanding the greatest Sancity of Materials, no less than fix hundred Transports, such as we have described above, and twenty-eight Gallies, were in such Forwardness, that in a few Days they would be ready to be launched. Having praised his Soldiers, and those whom he had fet over the Works, he gave them what further Instructions he thought necessary, and ordered the whole Fleet to rendezvous at Port-Itius, whence he knew lay the most commodious Passage to Britain; it being the re not above thirty Miles distant from the Continent. Leaving what Soldiers he thought necessary for this Purpose, he advanced at the Head of four Legions without Baggage, and eight hundred Horse, into the Country of the Treviri; because they neither appeared at the general Diets of Gaul, nor submitted to the Orders of the Commonwealth; and were besides reported to be foliciting the Germans beyond the Rhine.
- III. This State is by far the most powerful of all Gaul in Horse: they have likewise a very strong and numerous Infantry; and, as we have before observed, border upon the Rhine. Two of their principal Men, Indutiomarus and Cingetoria, were at this Time Competitors for the supreme Authority. Cingetoria, as soon as he heard of the Arrival of Cæsar and the Legions, came to him, and assured him; that he and all his Party would continue firm to their Duty, and never abandon the Interest of the Romans: at the same Time he informed him of all that had passed among the Treviri.

Rut

But Indutiomarus, drawing together great Numbers of Horse and Foot, and securing such as were unable to bear Arms in the Forest of Arden, which extends from the Rhine quite cross the Country of Treves, to the Territories of the Rhemi; resolved to try the Fortune of War. But soon after, as several of the leading Men of the State, partly out of Attachment to Cingetoria, partly terrified by the Approach of the Roman Army, came to Cæsar to solicit in their own Behalf, since they found themselves incapable of effectually serving their Country: Indutiomarus, fearing an universal Defection, sent likewise Ambassadors to him to acquaint him: " That he had chosen to stay at home, and forbear coming to the Roman Camp, with no other View but to keep the State in its Duty; 19st, in the Absence of the "Nobility, the People might have been drawn into so some rash Step: That the whole Country was now se at his Command; and he ready, with Cæsar's Per-mission, to attend him in person, and put his own "Concerns, as well as those of the State, under his Protection." Though Cæsar well understood the Reason of his present Submission, and by what Considerations he had been deterred from the Prosecution of his first Design; yet unwilling to waste the whole Summer in the Country of Treves, when every thing was in Readiness for his Expedition into Britain, he ordered Indutiomarus to attend him with two hundred Hostages. These being accordingly brought, and among them the Son, and all the nearest Relations of Indutiomarus, whom he had specified by Name; Cæsar encouraged and exhorted him to continue firm in his Duty. Nevertheless, assembling all the principal Men of Treves, he reconciled them one after another to Cingetoria, as well on account of his fingular Merit, as because he thought it of the greatest Importance, to establish thoroughly the Authority of a Man, of whose steady and inviolable Attachment he had such convincing Proof. Indutiomarus highly resented this Proceeding, which tended so much to the Diminution of his Power; and as he had all along been an Enemy to the Romans, this new Affront provoked him still more.

IV. THESE Affairs being fettled. Carfar arrived with his Legions at the Port of Itime. There he found, that about

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Belgians, having been attacked by a Storm, and disabled from continuing their Voyage, had been obliged to put back. The rest were all equipped and rigged, ready to bbey the first Signal. All the Cavalry of Gaul, about sour thousand in Number, and the prime Nobility of the several States, met him likewise, by Order, at this Place. His Design was, to leave only a few of these Nobles behind him in Gaul, on whose Fidelity he could rely; and to take the rest with him to Britain as Hostages, the better to prevent any Commotions during his Absence.

V. DUMNORIX the Æduar, of whom we have spoken above, was one of those that attended him on this Occa-Him in particular he resolved to carry along with him, as he knew him to be a Lover of Novelties, ambitious, enterprising, and of great Interest and Authority among the Gauls. Besides all this, he had publickly faid in an Assembly of the Eduans, that Casar had invested him with the Sovereignty of their State: which Resolution, though by no Means pleasing to the Æduans, they yet durst not send Ambassadors to Cæsar, either to oppose or get reversed: nor was Cæsar otherwise informed of the Matter, but by those whom he had placed about Dumnerin, to have an Eye over his Condud. Dumnorix, at first, earnestly petitioned to be left in Gaul; sometimes pretending he was unused to failing, and afraid of the Sea; fometimes urging religious Engagements, which required him to itay at home, But finding all his Endeavours to no Purpose, he began to solicit the Chiefs of the Gauls, discoursing them apart, and advising them not to leave the Continent. more to awaken their Fears, he told them: " That " Carfar had his particular Reasons for carrying with him all the Nobility of Gand; because not daring to edifpatch them in their own Country, he was in " Hopes of Ending a favourable Opportunity to execute 46 his cruel Purpose in Britain." He therefore exhorted them to join in a mutual Alliance, and oblige themselves by a follown Oath, to purfue with common Confent fuch Meafures as thould appear necessary for the Prefervation of Gant.

VI. Though Cafar was fully informed of thefe Practices; yet in confideration of his fingular Regard for the Eduans, he contented himself with endeavouring to check and traverse his Designs: determined notwithstanding to continue inflexible, and at all Hazards. prevent any Misfortune to himfelf and the Commonwealth from a Spirit, which he found every Day growing more hardy and intrepid. Being therefore detained in this Place about five-and-twenty Days, during which the North west Wind, very common on that Coast, hindered him from sailing; he studied by the Ways of Gentleness and Persuasion, to keep Dumnorix in his Duty, without neglecting however to watch all his Motions. At last, the Wind springing up fair, he ordered the Horse and Foc to embark. As this universally engaged the Attention of the Camp, Dumnorix, unknown to Cæfar, drew off the Eduan Cavairy, and began his March homeward. Cafar being informed of it, immediately put a Stop to the Embarkation; and postponing every other Consideration, ordered out a Hrong Party of Horse to pursue and bring him back. If he made Redistance, or refused to obey, they had Orders to kill hin : for he judged, that a Man who had flighted his personai Authority, would not pay any great Regard to his Commands in his Absence. When they had overtaken him, he refused to return; and defending himfelf Sword in hand, implored the Affistance of his Followers, oit in calling out, that he was free, and the Subject of a free State The Romans, according to the Orders they had received, furrounded and flew him; upon which all one Æduan Cavalry returned to Cafar.

VII. This Affair concluded; and Labienus being left in Gaul with three Legions, and two thousand Horse, to defend the Port, provide Corn, have an eye upon the Transactions of the Continent, and take Measures accordingly; Cæsar weighed Anchor about Sunset with five Legions, and the same Number of Fiorse he had left with Labienus; and advancing with a gentle Southwind, continued his Course till Midnight, when he found his telf becalmed: but the Tide still driving him on, at Dayb, at he saw Britain on his left. When again following the Return of the Pide, he rowed with all his Might, to reach that Part of the Island which he

had marked out the Summer before, as most convenient for landing. And on this Occasion the Diligence of the Soldiers cannot be enough commended; who labouring incessantly at the Oar, urged the Transports and Ships of Burden so swiftly, that they equalled the Course of the Gallies. The whole Fleet reached the Coast of Britain about Noon: nor did any Enemy appear in View. But as Casar afterwards understood from the Prisoners; though a great Army of Britains had repaired to the Coast; yet terrified by the vast Number of Ships, which, together with those of the last Year's Expedition, and such as had been fitted out by particular Persons for their own Use, amounted to upwards of eight hundred; they retired hastily from the Shore, and hid themselves behind the Mountains.

VIII. CÆSAR having landed his Army, and chosen a proper Place for his Camp; as soon as he understood from the Prisoners where the Enemy's Forces lay; leaving ten Cohorts upon the Coest, together with three hundred Horse, to guard his Fleet; he set out about Midnight in quest of the Enemy; being under the less Concern for his Ships, because he had lest them at Anchor upon a smooth and open Shore, under the Charge of Q. Atrius. After a March of twelve Hours during the Night, he came within Sight of the Enemy; who having posted themselves behind a River with their Cavalry and Chariots, attacked us from the higher Ground, in order to oppose our Passage: but being repulsed by our Horse, they retreated towards the Woods, into a Place strongly fenced both by Nature and Art, and which in all probability, had been fortified before on occasion of some domestick War: for all the Avenues were secured by strong Barricades of felled Trees. They never fallied out of the Wood but in small Parties, thinking it enough to defend the Entrance against our Men. But the Soldiers of the seventh Legion, advancing under Cover of their Shields, and having cast up a Mount, forced the Intrenchments with little Lofs, and obliged the Enemy to abandon the Wood. Caesar fo bid all Pursuit; both because he was unacquainted with the Nature of the Country; and the Day being far spent, he resolved to employ the sest of it in fortifying his Camp.

IX. EARLY

IX. EARLY the next Morning, he divided his Troops both Horse and Foot into three Bodies, and sent them out in Pursuit of the Enemy. They were advanced but a little Way, and just come within Sight of the Rear of the Britons, when a Party of Horse from Atrius came to Cæsar, and informed him, "That a dreadful Storm arifing the Night before, had fallen violently upon the Fleet, and driven almost all the Ships ashore: "That neither Anchors nor Cables, nor all the Address of the Mariners and Pilots, had been able to refift the Fury of the Tempest; which had done unspeakable "Damage to the Fleet, by reason of the Ships running " foul of one another." Caefar, upon this Intelligence, recalls his Legions and Cavalry, commanding them to give over the Pursur He himself returns to his Ships, and finds every thing according to the Reports and Letters he had received; forty of them being entirely destroyed, and the rest so damaged that they were hardly repairable. He therefore set all the Carpenters of the Army to work, and wrote for others to Gaul; ordering Labienus at the same Time, with the Legions under his Command, to build what Ships he could. He thought it likewise safest, though a Work of great Labour and Difficulty, to draw all his Ships on Shore, and inclose them within the Fortifications of his Camp. Ten Days were spent in the Service, during which the Soldiers had no Intermission of Fatigue, not even in the Night. The Ships being in this Manner secured, and the Camp strongly fortified, he left the same Troops to guard it as before, and returned to the Place where he had quitted the Pursuit of the Enemy. Upon his Arrival he found the Forces of the Britans confiderably increased. The. chief Command and Administration of the War, was, by common Consent, conferred upon Cassibelanus; whose Territories were divided from the Maritime States by the Thames, a River eighty Miles distant from the Sea. This Prince had hitherto been engaged in almost continual Wars with his Neighbours : but the Terror of our Arrival making the Britous unite among themselves, they intrusted him with the whole Conduct of the War.

X. The inland Parts of Britain are inhabited by those, whom Fame reports to be the Natives of the Soil.

BIO CAESAR'S COMMENTARIES OF Book V.

The Sea-coast is peopled with Belgians, drawn thither by the Love of War and Plunder. These last, passing over from different Parts, and settling in the Country, still retain the Names of the several States whence they are descended. The Island is well peopled, full of Houses built after the Manner of the Gauls, oand abounds in Cattle. They use brass Money, and iron Rings of a certain Weight. The Provinces remote from the Sea produce Tin, and those upon the Coast Iron; but the latter in no great Quantity. Their Brass is all im-All Kinds of Wood grow here the same as in Gaul, except the Fir and Beech-tree. They think it unlawful to feed upon Hares, Pullets, or Geese; yet they breed them up for their Diversion and Pleasure. The Climate is more temperate than in Gaul, and the Colds less intense. The Island is triangular, one of its Sides facing Gaul. The Extremity towards Kent; whence is the nearest Passage to Gaul, lies Eastward: the other stretches South-weit. This Side extends about five hundred Miles. Another Side looks towards Spain Over-against this lies Ireland, an Island esteemed not above half as large as Britain, and separated from it by an Interval equal to that between Britain and Gaul. In this Interval lies the Isle of Mona, besides feveral other lesser Islands, of which some write, that in the Time of the Winter-folitice, they have Night for thirty Days together. We could make out nothing of this upon Enquiry, only discovered by Means of our Hour-glasses, that the Nights were shorter than in Gaul. The Length of this Side is computed at seven hundred Miles. I he last Side faces the North-east, and is fronted by no Part of the Continent, only towards one of its Extremitics it feems to eye chiefly the German Coast. It is thought to extend in length about eight hundred Miles. Thus the whole Island takes in a Circuit of two thousand Miles. The Inhabitants of Kent, which lies wholly on the Sca-coast, are the most civilized of all the Britons, and differ but little in their Manners from the Gauls. The greater Part of those within the Country never sow their Lands, but live on Flesh and Milk, and go clad in Skins. All the Britons in general paint themselves with Woad, which gives a bluith Cast to the Skin, and makes them look dreadful in Battle. They are longhaired; and shave all the rest of the Body except the Head

Book V.

Head and upper Lip. Ten or twelve of them live to gether, having their Wives in common; especially Brothers, or Parents and Children amongst themselves: But the Issue is always ascribed to him who first espoused the Mother.

XI. THE Enemy's Horse, supported by their Chariots, vigorously charged our Cavalry on their March; vet we every where had the better, and drove them to their Woods and Hills: But after making great Slaughter, venturing to continue the Purfuit too farwe lost some Men. Some Time after, sallying unexpectedly from the Woods, and falling suddenly upon our Men while employed in fortifying their Camp, a sharp Conflict ensued between them and the advanced Guard. Cæsar sint two Cohorts to their Assistance; whom the Britons charging in separate Parties, so surprised with their new Manner of Fighting, that they broke through, routed them, and returned without Loss. Q. Laberius Durus, a military Tribune, was slain on this Occasion: But some fresh Cohorts coming up, the Britons were at last repulsed.

XII. By this Action, which happened within View of the Camp, and of which the whole Army were Spectators, it evidently appeared, that our heavy armed. Legions, who could neither purfue those that retired, nor durst venture to forfake their Standards, were by no means a fit Match for fuch an Enemy. Nor could even the Cavalry engage without great Danger; it being usual for the Britons to counterfeit a Retreat, until they had drawn them a confiderable Way from the .. Legions; when suddenly quitting their Chariots, they charged them on Foot, and by this unequal Manner of Fighting, made it alike dangerous to pursue or retire. Add to all this, that they never fought in a Body, but in small Parties, and with considerable Intervals between. They had likewise their Detachments so placed, as easily to protect their flying Troops, and fend fieth Supplies where needful.

XIII. THE next Day they stationed themselves among the Hills, at a Distance from our Camp, and appeared only in small Bodies, nor seemed so forward

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skirmish with our Cavalry as the Day before. But about Noon, Cafer ordering out three Legions to forage, with all the Cavalry, under the Command of C: Trebenius his Lieutenant; they fell suddenly upon the Foragers on all Sides, and even attacked the Legions and Standards. Our Men vigoroufly returning the Gharge, repulsed them; and the Cavalry finding themselves supported by the Foot, continued the Pursuit tilk they had utterly broken them; insomuch that great Numbers being slain, they could neither find an Opporsunity to rally, descend from their Chariots, or face about to make Resistance. After this Defeat, the auxiliary Troops, which had come in from all Parts, returned severally to their own Homes; nor did the Enemy, from this Time, appear any more against us with their whole Forces.

XIV. CASAR perceiving their Design, marched towards the Thames, to penetrate into the Kingdom of Cassibelanus. This River is fordable only in one Place, and that not without great Difficulty. When he arrived, he saw the Enemy drawn up in great Numbers on the other Side. They had likewise secured the Banks with sharp Stakes, and driven many of the same Kind into the Bottom of the River, yet so as to be covered by the Water. Casar having Intelligence of this from the Prisoners and Deserters, sent the Cavalry before, ordering the Legions to sollow close after; which they did with so much Expedition and Briskness, though nothing but their Heads were above the Water, that the Enemy, unable to sustain their Charge, quitted the Banks, and betook themselves to Flight.

KV. CASSIBELANUS, as we have before intimated, finding himself unable to keep the Field, disbanded all his other Forces; and retaining only four Thousand Chariots, watched our Motions, always keeping at some Distance from us, and sheltering himself in Woods and inaccessible Places, whither he had likewise made such of the Inhabitants with their Cattle retire, as lay upon our Route: And if at any Time our Cavalry ventured upon a freer Excursion into the Fields, to plunder and lay waste the Country; as he was perfectly acquainted with all the Roads and Desiles, he would fally from the Woods.

Woods with some of the Chariots, and fall upon our Men dispersed and in Disorder. These frequent Alarms abliged us to be much upon our Guard; nor would Casar suffer the Cavalry to remove to any Distance from the Legions, or to pillage and destroy the Country, unless where the Foot was at hand to sustain them.

XVI. MEAN-TIME the Trinobantes, one of the most powerful States in those Parts, send Ambassadors to Casar. Of this State was Mandubratius, who had fled for Protection to Casar in Gaul, that he might avoid the Fate of his Father Imanuentius, whom Cassibelanus had put to Death. The Ambassadors promised Obedience and Submission in the Name of the Province; and withal intreated him to defend Mandubratius against the Violence of Cassibelanus, and restore him to the Government of their State. Casar ordered them to deliver forty Hostages, and surnish his Army with Corn; sending back at the same Time Mandubratius. They yielded to his Demands without Delay, sent the appointed Number of Hostages, and supplied him with Corn.

XVII. THE Protection granted to the Trinobantes fecuring them from the Infults of the Soldiers, the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi, send Ambassadors to Cæsar, and submit. From them he had Intelligence, that he was not far from the Capital of Cassibelanus, which was situated amidst Woods and Marshes, and whither great Numbers of Men and Cattle were retired. A Town among the Britons is nothing more than a thick Wood, fortified with a Ditch and Rampart, to serve as a Place of Retreat against the Incursions of their Enemies. Thither he marched with his Legions: And though the Place appeared to be extremely strong both by Art and Nature, he nevertheless resolved to attack it in two several Quarters. The Enemy, after a short Stand, were obliged at last to give way, and retire by another Part of the Wood. Vast Numbers of Cattle were found in the Place; and many of the Britons were either made Prisoners, or lost their Lives in the Pursuit.

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XVIII. WHILE these Things passed beyond the Thames, Gassibelanus dispatched Messengers to Kent, which, as we have before observed, was situated along. the Sea-coast. This Country was then under the Government of four Kings, Cingetorix, Carnilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, who had Orders to draw all their Forces together, and fall suddenly upon the naval Camp of the Romans. But our Men fallying upon them as they approached, made great Slaughter of their Troops, took Cingetorix one of their Leaders Prisoner, and returned safe to the Camp. Cassibelanus, upon the News of this Battle, discouraged by so many Losses, the Devastation of his Territories, and above all the Revolt of the Provinces; sent Ambassadors to Cæsar to sue for Peace, by the Mediation of Comius of Arras.

XIX. CESAR, designing to pass the Winter in Gaul, because of the frequent Commotions in that Country; and reflecting that but a finall Part of the Summer remained, during which it would be easy to protract the War; demanded Hostages, and appointed the yearly Tribute which Britain was to pay to the Romans. the same Time he strictly charged Cassibelanus to offer no Injury to Mandubratius, or the Trinobantes. Having received the Hostages, he led his Troops back to the Sea-side, where he found his Fleet repaired. Orders were immediately given to launch it: And because the Number of Prisoners was exceeding great, and several Ships had been destroyed by the Tempest, he resolved to carry over his Men at two Embarkations. Happily it so fell out, notwithstanding the great Number of Ships, and their frequent passing and repassing, that not one perished either this or the preceding Year, which had any Soldiers on board: Whereas those sent empty to him from the Continent, as well the Ships concerned in the first Embarkation, as others built afterwards by Labienus, to the Number of fixty, were almost all driven back or lost. Casfar having waited for them a considerable Time to no l'urpose, and searing to lose the proper Leafon for failing, as the Time of the Equinox drew near, chose to stow his Men on board the few Ships he had: And taking the Opportunity of an extraordinary Calm, fet Sail about ten at Night, and by Day-break brought his whole Fleet fale to the Continent of Gaul.

XX.

XX. HAVING laid up his Fleet, and held a general Assembly of the Gauls at Samarobriva; as the Crop had been very indifferent this Year, by reason of the great Droughts, he was obliged to quarter his Legions otherwise than in former Winters, and canton them one by one in the several Provinces of Gaul. One Legion he quartered on the Morini, under the Command of C. Fabias: Another among the Nervians, under Q. Cicero: third with the Æduans, under L. Roscius: And a fourth in the Country of the Rhemi, on the Borders of Treviri, under Labienus? Three were sent into Belgium, over whom he appointed three Commanders; M. Craffus his Questor, L. Munatius Plancus, and C. The eighth and last, which Cæsar had newly raised on the other Side of the Po, was sent, together with five Cohorts, among the Eburones, between the Rhine and the Meufe, where Ambiorix and Cativulcus reigned. At the Head of this Body were two Commanders; Q. Titurius Sabinus, and L. Arunculsius Cotta. By this Distribution of his Legions, he thought he had found an easy Remedy against the Scarcity of Corn; and yet they all lay within the Compais of an hundred Miles, except that under L. Roscius, for which he was in no Pain, as being quartered in a very quiet and friendly Country. He resolved however not to leave Gaul till he had received Advice from all his Lieutenants, and was affured that their Quarters were established, fortified, and fecured;

XXI. A MONG the Garnutes lived Tafgetius, a Man of distinguished Birth, and whose Ancestors had been possessed of the Sovereignty in that State. Cafar had restored him to the Dignity of his Foresathers; in consideration of his Virtue and Affection to him, and the many signal Services he had done him in all his Wars. It was now the third Year of his Reign, when his Enemies, many of whom were of his own State, conspiring against him, openly assistanted him. The Affair was laid before Casar; who searing lest the great Number concerned in the Plot might draw the State into a Revolt, ordered L. Plancus, with a Legion from Belgium, to march speedily into the Country of the Carnutes, fix his Winter-quarters in that Province, and seizing all who had been concerned in the Murder of Tasgetius,

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fend them Prisoners to him. Mean-time he was informed by his Lieutenants and Questors, to whom he had committed the Care of the Legions, that they were severally arrived at their appointed Quarters, and had fortified themselves in them.

XXII. ABOUT fifteen Days after the Arrival of the Legions in their Winter-quarters, a sudden Insurrection and Revolt broke out among the Eburones. by the fee. & Practices of Ambiorix and Cativulcus. These two Princes had been to meet Sabinus and Cotta on their Frontices, and in a friendly Manner had supplied them with Corn: But now instigated by Indutiomarus of Treves, they excited their People to take up Arms; and having furprifed some Soldiers that were gone to cut Wood, came with a great Body of Troops to attack the Roman Camp. Our Men immediately flew to Arms, ascended the Rampart, and sending out a Detachment of Spanish Horse, put their Cavalry to Rout. Upon this, despairing of Buccess, they drew off their Men from the Attack; and, according to their Custom, demanded a Conference; pretending they had something to say which concerned the common Interest, and might serve to put an End to. the present Differences.

XXIII. ACCORDINGLY C. Arpinius, a Roman Knight, the Friend of Q. Titurius; and Q. Junius of Spain, who had frequently before been fent by Cafar to Ambioria, were deputed to treat. Ambiorix addressed them in Words to this Effect: "That he had in no Sort forgot 66 the many Obligations he lay under to Cæsar; who had freed him from the Tribute he had been wont to es pay the Atuatici; and who had restored him his Son and Nephew, whom that People, after receiving them 46 as Hostages, had treated as Slaves: That the Hosti-" lities he had just committed were not the Effect of. "his own private Animosity to the Romans, but in conse sequence of a Resolution of the State; where the "Government was of such a Nature, that the People .66 had as much Power over him, as he over the People: "That even the State itself had been in a Manner " ferced into this War, by a fudden Confederacy of " all Gaul: That he could appeal to his own Weakneis for the. Truth of what he faid, being not fo very ee undkilled

"unskilled in Affairs as to imagine, that the Forces of " the Bourenes were a Match for the Power of the Ro-" mans: That it was a Project formed by all the States of Gaul in common, who had agreed to storm in one "Day, the very Day on which he spoke, all the Quarters of the Roman Army; so that no one might be " able to succour another: That it was not easy for "Guls to resist the Importunity of those of their own it Nation, especially in a Proposal to act in concert " for the Recovery of their Liberty: But that, after having performed what the common Voice of his "Country demanded, he thought he might now liften " to that of Gratitude: That he found himself com-" pelled by his Attachment to Cafar, and by his Friend-46 ship for Sabinus, to give Notice of the extreme Danger to which the Legion was exposed: That a great Body of Germans had actually passed the Rhine, and would be there in two Days at farthest: That Sabinus and "Cotta were to consider, whether it would not be pro-46 per to retire with their Troops, before the neighbour-"ing States could be apprized of their Defign, and go " and join Labienus or Cicero, who were neither of them "distant much above fifty Miles: That as far as re-" garded himself, he engaged by all that was facred to " fecure their Retreat through his Territories; and un-"dertook it the more readily, as he should thereby not only discharge his Duty to his Country, in deliver-" ing it from the Inconvenience of wintering the Romans, but at the same Time manifest his Gratitude to " Cæsar." Having made this Speech he withdrew.

XXIV. ARPINIUS and Junius reported what they had heard to the Lieutenants; who alarmed at the Suddenness of the Thing, thought the Information not to be neglected, though it came from an Enemy: Norwere they a little moved by this Consideration, that it appeared to them altogether incredible, that the Eburones, a weak and inconsiderable State, should of their own Accord presume to take up Arms against the Romans. They therefore laid the Matter before a Council of War, where a warm Debate arose. L. Arunculcius, with a great Number of military Tribunes, and Centurions of the first Runk, were against undertaking any Thing hastily, or quitting their Winter-quarters, before they

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had received Orders to that Purpose from Cæsar. They alleged: "That having strongly fortified their Camp, "they were able to defend themselves, even against all the Forces of the Germans: That the late Attempt of the Gauls was a sufficient Proof of this, whom, they had not only wninftood with Courage, but repulled with Loss: That they had Provisions in Abundance, and might therefore securely wait the "Arrival of Relief from Cajar and the neighbour..... Legions: In fine, that nothing could be more dif-66 honourable, or argue greater Want of Judgme..., than in Afrairs of the highest Moment, to take Mea-" fures upon the Information of an Fnemy." Titurius, on the other Hand, exclaimed: "That it would be then too late to think of retiring, when the Enemy in e greater Numbers, and strengthened by the Accession of the Germans, should come up against them; or when the Quarters next them should have received fome fignal-Check: That the Time for Deliberation was short: That Cæsar, he made no question, was gone into Italy; it not being likely, that either the Carnutes would have formed the Defign of affaffinating Tasgetius, or the Eburones in so contemptuous a Manner assaulted the Roman Camp, had they not been assured of his Departure: That the Information of an Enemy weighed not with him, but the real Circumstances of Things. The Rhine was not far off. Th. Germans were much exasperated by the Death of " Ariovistus, and their late frequent Defeats. Gaut burnt with Impatience to throw off the Roman Yoke, avenge the many Losse: they had fustained, and recover their former Glory in War, of which now scarce a Shadow remained. In short, who could imagine that Ambiarix, without a Certainty of being se supported, would have en barked in so dangerous an fo Luterprize? That his Opinion was in all Respects se safe; hecause, if no such Confederacy had been formed, they had nothing to apprehend in marching to the nearest Ligion; if, on the contrary, all Gaul se and Germany were united, Expedition alone could for fave them from Deteruction: Whereas, by following the Advice of Cotto, and those who were against a Retreat; though the Danger perhaps might not prove immediate, yet were they fure in the End of perilling

Cotta, and the principal Officers, strongly opposing the March of the Troops. At last Sabinus raising his Voice, that he might be heard by the Soldiers without: "Be it so then, (says he,) since you seem so resolved: I am not he among you who is most asraid of Death. But if any Missortune happens, those who hear me will know whom to blame. In two Days, did not you oppose it, we might easily reach the Quarters next us; and there, in Conjunction with our Fellow- Soldiers, confront the common Danger: Whereas by keeping the Troops separate and at a Distance, you reduce them to the Necessity of perishing by Sword or Famine."

XXV. THE Council was then going to rue: But the Officers furrounding their Generals, conjured them not to put all to Hazard by their Dissension and Obstinacy. They told them, "That whatever Resolution was taken, whether to go or stay, the Danger was by " no Means great, provided they acted with Union " among themselves; but their Disagreement threatened " the Troops with inevitable Destruction." The Debate continued till Midnight: When at length Cotta, vanguished by Importunity, yielded to the Opinion of Orders were given for marching by Break of Day. The Remainder of the Night was none of it employed in Sleep; each Man being taken up in choosing: what Things to carry along with him, and what of his Winter-necessaries to leave behind. In short, they did every Thing to make their Stay more dangerous; and, by their Fatigue and Want of Rest, incapacitate themselves for a vigorous Defence upon their March. At Day-break they left their Camp, not like Men acting by the Advice of an Enemy, but as if Ambiorix had been their particular Friend; marching in a very extended Column, and followed by a great Train of Baggage.

MYVI. THE Enemy judging from the Hurry and Motion in the Camp, that the Romans intended to leave it, placed themselves in Ambuscade in two Bodies in a Wood; where, well-meltered and covered from View, they waited at about two Miles Distance their Arrival; and

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and when the greatest Part of the Army had entered a large Valley, suddenly appearing on both Sides of it, they attacked them at the same Time in Front and Rear and obliged them to fight in a Place of great Difadvantage.

XXVII. THEN at length Titurius, like one who had neglected all the necessary Precautions, unable to bide his Concern, ran up and down among the Troops, at. began to dispose them in Order of Battle; but with an Air so timid and disconcerted, that it appeared he had no Hopes of Success; as happens for the most Part to those who leave all to the last Momert of Execution. But Cotta, who had foreseen that this night happen, and had therefore opposed the Departure of the Troops, omitted nothing in his Power for the common Safety; calling to and encouraging the Men like an able Gemeral, and at the same Time fighting with the Bravery of a common Soldier. And because the great Length of the Column rendered it difficult for the Lieutenants to remedy all Diforders, and repair expeditiously enough to the Places where their Presence was necessary; Orders were given to quit the Defence of the Baggage, and form into ... Orb. This Disposition, though not improper in these Circumstances, was nevertheless attended with very unhappy Confequences; for being confidered as the Effect of Terror and Despair, it discouraged our Men, and augmented the Confidence of the Enemy. Besides, as unavoidably happens on such Occasions, many of the Soldiers quitting their Enfigns, haftened to ferch from the Baggage what they had most of Value, and filled all Parts with Uproar and Lamentation.

AXVIII. THE Gauls mean-while conducted themfelver with great Prudence; their Officers proclaimed
through the Ranks, "That not a Man should shir from
this Post; that the Booty was theirs, and every Thing
belonging to the Romans must certainly fall into their
Hams: But that all depended upon securing the
'Victory." Our Men were not inserior to the Enemy
either in Valour, Number, or Way of Fighting. Though
they had neither General nor Fortune on their Side,
they hoped still by their Bravery to surmount all Dissicultics; and whenever any of the Cohorts sallied out,

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lo as to join the Enemy, Hand to Hand, a considerable. Slaughter of the Gault enfued. This being perceived by Ambiorix, he ordered his Men to cast their Darts at a Distance, to avoid a close Fight, retire before the Romans whenever they advanced, and purfue them as they. returned to their Standards: In which Way of Fighting, they were become to expert, by the Lightness of their Arms, and daily Exercise, that it was impossible to do them any Hurt. These Orders were exactly followed; infomuch that when any Cohort left the Orb, and came forward to attack the Enemy, they retreated and difperfed in a Monant: Mean-while it uncovered its own Flanks, and expected them to the Darts on either Side. The Danger was till greater when they returned; for then not only the Troops that stood next them, but: those who had recired before them, surrounded and charged them on all Hands. If, on the contrary, they chois to continue in their Post; neither could their Valour any Thing avail them, nor was it possible for Men standing so close together, to avoid the Darts of so great a Multitude. And yet notwithstanding all these Disadvantages, and the many Wounds they had received, they still maintained their Ground; and though much of the Day was now spent, the Fight having continued from Sun-rise till Two in the Afternoon, they did nothing in all that Time unworthy the Dignity of the Roman Name. At length T. Balventius, who the Year before had been made first Centurion of a Legion, a Man of distinguished Courage, and great Authority among the Troops, had both his Thighs pierced with a Dart. Q. Lucanius, an Officer of the same Rank, endeavouring to rescue his Son, whom he saw surrounded by the Enemy, was killed after a brave Resistance. And L. Cotta, the Lieutenant, encouraging the fevera! Cohorts and Companies, received a Blow on the Mouth from a Sling.

XXIX. So many Misfortunes quite dispirited Titurius; who perceiving Ambierix at a Distance animating his Troops, sent Cn. Pompey his Interpreter, to beg. Quarters for himself and his Soldiers. Ambiorix replied; "That he was ready to grant him a Conference if he desired it: That he hoped to prevail with the Multitude to spare the Romans; and that as to Sa-

binus himself, he gave his Word no Hurt should be done him." Sabinus communicated this Answer to Cotta, proposing that they should leave the Battle, and go and confer with Ambierix, from whom he was in hopes Cobtaining Quarter both for themselves and their Men. Cotta absolutely refused to treat with an armed Enemy, and perfifted in that Resolution. Sabinus ordered the military Tribunes and principal Centurions that were about his Person to follow him, and when he drew near to Ambiorix, being commanded to lay down his Arms, obeyed; charging those that were with him to do the fame. Mean-while, as they were treating about the Conditions, Ambiorix spinning out the Deliberations on purpose, he was by Degrees surrounded and slain. Then the Gauls, according to their Custom, raising a Shout, and calling out Victory, charged our Troops with great Fury, and put them into Diforder. L. Cotta, fighting manfully, was slain, with the greatest Part of the Soldiers. The rest retreated to the Camp they had quitted in the Morning; of whom L. Petrofidius, the Standardbearer, finding himself sore pressed by the Enemy, threw the Eagle within the Intrenchments, and was killed fighting bravely before the Camp. Those that remained, with much ado, sustained the Attack till Night; but finding themselves without Hope, they killed one another to the last Man. A few who escaped out of the Fight, got by different Ways to Labienus's Camp, and brought him the News of this fad Event.

XXX. Ambiorix, elated with this Victory, marched immediately at the Head of his Cavalry into the Country of the Atuatici, which bordered upon his Territories; and travelling Day and Night without Intermission, left Orders for the Infantry to follow him. Having informed them of his Success, and roused them to Arms, he the next Day arrived among the Nervians, and urged them not to lose the favourable Opportunity of freeing themselves for ever from the Yoke of Slavery, and avenging the Injuries they had received from the Romans. Hie told them, "That two of their Lieutenants had been slain, and a great Part of their tenants had been slain, and a great Part of their Army cut to Pieces: That it would be an easy quartered in their Country under Cicero: And that

he was himself ready to assist them in the Enterprise." By this Speech he easily drew in the Nervians.

XXXI. ACCORDINGLY, having forthwith dispatch Messengers to the Centrones, Grudii, Levaci, Pleumosians, and Gorduni, who are all subject to their State; they assembled what Forces they could, and came unexpect-Luly upon Gicero's Quarters, who as yet had heard nothing of the Fate of Titurius. Here likewise it anavoidably fe'll out, that the Soldiers sent to cut Wood for Firing and the Fortifications of the Camp, were intercepted by the sudden Arrival of their Cavalry. Having put all these to the Sword; the Eburones, Atuatici, and Nervians, with their Allies and Tributaries, amounting to a formedable Army, came and attacked the Camp. Our Men immediately flew to Arms, ascended the Rampart, and with great Difficulty sustained that Day's Assault; for the Enemy placed all their Hopes in Dispatch, and firmly believed that if they came off Conquerors on this Occasion, they could not fail of Victory every where elfe.

XXXII. CICERO's first Care was to write to Casar, promising the Messengers great Rewards if they carried his Letters safe. But as all the Ways were beset by the Enemy's Troops, his Couriers were continually intercepted. Mean-while of the Materials brought for fortifying the Camp, an hundred and twenty Towers were built during the Night with incredible Dispatch, and the Works about the Rampart completed. Next Day the Enemy, with a much greater Force than before, attacked the Camp, filled the Ditch, but were again repulsed by our Men. This continued for several Days together. The Night was wholly employed in repairing the Breaches made by Day, insomuch that neither the Sick or Wounded were permitted to reft. Whatever might be of Use to resist the next Day's Assault, was prepared with great Diligence during the Night. were hardened in the Fire; Palifades planted in great Number; Towers raised upon all Parts of the Rampart; and the whole strengthened with a Parapet and Battle-Cicero himself, though much out of Order, would take no Rest, even during the Night; so that the

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the Soldiers were obliged to force him from Time to Time to take some Repose.

XXXIII. MEAN-TIME such of the Nervian Chiefs and Leaders, as had any Intimacy or Friendship with Cicero, desired a Conference. This being agreed to, they addressed him in the same Strain as Ambiorix had before used towards Sabinus: "That all Gaul was in "Arms: That the Germans had passed the Rbine That Cafar and the rest of the Troops were befreged "in their Winter-quarters." They told him likewise of the Fate of Sabinus; and to gain Cedit, produced Ambiorix; adding: " That it was in vain to expect "Relief from those who were themselves in the utmost Distress: That they meant not however any Injury to "Cicero and the People of Rome, but merely to prevent " their wintering in the Country, and establishing that " Practice into a Custom: That he was therefore at Liberty to leave his Quarters without Molestation, and retire in Safety where he pleased." To this Cicero only answered: "That it was not usual with the e People of Rome to accept Conditions from an armed " Enemy: But if they would lay down their Arms, 44 he promifed to interpose his Mediation, and per-"mit them to fend Ambassadors to Cæsar, from "whose Justice they might reasonably expect Re-

XXXIV. THE Nervians, driven from this Hope, furrounded the Camp with a Line, whose Rampart was eleven Foot high, and Ditch fifteen Foot deep. They had learnt something of this in their former Wars with Cafar, and the Prisoners they had made gave them further Instructions. But being unprevided of the Tools necessary in this Kind of Service, they were obliged to cut the Turf with their Swords, dig up the Earth with their Hands, and carry it in their Cloaks. And hence it will be easy to form some Judgment of their Number: for in less than three Hours they completed a Line of fifteen Miles in Circuit. The following Days were employed in raising Towers, proportioned to the Height of our Rampart; and in preparing Scythes, and wooden Galleries, in which they were again affisted by the Prifoners. XXXV. ON

XXXV. On the feventh Day of the Attack, a very high Wind arising; they began to throw red-hot Balls of Clay, and burning Javelins, upon the Barracks of the Remans, which after the Manner of the Gauls were thatched with Straw. These soon took fire; and the Flames were in a Moment spread by the Wind into all Parts of the Camp. The Enemy falling on with a mighty Shout, as if already secured of Victory, advanced their Towers and Galleries, and prepared to scale the Ramparti But fuch was the Constancy and Presence of Mind of the Soldiers; that though the Flames surrounded them on every Side, and they were oppressed with the Mult.tude of the Enemy's Darts; though they saw their Hits, their Baggage, and their whole Fortunes in a Blaze; yet not only did they continue firm in their Posts, but scarge a Man offered so much as to look behind him; so intent were they on fighting and repelling the Enemy. This was much the hardest Day for our Troops; but had nevertheless this fortunate Issue, that far the greatest Number of the Enemy were on that Day wounded or flain! for as they had crowded close up to the Rampart, those behind prevented the front Ranks from retiring. The Flames abating by degrees, and the Enemy having brought forward one of their Towers to the very Foot of the Rampart; the Centurions of the third Cohort drew off their Men a little, beckoning to the Gauls, and challenging them to enter: but as not a Man would run the Hazard, they attacked them on all Sides with Stones, drove them from the Tower, and fet it on fire.

XXXVI. In this Legion were two Centurions of distinguished Valour, T. Pulsio, and L. Varenus, who stood fair for being raised to the first Rank of their Order. These were perpetually disputing with one another the Pre-eminence in Courage, and at every Year's Promotion contended with great Eagerness for Precedence. In the Heat of the Attack before the Rampart, Pulsio addressing Varenus: "What hinders you now (says he,) or what more georious Opportunity would you desire of signalizing your Bravery? This, this is the Day for determining the Controversy between us." At these Words he sallied out of the Camp, and rushed amidst the thickest of the Gauls.

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Gauls. Nor did Varenus decline the Challenge; bu thinking his Honour at stake, followed at some Distance. Pulsio darted his Javelin at the Enemy, and transfixed a Gaul that was coming forward to engage him: who falling dead of the Wound, the Multitude advanced to cover him with their Shields, and all poured their Darts upon Pulfic, giving him no Time to retire. A Javelin pierced his Shield, and stuck fast in his Belt. This Accident entangled his right Hand, prevented him drawing his Sword, and gave the Enemy Time to furround him. Varenus his Rival flew to his Assistance and endeavoured to rescue him. Immediately the Multitude quitting Pulfio, as fancying the Dart had difpatched him, all turned upon Varenus. He met them with his Sword drawn, charged them Hand to Hand; and having laid one dead at his Feet, drove back the rest: but puriuing with too much Eagerness, stept Ihto a Hole, and fell down. Pulfio in his Turn hastened to extricate him; and both together, after having slain a Multitude of the Gauls, and acquired infinite Applause, retired unhurt within the Intreachments. Thus Fortune gave such a Turn to the Dispute, that each owed his Life to his Adversary; nor was it possible to decide to which of them the Prize of Valour was due.

XXXVII. As the Defence every Day became more difficult and hazardous, chiefly by the great Multitude of killed and wounded, which confiderably lesiened the Number of Defendants; Cicero sent Letter upon Letter to inform Cafar of his Danger. Many of these Couriers falling into the Enemy's Hands, were tortured to Death within View of our Soldiers. There was at that Time in the Roman Camp a Nervian of Distinction, by name Vertico, who in the Beginning of the Siege had fled to Gicero, and given ample Proofs of his Fidelity. This Man, by the Hopes of Liberty, and a Promise of great Rewards, engaged one of his Slaves to carry a Letter to Casar. Having concealed it in his Javelin, and passed through the Camp of the Gauls without sufpicion, as heir g himself of that Nation, he arrived safe at Cæsar's Quarters, who by this Means was informed of the Danger of Cicero and the Legion.

Inve in the Afternoon, immediately dispatched a Messenger to M. Crassus, who was quartered among the Bellovaci, twenty-five Miles off, ordering him to draw out his Legion at Midnight, and march with all the Expedition he could to join him. Crassus, according to his Orders, came along with the Courier. He sent likewise to C. Fabius, directing him to lead his Legion into the Country of the Atrebatians, which lay in the Way to Ciceso. He wrote to Labienus, if it could be done with a sety, to meet him upon the Frontiers of the Narvians. He himself in the Mean-time assembled about four jundred Horse from the nearest Garrisons, resolving not to wait for the rest of the Army, which lay at soo great a Distance.

XXXIX. At nice in the Morning he had notice from his Scouts of the Arrival of Crassus. That Day he marched twenty Miles, leaving Craffus with a Legion at Samarobriva, where he had deposited the Baggage, Hostages, publick Papers and all the Provisions which had been laid up for the Winter. Fabius, in consequence of his Instructions, having made all the Haste he could, met him with his Legion. Labienus, who had been informed of the Death of Sabinus, and the Destruction of the Troops under his Command, and who faw all the Forces of Treves advancing against him; fearing lest if he should quit his Quarters, the Enemy might construe it as a Flight, and that it would be impossible for him to sustain their Attack, especially as they were flushed with their late Success; wrote to Cafar, informing him of the Danger that would attend the quitting his Camp, of the Difaster that happened among the Eburones, and that all the Forces of the Treviri, both Horse and Foot, were encamped within three Miles of him.

XL. CÆSAR approving his Reasons; though he thereby found himself reduced from three to two Legions, was yet sensible that all depended upon Expedition. He makes forced Marches; and reaching the Territories of the Nervians, learnt from some Prisoners the State of the Siege, and the Danger the Legion was in. Immediately he engages a Gaulish Horseman, by the Promise of great Rewards,

Rewards, to carry a Letter to Cicero. It was wrote in Greek Characters, that if it fell into the Enemy's Hands, it might not be intelligible to them. The Messenger had Orders, in case he found it impracticable to penetrate himself into the Roman Camp, to tie the Letter to a -Javelin, and throw it in. In this Letter Cafar fent Gicero word that he was already on the March to relieve him, and would be up very foon; exhorting him in the Mean-time, to defend himself with his wonted Brivery. The Gaul, dreading a Discovery. threw the Letter into the Camp as he had been ordered: but the Javelin by Accident sticking in a Tower, remained there two Days unperceived. On the third a Solvier faw it, took it down, and brought it to Cicero; who immediately read it in full Assembly, and diffused the common Joy through the whole Camp. At the same Time they perceived the Smoke of the Villages fired by Cæfa- The his March, which put the Arrival of the Succours beyond all Doubt.

XLI. THE Gauls having Notice of it also by their Scouts, thought proper to quit the Siege, and go to meet Cufar. Their Army confifted of about fixty thousand Men. Cicero, now at Liberty, applied again to Vertico, for the Slave spoken of above; and having admonished him to use the utmost Diligence and Circumspection, dispatched him with a Letter to Casar, informing him that the Enemy had raifed the Siege, and were advancing against him with all their Forces. Cesar received the Letter about Midnight, communicated the Contents to his Army, and exhorted them to meet the Enemy with Courage. Next Day he decamped early, and after a March of four Miles, discovered the Gamis on the other Side of a large Valley, with a River in Front. It was dangerous to engage so great a Force upon unequal Ground. Knowing therefore that the Siege of Gicero's Camp was raited, and having no longer any Reason to be in a Hurry, he encamped in the most convenient Spot he could find, and completed his Intrenchments. His Army confifting of no more than feven thousand Men without Baggage, required at best but a very finall Camp; yet he purposely contracted it as much as possible, to inspire the Enemy with the greater Contempt of him. Mean-time fending out Scouts

couts on all Sides, he endeavoured to find where he might crofs the Valley with most Safety.

XLII. THE rest of the Day passed in slight Skirmishes between the Cavalry near the Brook; but the main Body of the Army on both Sides kept within their Lines: The Gauls, in Expectation of more Forces, which were not yet come up: Cæsar, that by pretending Fear, he might draw the Enemy on this Side the Valley, and engage them before his Camp; or, if that could not be effected, that he ving discovered the Passes, he might be enabled to cross the Valley and Rivulet with less Danger. Early next Morning the Enemy's Cavalry coming up to our Camp, charged our Horse; who, by Casar's Orders purposely gave ground, and retired behind the Works. At the same Time he caused the Ramparts to be raised higher, the Gates to be barricaded, and cautioned the Soldiers, in the Execution of these Orders, to run up and down tumultuously, and affect an Air of Timidity and Concern... The Enemy, invited by all these Appearances, crossed the Valley, and drew up in a very disadvantageous Post. Our Men mean-while retiring from the Rampart, they approached still nearer, cast their Darts on all Sides within the Trenches, and fent Heralds round the Camp to proclaim, That if any of the Gauls or Romans had a mind to come over to them, they should be at Liberty so to do till nine o'Clock, after which no Quarter would be granted. Nay, so far did they carry their Contempt, that thinking they could not break in by the Gates, (which, to deceive them, were stopt up with fingle Rows of Turf,) some began to ... scale the Rampart, others to fill up the Ditch. But then Cæsar sallying by all the Gates at once, and charging them briskly with his Cavalry, put them so precipitately to Flight, that not a Man offered to make the least Resistance. Great Numbers of them were slain, and the rest obliged to throw down their Arms.

XLIII. Not caring to pursue them far, on account of the Woods and Marshes that lay in his Way; and finding that considerable Execution had been done upon the Spot, he the same Day joined Cicero with all his Forces; where beholding the Towers, Galleries, and other Works of the Gauls, he could not help being

truck with Admiration. He then reviewed Cicero's Le gion, and found that not a tenth Man had escaped with out Wounds; which gave him a just Idea of the Greatncis of the Danger to which they had been exposed, and of the vigorous Defence they had made. He bestowed great Commendations on the Legion, ando its Commander; and addressed himself to the Centurions and military Tribunes by Name, of whose Valour Cicero made honourable Mention. He learnt particularly from. the Prisoners all the Circumstances of the unhappy Affair of Sabinus and Cotta: And calling the Soldiers together next Day, gave them an Account of the whole Transaction, comforted them, confirmed their Courage, and told them; that a Difaster occasioned by the Imprudence and Rashness of the Lieutenant, ought to give them the less Disturbance; as by the Favour of the immortal Gods, and their Valour, Vengeance had followed so suddenly, that neither had the Joy of the Enemy for the Victory continued any Time, nor their Grief for the Lofs remained long without Allay.

XLIV. MEAN-TIME the Report of Cæsar's Victory flew with incredible Speed through the Country of the Rhemi to Labienus. For though he lay at the Distance of fifty Miles from Cicero's Camp, whither Cæsar did not arrive till past three in the Afternoon; yet before Midnight a Shout was raised at the Gates of his Camp, by which the Rhemi fignified to him Cæsar's Victory, and their own Congratulation on that Success. The Report of this being carried to the Treviri; Indutiomarus, who the next Day had determined to attack Labienus's Camp, made off in the Night, and retired with all his Forces into his own Country. Cæsar sent back Fabius with his Legion to his former Quarters, resolving to winter himfelf near Samarobriva with three Legions, distributed in three different Cantonments; and as all Gaul was in Motion, to continue with the Army in person. For the Defeat and Death of Sabinus spreading every where, almost all the States of Gaul were meditating a Revolt; and with this View sent Messengers and Deputies into all Parts, to concert Measures, and contrive where to begin the War. Nay, they held Assemblies by Night in defart Places; infomuch that during the whole Winter, scarce a Day passed, but Casar had Intelligence of some ew Resolves or Insurrections of the Gauss. Among he rest, L. Roscius, his Lieutenant, who commanded the thirteenth Legion, sent him Word: That great Numbers of Gauls, from the several States of Armorica, had assembled to attack him, and advanced within eight Miles of his Camp; but upon hearing of Casar's Victory, had separated so hastily, that their Retreat had all the Appearance of a Flight.

XLV. BUT Cæfar summoning the principal Noblemen of every State to attend him; partly by Menaces, making them ser sible he was no Stranger to their Defigns; partly by Exhortations, found means to keep the greatest Part of Gaul in its Duty. The Senones however, a potent State, and of great Authority among the Gauls, formed the Design of publickly assassinating Cavartnas, whom Cæsar nad given them for a King; whose Brother Moritalgus had held the Sovereignty at Cæsar's Arrival in Gaul, and whose Ancestors had long been in Possession of the same Dignity. But he having Intelligence of the Plot, thought proper to fly; whereupon pursuing him to the very Frontiers, they drove him from his Palace and Throne: And sending Ambassadors to Cæsar to justify their Conduct; upon his ordering their whole Senate to repair to him, they refused to submit. So powerful was this Example amongst the Barbarians, that some at last were found of Courage enough to begin the War; and so great a Change did it produce in the Inclinations of all; that except the Æduans and Rhemi, who had been always particularly distinguished and favoured by Cæsar; the first, on account of their ancient and inviolable Fidelity to the People of Rome; the last, for their late Services in the Gallick War; scarce was there a fingle State in all Gaul that did not incur Sufpicion. Nor is this, in Truth, so much to be wondered at; as for many other Reasons, so particularly for this: That a People famed above all Nations for their military Virtues, could not with Patience bear to see themlves so far stript of their former Renown, as to be forced fubmit to the Yoke of the Romans.

XLVI. INDUTIOMARUS and the Treviri ceased not, during the whole Winter, to send Ambassadors over the Rhine; soliciting the German States; offering them K 2 Money;

Money; and urging, that a great Part of our Arm having already been cut off, much the least considerabl remained. But no Part of that Country could be perfuaded to come into their Designs: Because having twice before tried their Fortune with the Romans, in the War with Arisvijeus, and in the Defeat of the Tenchtheri; they were resolved, they told them, to run no more Hazards. Indutiomarus, disappointed of this Hope, was not less active in drawing Forces together, seliciting Recruits from the neighbouring States, providing Horses, and encouraging even Out-law and Convicts, by the Promife of great Rewards, to engage in his Service. And so great an Authority had he by this Means acquired in Gaul, that Ambassadors slocked from all Parts; some publickly, others in a private Manner, to request his Protection and Friendhip.

XLV!I. FINDING himself thus voluntarily applied to: On one Side, by the Senones and Carnutes, impelled by a Consciousness of the Guilt they had incurred; on the other, by the Nervians and Atuatici, who were preparing for a War with the Romans; and that if he once took the Field, Forces would not be wanting: He called an Assembly of the States in Arms. This, according to the Custom of the Gauls, implies an actual Commencement of War; and, by a standing Law, obliges all their Youth to appear at the Diet in Arms; in which they they are so extremely strict, that whosoever has the Misfortune to come last, is put to Death in Sight of the Multitude, with all Manner of Torments. In this Afsembly, Cingetoria, the Head of the opposite Faction, and Son-in-law of Indutiomarus; who, as we have related above, had declared for Cafar, and still continued firm to him, was proclaimed a publick Enemy, and his Estate confiscated. After which Indutiomarus acquainted the Council, that the Senones, Carnutes, and several other States of Gaul had folicited his Assistance; that he accordingly intended to join his Forces with theirs, taking his Route through the Territories of the Rhemi, ar giving up their Lands to be plundered; but that befo e he began his March, he was defirous of maftering the Camp of Labienus. To that End he gave the necessary Directions.

XLVIII. LABIENUS, whose Camp, both by the Nacure of the Ground, and the Fortifications he had added, was extremely strong, feared nothing, either for himself or the Legion; but nevertheless was intent how he might give the Enemy some considerable Blow. Having therefore been informed by Cingetorix and his Adherents, of the Speech made by Indutiomarus in the Coencil of Gaul; he fent Deputies to the neighbouring States, folicited Cavalry from all Parts, and appointed them a Day of Rendezvous. Mean-time Indutiomarus, with all his Cavalry, appeared almost every Day within Sight of the Camp; one while, to examine its Situation; another, to intimidate Labienus, or invite him to a Conference. On these Occasions, it was usual for the Enemy to cast their Darts over the Rampart. Lawienus kept his Men within the Works, and used all the Methods he could think of to make the Gauls believe he was afraid of them.

XLIX. INDUTIOMARUS approaching the Trenches every Day with greater Contempt than before: Labienus received into his Camp, by Night, all the Cavalry he had fent for from the neighbouring States; and was fo careful to restrain his Men within their Lines, by Guards planted at all the Outlets, that it was imposfible for the Treviri to get Intelligence of the Reinforcement he had received. Mean-time Indutiomarus, according to Custom, came up to the Camp, and continued there the greater Part of the Day. The Cavalry discharged their Darts over the Rampart, and in opprobrious Language challenged our Men to fight. The Romans making no Answer, they retired towards Night, but dispersed and without Order. Then Labienus, ordering a sudden Sally with all the Cavalry, strictly cautioned and charged his Men, that as foon as they had put the Gauls to Flight, (which happened according to his Expectation,) they should all single out Indution marus, nor offer to wound a Man of the Enemy, till hey faw him flain: For he was unwilling that any Dey, occasioned by the Slaughter of the rest, should give him an Opportunity to escape. He promised great Rewards to the Man that should kill him; and sent the Cohores after to sustain the Horse. The Design succeeded: For as all were intent upon Indutionairus K 3 alone.



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alone, he was overtaken and flain in passing a River, and his Head brought back to the Camp. Our Cavalry, in their Return, put all to the Sword that came in their Way. Upon the News of this Defeat, the Forces of the Eburones and Nervians returned Home, and Gaul was somewhat quieter the rest of the Winter.



C. JULIUS CÆSAR'S

COMMENTARIES

OF HIS .

WARS in GAUL.

BOOK VI.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Cæsar apprehending greater Commotions in Gaul, augments his Forces. II. He reduces the Nervians by a Judden Invasion. III. And admits the Senones, Carnutes, and Menapians to a Surrender. VI. Labienus pretending Fear, suddenly attacks and routs the Treviri. IX. Cæsar passes the Rhine a second Time. X. The Sucvians prepare to oppose the Romans. XI. The Manners of the Gauls and Germans described. XII. The Æduans and Sequant at the Hend of two opposite Factions in Gaul. The Sequani declining in Power, the Rhemi substitute themselves in their Place. XIII. Description of the Druids. XV. The Religion of the Gauls. XVI. The Gauls and Gern ans differ much as to their Manners and Customs. XXIII. The Hercynian Forest. XXIV. A Bull with one Horn. XXV. Wild Asses. XXVI. Buffalos. XXVII. Cæsar, fearing the Want of Provisions, repasses the Rhine, and marches against Ambioria. XXVIII. The great Power of Fortune. XXIX. Ambiorix disbands his Troops, and counsels them to provide for their our Safety. XXX. Cæsar divides his Army, and marches in person in quest of Ambiorix. XXXI. Is obliged to proceed with great Circumspection in ravaging the Country. XXXII. The Sicambri cross the Rhine, and fall upon Cicero's Camp. XXXV. The astonishing Bravery of Sextius Baculus upon this Occasion. XXXVII. The Romans Suffer Some Loss. XXXVIII. The Germans at length relinquish the Attack, and return Home. XL. Cæsar lays waste the Country of the Eburones. Ambiorix nairowly escapes being taken. XLI. Cæsar returns to Italy.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's C O M M E N T A R I E S

OF HIS

WARS in GAUL.

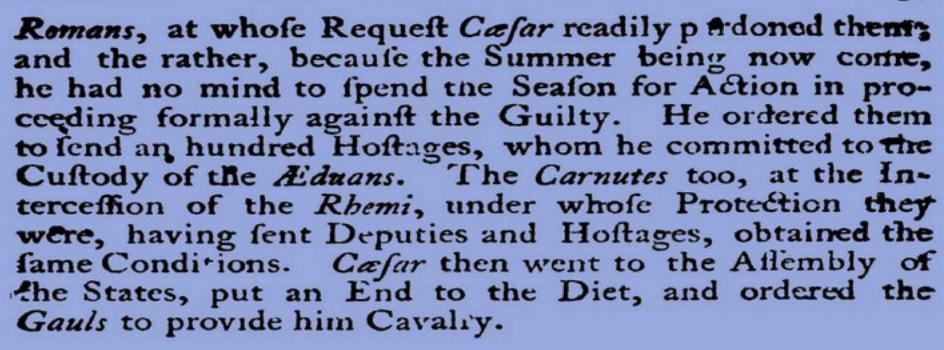
BOOK VI.

1. CESAR, for many Reasons, expecting greater Commotions in Gaul, ordered his Lieutenants M. Silanus, C. Antistius Reginus, and T. Sextius, to levy Troops. At the same Time he defired of Cn. Pompey the Proconful, that fince he was himself detained by publick Affairs at Rome, he would fet on Foot the Legion he had inlifted in Cifalpine Gaul, during his Consulship, and send it to him: for he considered it as of the utmost Importance towards securing a proper Respect from the Gauls for the Time to come, to give them such an Idea of the Power of Italy, as might convince them that it was not only able speedily to repair any Losses sustained, but even to bring a greater Force into the Field. Friendship and the good of the Commonwealth equally determined Pompey to yield to this Request: and the Levies being completed with great Diligence by the Lieutenants, three new Legions were formed and brought into Gaul before the End of Winter. Thus, having doubled the Number of Cohorts lost under Titurius, he foon made the Enemy fensible, both by his Expedition and the Strength of the Reinforcement, of what they had to apprehend from the Power and Difcipline of the Ron ans.

11. I DUTIOMARUS being flain, as we have related above, the Treviri conferred the Command on his Relations.

Relations. They perfisted likewise in soliciting the Germans, and making them offers of Money. But not being able to prevail with those that lay nearest them, they applied to some of the more remote States; and finding them inclined to treat, entered into a folemn Engagement with them, giving Hostages for Security of the Money stipulated, and associating Ambiorix into the Confederacy. Cafar informed of these Things, and finding that he was threatened with War on all Sides; that the Nervians, Atuatici, and Menapians, with al? the Germans on this Side the Rhine, were actually in Arms; that the Senones refused to attend him according to Orders, and were tampering with the Carnutes and other neighbouring States; and that the Treviri were foliciting the Germans by frequent Embassies; he judged it would be necessary to open the Campaign early. Accordingly, without waiting till the Winter was at an End, he drew together the four nearest Legions, and fell unexpectedly into the Territories of the Nervians, before they could either assemble in a Body, or find Means to fave themselves by Flight. Having carried off a great Number of Men and Cattle, enriched his Soldiers with the Booty, and laid waste the Country; he compelled them to submit and give Hostages, and then led back his Legions to their Winter-quarters.

III. EARLY in the Spring, having summoned a general Assembly of Gaul, pursuant to his Design; as all the other States but the Senones, Carnutes, and Treviri appeared; looking upon this as the Beginning of a Revolt, and willing to postpone every thing else, he adjourned the Diet to Paris. This City was upon the Borders of the Senones, and had been united with them about an Age before; but was thought to have no Share in their present Revolt. Having declared the Adjournment to the Assembly, he the same Day set out with his Legions against the Senones, and by great Marches reached their Territories. Acco, who was at the Head of the Confederacy, hearing of his Approach, ordered the Multitude to shelter themselves in the Towns: but befor that could be done, the Romans appeared. This ob iged them to change their Measures, and send Depaties to Cæsar, to implore Forgiveness. They were seconded by the Æauans, the old and faithful Allies of the Romans,



IV. TRANQUILLITY being restored in these Parts, Cæsar turned all his Thoughts to the Management of the War with Ambiorix and the Treviri. He ordered Cavarinus to attend him with the Cavalry of the Senones, to prevent any new Commotions in his Absence, either in consequence of the Resentment of that Prince, or the Hatred he had incurred of the State. And having thus settled all Things to his Mind, as he knew Ambiorix was determined not to hazard a Battle, he set himself to watch his other Designs.

V. THE Menapians, whose Territories border upon those of the Eburones, are secured by Woods and Morasses on every Side; and were the only People of Gaul, who had not fent Ambassadors to Cæsar to desire a Peace. He knew Ambiorix was in good Intelligence with them; and that by Means of the Freviri, he had also entered into an Alliance with the Germans. He therefore thought it best to deprive him of these Ra sources, before he attacked him in person; lest despairing of being able to defend himself, he should either retire among the Menapians, or throw himself into the Arms of the Germans beyond the Rhine. This Resolution being taken, he sent the Baggage of the whole Army to Labienus in the Country of the Treviri, ordered him a Reinforcement of two Legions, and marched himself against the Menapians with five Legions, who ca ried nothing with them but their Arms. N: tion trusting to their Situation, instead of assembling retreated to their Woods and Morasles, carried all their Effects along with them. dividing his Forces with C. Fabius his Lieutenant, and M. Graffus

M. Crassus his Questor; and having speedily finished his Bridges, entered their Country in three Bodies, set all their Houses and Villages on fire, and carried off such Numbers of Men and Cattle, that the Menapians were at last constrained to sue for Peace. He granted it, on Condition they sent him Hostages, and engaged not to admit Ambiorix or any one from him into their Territories; threatening to treat them as Enemies if they did. These Things settled, he lest Comius of Arras there with a Body of Horse to keep them in Awe, and set out himself against the Treviri.

VI. WHILST Cæsar was thus employed, the Treviri, having drawn together a great Number of Horse and Foot, were preparing to attack the Legion which had wintered in their Territories under Labienus. They were now advanced within two Days March of the Lieutenant's Camp, when they learnt that he had received a Reinforcement of two Legions from Cæsar. Upon this, encamping at about fifteen Miles distance, they resolved to wait for the Auxiliaries they expected from Germany. Labienus, having Intelligence of their Design, and hoping their Rashness might surnish him with an Opportunity of sighting, lest the Baggage under a Guard of sive Cohorts; and with the twenty-sive reamining, and all his Cavalry, marched towards the Enemy, and pitched his Camp about a Mile from them.

VII. BETWEEN Labienus and the Enemy was a River, with steep Banks, and difficult to pass. And indeed neither was Labienus himself minded to try the Passage, nor did he expect the Enemy would offer at such an Attempt. The Hope of being joined by the Auxiliaries grew stronger in the Camp of the Gauls every Day. Labienus declared publickly in a Council of War; "That as the Germans were said to be upon their March, he was determined not to expose himself and the Army to Danger, but would decamp early next Morning." This was soon carried to the Enemy; for as our Cavalry consisted mostly of Gauls, it was natural for some of them to savour their Councily men. Labienus, assembling the military Tribunes and principal Centurions during the Night, laid before them

his real Design: and the better to betray the Enemy into a Suspicion of his being afraid, gave Orders for decamping with more Noise and Tumult than was usual in a Roman Army. By this Means his March had all the Appearance of a Flight; and the Enemy, whose Camp was so very near, had Notice of it before Daybreak from their Spies.

VIII. SCARCE had our Rear got without the Trenches, when the Gauls, encouraging one another not to lose so fair a Prev, or stay in expectation of the Germans, at a Time the Romans were retreating in fuch a Panick; and confidering it as an Indignity, with fo great a Superiority of Forces, to forbear attacking an Handful of Men already put to Flight and incumbered with their Baggage; resolved to pass the River, and engage the Romans, notwithstanding the Disadvantage of the Ground. Labienus, who had foreseen this; that he might draw them all over the River, continued the Feint of his March, and went on quietly. Then fending the Baggage a little before, and ordering it to be placed upon a rifing Ground: "Behold, Fellow-66 soldiers, says he, the Opportunity you so much defired: you have the Enemy at a Disadvantage, and in a Place where they cannot sustain the Onset: shew only under my Command the Valour you have so often " manifested to our General; think him present, and and that he fees and observes you." At the same Time he ordered them to face about, and form in Line of Battle; and detaching a few Troops of Horse to guard the Baggage, drew up the rest on the two Wings. Our Men gave a sudden Shout, and threw their Javelin. . The Enemy, contrary to their Expectation, feeing those whom they imagined put to flight, marching against them with displayed Banners, could not sustain the very first Shock; but betaking themselves immediately to Flight, took Refuge in the nearest Woods. Labienus pursuing with his Cavalry, put many of the Enemy to the Sword, and took a great Number of Prisoners; infomuch that within a few Days the thole State was of liged to submit: for the Germans, who were coming to their Assistance, upon hearing of their Defeat, returned home. The Relations of Inducionarus, who had been the Authors of the Revolt, choic likewife

Cingetoria, who had always continued faithful to the Romans, was thereupon invested with the supreme Authority.

IX. CÆSAR, after his Arrival in Treues, from among the Menapians, resolved for two Reasons to pass the Rhine: one, because the Germans had affisted the Treviri against the Romans; the other, to deprive Ambiorix of a Retreat into those Parts. In consequence of this Resolution, he set about making a Bridge on the River, but somewhat higher up than before. As the Form and Manner was known, the Soldiers, by their extraordinary Diligence, finished the Work in a few Days. Leaving a strong Guard on the Side of Treves, to prevent any sudden Insurrection in that Country, he carried over the rest of his Army. The Ubians, who had before submitted and given Hostages, sent Ambasfadors to him to vindicate their Conduct, and assure him, that they had neither fent Troops to the Affistance of the Treviri, nor in any Instance departed from their Engagements. They urged and requested, that he would spare their Territories, and not, out of a general Hatred to the Germans, involve the Innocent in the Punishment of the Guilty. If he defired more Hostages they told him they were ready to fend them. Cæsar finding upon Inquiry, that the Supplies had been sent by the Sucvians, accepted the Submission of the Ubians: and preparing to March against the Suevians, informed himself of the Ways and Accesses to their Country.

X. A FEW Days after, he had Intelligence from the Utians, that the Succions were drawing their Forces to a general Rendezvous, and had fent Orders to all the Nations under their Jurisdiction, to surnish their Contingents of Horse and Foot. Upon this having surnished minicis with Provisions, and chosen a proper Place for his Camp, he ordered the Utians to retire into their Towns with their Cattle and Effects; hoping that so unskilful and barbarous an Enemy, might easily be drawn by the Want of Provisions, to fight in a Place of Disadvantage. He surther injoined the Utians to send Spies into all Parts, to learn the Designs and Motions

of

of the Sucvians. They readily complied, and in a few Says brought him back Word; "That the Suevians, "" upon certain Information of the Arrival of the Roman ".Army, had retired to the remotest Part of the Countxv, with all their own Forces, and those of their Aflies: that there they had refolved to wait the coming up of the Romans, at the Entrance of a Forest of immense Extent, called Bacenis, which reached a ee great Way into the Country, and served as a Barrier between the Cherusci and Suevians, to prevent their mutual Incursions."

XI. On this Occasion it may not be improper to say somewhat of the Manners of the Gauls and Germans, and the Difference of Cultoms between these two Nations. A Spirit of Faction prevails throughout Gaul, and that not only in their several States, Districts, and Villages, but almost in every private Family. The Men of greatest Esteem and Confideration among them, are commonly at the Head of these Factions, and give what Turn they think proper to all publick Deliberations and Counsels. This Custom is of long standing, and seems defigned to secure those of lower Rank from the Oppression of the Powerful: for the Leaders always take care to protect those of their Party, otherwise they would soon lose all their Authority. This equally obtains through the whole Continent of Gaul, the Provinces being in general divided into two Factions.

XII. WHEN Cæsar arrived in the Country, the Æduans were at the Head of one Faction, and the Sequani of the other. These last being the weaker, because the Æduans had long bore the greatest Sway, and had a Number of confiderable States in their dependence: they united with Ariovijius and the Germans, whom by great Presents and Promises they drew over the Rhine to their Affistance. This Alliance made them so powerful, that having worsted their Adversaries in several Battles, and killed almost all their Nobility; they forced the States dependent upon the Admens to have recourse to ther, for Protection; obliged the Aduans themselves to give the Shildren of their principal Nobility as Holtages, wear publickly not to attempt any thing against the Signori.

Bequani, and resign up to their Possession a Part of their Territories; and by this Means rendered themselves in a Manner Sovereigns of all Gaul. Divitiacus, in this Necessity, applied to the Senate of Rome for Relief, but without Effect. Cafar's Arrival soon changed the Face of Affairs. The Æduan Hostages were sent back, their former Clients restored, and new ores procured them by Cæsar's Interest; it appearing, that such as were under their Protection, enjoyed a more equal and milder Lot: by all which their Fortune and Authorit; being confiderably enlarged, the Sequani were obliged to resign the Sovereignty. The Rhemi succeeded in their Place: and as they were known to be in the same Degree of Favour with Cæsar, such as could not get over their old Animosity to the Æduans, put themselves under their Protection. The Rhemi were extremely attentive to the Interests of their Clients, and thereby both preferved their old Authority, and that which they had newly acquired. Such therefore was the then Situation of Gaul, that the Æduans possessing indisputably the first Rank, the Rhemi were next in Consideration and Dignity.

XIII. Over all Gaul, there are only two Orders of Men, in any Degree of Honour and Esteem: for the common People are little better than Slaves, attempt nothing of themselves, and have no Share in the publick Deliberations. As they are generally oppressed with Debt, heavy Tributes, or the Exactions of their Superiors; they make themselves Vassals to the Great, who exercise over them the same Jurisdiction as Masters do over Slaves. The two Orders of Men, with whom, as we have said, all Authority and Distinctions are lodged, are the Druids and Nobles. The Druids preside in Matters of Religion, have the Care of publick and private Sacrifices, and interpret the Will of the Gods. They have the Direction and Education of the Youth, by whom they are held in great Honour. In almost all Controverties whether publick or private, the Decision is left to them: and if any Crime is committed, any Murder perpetrated; if any Dispute arises touching an Inheritance, or the Limits of adjoining Estates fir all such Cafes, they are the supreme Judges. They decree Rewards and Punishments; and if any one refuses to **fubmit**

World

Jubmit to their Sentence, whether Magistrate or private Inn, they interdict him the Sacrifices. This is the greatest Punishment that can be inflicted among the Gauls; because such as are under this Prohibition, are confidered as impious and wicked: all Men shun them, and decline their Conversation and Fellowship, lest they should suffer from the Contagion of their Misfortunes. They can neither have recourse to the Law for Justice, por are capable of any publick Office. The Druids are at under one Chief, who possesses the supreme Authority that Body. Upon his Death, if any one remarkably excels the rest, he succeeds: but if there are several Candidates of equal Merit, the Affair is determined by Plurality of Suffrages. Sometimes they even have recourse to Arms before the Election can be brought to an Issue. Once a Year they affemble at a confecrated Place in the Territories of the Carnutes, whose Country is supposed to be the Middle of Gaul. Hither fuch as have any Suits depending flock from all Parts, and submit implicitly to their Decrees Their Institution is supposed to come originally from Britain, whence it passed into Gaul; and even at this Day, such as are desirous of being perfect in it, travel thither for Instruction. The Druids never go to War, are exempted from Taxes and military Service, and enjoy all Manner of Immunities. These mighty Encouragements induce Multitudes of their own Accord to follow that Profession; and many are sent by their Parents and Relations. They are taught to repeat a great Number of Verses by Heart, and often spend twenty Years upon this Institution: for it is deemed unlawful to commit their Statutes to. Writing; though in other Matters, whether publick or private, they make use of Greek Characters. They seem to me to follow this Method for two Reasons: to hide their Mysteries from the Knowledge of the Vulgar; and to exercise the Memory of their Scholars, which would be apt to lie neglected, had they Letters to trult to, as we find is often the cafe. It is one of their principal Maxims that the Soul never dies, but after Death passes from che Body to another; which, they think, contributes

reatly to exalt Mens Courage, by difarming Death of

its Terrors. They teach likewife many Things relating

World and our Earth, the Nature of Things, and the Power and Prerogatives of the immortal Gods.

XIV. THE other Order of Men is the Nobles, whose whole Study and Occupation is War. Before Cæsar's Arrival in Gaul, they were almost every Year as War, either offensive or defensive; and they judge of the Power and Quality of their Nobles by, his Vastals, and the Number of Men he keeps in his Pay: for these are the only Marks of Grandeur they make any account of.

XV. THE whole Nation of the Gauls is extremely addicted to Superstition: whence in threatening Distempers, and the imminent Dangers of War, they make no scruple to sacrifice Men, or engage themselves by Vow to such Sacrifices; in which they make use of the Ministry of the Druids: for it is a prevalent Opinion among them, that nothing but the Life of Man can atone for the Life of Man; infomuch that they have established even publick Sacrifices of this Kind. Some prepare huge Colossuses of ofier Twigs, into which they put Men alive, and fetting fire to them, those within expire amidst the Flames. They prefer for Victims such as have been convicted of Theft, Robbery, or other Crimes; believing them the most acceptable to the Gods: but when real Criminals are wanting, the Innocent are often made to suffer. Mercury is the chief Deity with them: of him they have many Images, account hun the Inventor of all Arts, their Guide and Conductor in their Journeys, and the Patron of Merchandize and Gain. Next to him are Apollo, and Mars, and Jupiter, and Minerva. Their Notions in regard to them are pretty much the same with those of other Nations. Apollo is their God of Physic; Minerva of Works and Manufactures; Fove holds the Empire of Heaven; and Mars presides in War. To this last, when they resolve upon a Battle, they commonly devote the Spoil. If they prove victorious, they offer up all the Cattle taken, and set apart the rest of the Plunder in-a Place appointed for that Purpose: and it is common is many Provinces, to see these Monuments of Offerings piled up in confecrated Places. Nay, it rarely happens chat

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that any one shews so great a Disregard of Religion, as either to conceal the Plunder, or pillage the publick Oblations; and the severest Punishments are inslicted upon such Offenders.

XVI. THE Gauls fancy themselves to be descended from the God Pluto; which, it seems, is an established Tradition among the Druids. For this Reason they compute the Time by Nights, not by Days; and in the Observance of Birth-days, new Moons, and the Beginning of the Year, always commence the Celebration from the preceding Nights. In one Custom they differ from almost all other Nations; that they never suffer their Children to come openly into their Presence, until they are of Age to bear Arms: for the Appearance of a Son in publick with his Father, before he has reached the Age of Manhood, is accounted dishonourable.

XVII. WHATEVER Fortune the Woman brings, the Husband is obliged to equal it out of his own Estate. This whole Sum, with its annual Product, is left untouched, and falls always to the Share of the Survivor. The Men have Power of Life and Death over their Wives and Children: and when any Father of a Family of illustrious Rank dies, his Relations assemble, and upon the least Ground of Suspicion put even his Wives to the Torture like Slaves. If they are found guilty, Iron and Fire are employed to torment and destroy them. Their Funerals are magnificent and sumptuous, according to their Quality. Every Thing that was dear to the Deceased, even Animals, are thrown into the Pile: and formerly fuch of their Slaves and Clients as they loved most, sacrificed themselves at the Funeral of their Lord.

XVIII. In their best regulated States they have a Law, that whoever hears any Thing relating to the Publick, whether by Rumour or otherwise, shall give immediate Notice to the Magistrate, without imparting it to any one else: for the Nature of the People is such, that rash and unexperienced Men, alarmed by false Reports, are often hurried to the greatest Extremities, and take upon them to determine in Matters of the Lighest

highest Consequence. The Magistrates stifle Things improper to be known, and only communicate to the Multitude what they think needful for the Service of the Commonwealth: nor do the Laws permit to speak of State Affairs, except in publick Council.

XIX. THE Germans differ widely in their Manners from the Gauls. For neither have they Druids to preside in religious Affairs; nor do they trouble themfelves about Sacrifices. They acknowledge no Goes but those that are Objects of Sight, and by whose Powe. they are apparently benefited; the Sun, the Moon, Fire. Of others they know nothing; not even by Report. Their whole Life is addicted to Hunting and War; and from their Infancy they are inured to Fatigue and Hardthips. They esteem those most, who continue longest Strangers to Women; as imagining nothing contributes fo much to Stature, Strength, and Vigour of Body: but to have any Commerce of this Kind before the Age of twenty, is accounted in the highest Degree ignominious. Nor is it possible to conceal any Irregularity this Way; because they bathe promiscuously in Rivers, and are clothed in Skins, or short Mantles of Fur, which leave the greatest Part of their Bodies naked.

XX. AGRICULTURE is little regarded among them, as they live mostly on Milk, Cheese, and the Flesh of Animals. Nor has any Man Lands of his own, or distinguished by fixed Boundaries. The Magistrates, and those in Authority, portion out yearly to every Canton and Family, such a Quantity of Land, and in what Part of the Country they think proper; and the Year following remove them to some other Spot. Many Reasons are assigned for this Practice: lest seduced by Habit and Continuance, they should learn to prefer Tillage to War: lest a Desire of enlarging their Possesfions should gain ground, and prompt the Stronger to expel the Weaker: lest they should become curious in their Buildings, in order to guard against the Extremes of Heat and Cold: lest Avarice should get Footing amongst them, whence spring Factions and Discords: in fine, to preserve Contentment and Equanimity among the People, when they find their Possessions nothing inferior to those of the most Powerful.

XXI. IT is accounted honourable for States to have she Country all around them lie waste and depopulated: test they think it an Argument of Valour to expel their Neighbours, and fuffer none to settle near them; at the take Time that they are themselves also the safer, as having nothing to apprehend from fudden Incursions. When a State is engaged in War, either offensive or detensive, they make choice of Magistrates to preside in whom they arm with a Power of Life and Death. In Time of Peace there are no publick Magistrates; but the Chiefs of the feveral Provinces and Clans administer Justice, and decide Differences within their respective Limits. Robbery has nothing infamous in it, when committed without the Territories of the State to which they belong: they even pretend that it ferves to exercise their Youth, and prevent the Growth of Sloth. When any of their Princes in this case offers himself publickly in Council as a Leader, such as approve of the Expedition rife up, profess themselves ready to follow him, and are applauded by the whole Multitude. They who go back from their Engagement are looked upon as Traitors and Deferters, and lose all Esteem and Credit for the Time to come. The Laws of Hospitality are hold inviolable among them. All that fly to them for Refuge, on whatever Account, are sure of Protection and Defence; their Houses are open to receive them, and they plentifully supply their Wants.

XXII. FORMERLY the Gauls exceeded the Germans in Bravery, often made War upon them, and as they abounded in People beyond what the Country could ... maintain, fent several Colonies over the Rhine. cordingly the more fertile Places of Germany, in the Neighbourhood of the Hercynian Forest, (which I find mentioned by Eratosthenes and other Greek Writers under the Name of Orcinia,) fell to the Share of the Volcae, who fettled in those Parts, and have ever fince kept Possession. They are in the highest Reputation for Justice and Bravery, and no less remarkable than the Germans for Poverty, Abstinence, and Patience of Fatigue; conforming exactly to their Customs, both in Habit and Way of living. But the Neighbourhood of the Roman Province, and an Acquaintance with Traffick, has introduced Luxury and Abundance 1. 3 among

among the Gauls; whence becoming by little and little an unequal Match for the Germans, and being worsted in many Battles, they no longer pretend to compare with them in Valour.

XXIII. The Hercynian Forest, of which 'e have been just speaking, is about nine Days Journey in Breadth: for as the Germans are ignorant of the Use of Measures, there is no other Way of computing it. Is begins from the Confines of the Helvetians, Nemetes, and Rauraci; and following directly the Course of the Danube, extends to the Territories of the Anartes and Dacians. Thence turning from the River to the left, it runs through a Multitude of different Regions: and though there are many in the Country, who have advanced fix Days Journey into this Forest; yet no one pretends to have reached the Extremity of it, or difcovered how far it extends. Many different Species of Animals, unknown in other Countries, harbour here; the most remarkable of which, and that best deferve to be mentioned, are these.

Stag, with only one Horn rising from the Middle of his Forehead, taller and straighter than those of our Cattle, and which at Top divides into many large Branches. The Males and Females are shaped alike, and have Horns the same in Size.

MXV. HERE are likewise a Kind of wild Asses, shaped and spotted like Goats, but of a larger Size: without Horns, or Joints in their Legs; that never lie down to sleep; nor can raise themselves, if by any Accident they are overthrown. They lean against Trees, which serve to support them when they sleep. Hence the Huntsmen, after having discovered their Haunts, either loosen the Roots of the Trees, or saw them almost quite off; so that when the Animal, according to Custom, reclines against them, they immediately give way, and both fall down together.

XXVI. A third Species of Animals are the Uri, nearly equalling the Elephant in Bulk; but in Colour, Shape, and Kind, resembling a Bull. They are of un-

common Strength and Swiftness, and spare neither Man nor Beast that comes in their Way. They are taken and slain by means of Pits dug on purpose. This Way of hunting is frequent among the Youth, and serves to inure them to Fatigue. They who kill the greatest Number and produce their Horns in publick as a Proof, air in high Reputation with their Countrymen. It is found impossible to tame them, or conquer their Fierceness, though taken never so young. Their Horns, both a Largeness, Figure, and Kind, differ much from those of our Buils. The Natives preserve them with great Care, tip their Edges with Silver, and use them instead of Cups on their most solemn Festivals.

XXVII. CESAR understanding from the Ubian Scouts, that the Suevians were retired into their Woods; and fearing the Want of Provisions, because, as we have already observed, the Germans are but little addicted to Agriculture; refolved not to advance any farther. But to keep the Enemy still under some Awe of his Return, and prevent their fending Succours to Gaul; having repassed the Rhine, he only broke down about two hundred Feet of his Bridge, on the German Side; and to fecure the rest, built at the Extremity a Tower of four Stories, where he left a Garrison of twelve Cohorts, and strengthened the Place with all Manner of Works. Young C. Volcatius Tullus had the Charge of the Fort and Garrison. He himself, as soon as the Corn began to be ripe, marched against Ambiorix; taking his Way through the Forest of Arden, which is much the largest in all Gaul, and reaches from the Banks of the Rhine ... and the Confines of Trews, quite to the Nervians, through a Space of more than five hundred Miles. Minucius Busilus was fent before with all the Cavalry, in hopes that the Quickness of his March, and the Opportunity of some lucky Conjuncture, might enable him to do something considerable. He had Orders to light no Fires in his Camp, the better to conceal his Approach from the Enemy; and Cæfar affured him, he would follow with all Expedition. Bafilus exactly followed his Inftructions; and coming fuddenly and unexpectedly upon the Gauls, surprifed great Numbers of them in the Field. Being informed by them of the Place whither Ambinix

Ambiorix had retired with a few Cavalry, he marched directly against him.

XXVIII. Bur as Fortune has a confiderable Share in all human Concerns, so particularly in those of War. For as it was a very extraordinary Chance. that he should thus come upon Ambiorix unprepared, and furprise him with his personal Arrival, before he had the least Notice of it from Fame or Report: So was it an equal Effect of Fortune, that the Gaul himself, after having lost his Arms, Horses, and Chariots, should yet find Means to escape. This was principally owing to the Situation of his House, which was surrounded with a Wood; it being customary among the Gauls, in order to avoid the Heats, to build in the Neighbourhood of Woods and Rivers. By this Means his Attendants and Friends, possessing themselves of a Defile, sustained for a Time the Attack of our Cavalry; during which, one of his Servants having provided him with a Horse, he escaped into the Woods. Thes Fortune remarkably played her Part, both in bringing him into the Danger, and delivering him out of it,

XXIX. AMBIORIX, after his Escape, made no Attempt to draw his Forces together; nor is it known whether he acted in this Manner out of Choice, as not thinking it safe to hazard a Battle; or because he thought he should not have sufficient Time, being surprifed by the Judden Arrival of the Cavalry, and believing that all the rest of the Army followed. Dispatching therefore Modengers privately through the Country, he counselled every one to provide for his own Safety; upon which some took Refuge in the Forest of Arden, and some in the adjoining Morasses. Those who lived upon the Sea-coast, hid themselves in the Islands formed by the Tide at High-water: And many abandoning their Country altogether, trusted themselves and their All to the Faith of Foreigners. Cativulcus, who jointly with Ambiorix was King of the Eburones, and had affociated with him in all his Defigns, being of a very advanced Age, and unable to bear the Fatigues of War or Flight; after many Imprecations against Ambioria, who had been the prime Contriver of the Revolt; poisoned himself with

with an Extract of Yew, a Tree very common in Gand and Germany. The Segni and Condrust, originally German Nations, whose Territories lay between those of Treves and the Eburones, sent Ambasladors to Cæsur to intreat: "That he would not consider them as Enemies, nor look upon all the Germans on this Side the Rhine, as equally obnoxious: That they had har-boured no Thoughts of War, nor been any ways aiding to Ambiorix." Cæsur finding it to be so by the Answers of the Prisoners, ordered them to deliver up such of the Eburones as had fled to them for Resuge; and promised, upon that Condition, not to molest their Territories.

XXX. THEN dividing his Army into three Bodies, he fent all the Baggage to Atuatuca, a Castle situated almost in the Heart of the Country of the Eburones, where Titurius and Arunculeius had been quartered during the Winter. This Place he chose, as for other Reafons, fo likewise because the Fortifications raised the Year before were still entire, which would lessen the Labour of his Soldiers. He left the fourteenth Legion to guard the Baggage, being one of the three lately levied in Italy, and brought thence into Gaul. 2. Tullius Cicero had the Charge both of the Legion and Fort, which was further strengthened with an additional Guard of two hundred Horse. The Army being thus divided; he fent T. Labienus, with three Legions, towards the Sea-coast, and the Provinces that border upon the Menapians; C. Trebonius, with a like Number of Legions, to lay waste the Country adjoining to the Atuatici; and resolved to march himself with the other three towards the Schold, which flows into the Moufe, and to the Extremities of the Forest of Arden, whither he was informed Ambiorix had retired with a few Horse. He promised, at his Departure, to return in seven Days; the Legion he had left in Garrison being provided with Corn only for that Time: And exhorted Labienus and Trebonius, if they found it confistent with the publick Advantage, to return likewife with their Legions within the fame Space; that joining Counfel together, and taking their Meafures from the Conduct of the Enemy, they might resolve where next to carry the War.

XXXI. I HERE was, as we have already observed, mo formed Body of Troops, no Garrison, no fortified Town to defend by Arms; but a Multitude dispersed in all Sides. Wherever a Cave, or a. Thicket, or a Morafs offered them Shelter, thither they retired. These Places were well known to the Natives; and great Care and Caution was required on our Part, not for the Security of the whole Army, (which had no Danger to fear whilst in a Body, from Enemies dispersed and full of Terror;) but for the Preservation of each Individual And yet even this regarded not a little the whole Army: For the Defire of Plunder drew many of the Men to a great Distance; and the Woods full of Defiles and hidden Ways, hindered them from kesping together in a Body. If Casar meant to terminate the War altogether, and extirpate this Race of perfidious Men; the Soldiers must be divided into small Parties, and detached on all Sides. If, on the contrary, he kept his Men together, as the Rules of War, and the Roman Discipline required; the Enemy were fheltered by their Situation, nor wanted Boldness to form Ambuscades, and cut off Stragglers. Amidst these Difficulties, all possible Precautions were taken; and although the Soldiers were eagerly bent upon Revenge, yet Casar chose rather not to push the Enemy too far, than expose his Men to Danger. He therefore sent Messengers to the neighbouring States, inviting them all by the Hopes of Plunder, to join in the Destruction of the Eburones; choosing rather to .. pose the Lives of the Gauls in the Woods, than of the legionary Soldiers; and hoping by the Multitude employed against them, totally to extirpate the Name and Memory of a State, whose Revolt had rendered them so obnoxious. Accordingly great Numbers flocked suddenly thither from all Parts.

Sides, and the Havock continued till the feventh Day, which Cafar had appointed for returning to his Camp and Baggage. It then evidently appeared what Influence Fortune has over War, and how many Accidents fpring from her Interpolition. The Enemy being dispersed and full of Terror, as we have related above; there remained no Body of Troops in the Field, to give any the least Ground of Fear. A Report spread among the Ger-

mans beyond the Rhine, that the Territories of the Eburangs were given up to Plunder, and all without Distinctich invited to there in the Spoil. The Sicambri, who innabit upon the Rhine, and had afforded a Retreat to the Lifepetes and Tenchtheri, as mentioned above; allembled immediately a Body of two thousand Horse, passed the River in Barks about thirty Miles below Cafar's Bridge and Fort, and advanced directly towards the Tcrritories of the Eburenes. Many of those that fled, and had dispersed themselves up and down the Country, fell into their Hands; as likewife Abundance of Cattle, of which the Barbarians are extremely covetous. Allured by this Success, they advanced farther. Neither Woods nor Morafles proved any Obstacles to Men, trained up from their Infancy to Wars and Incursions. Inquiring of the Prisoners converning Casar, they understood that he was a great Way off, and had left the Country with his whole Army. One in particular addressing them: Why, fays he, do you lose Time in Pursuit of so " flight and trifling a Booty, when Fortune offers one of fo much greater Value. In three Hours you may reach Atuatuca, where the Romans have deposited all 46 their Wealth. The Garrison is hardly sufficient to ine the Rampart, much less to fally out of their Intrenchments." Urged by this Hope, they left their present Booty in a Place of Safety, and marched directly to Atuatuca, being conducted by the Captive who had given them the Information.

XXXIII. CICERO, who hitherto had kept his Soldiers strictly within the Camp, according to Cafar's Orders, nor fuffered fo much as a Servant to straggle beyond the Lines; seeing the seventh Day arrive, began to despair of Cafar's Return, who, as he heard, was marched farther into the Country, and had fent him no Notice of his Route. Wherefore, tired with the continual Murmurs of the Soldiers, who complained of his Patience, and told him they were kept like Men belieged; and not suspecting that any Accident could be all him, within the finall Extent of three Miles; especially as the Enemy, opposed by nine Legions, and a very numerous Cavalry, were in a manner totally dispersed and cut off; he sent out five Cohorts to sorage in an adjoining Field, separated from the Camp only by a single Hill. A great

A great many fick Men had been left behind by Caefar, of whom about three Hundred, that were now pretty well recovered, joined the Detachment. These well followed by almost all the Servants of the Camp, together with a vast Number of Carts and Carriage-ho see.

XXXIV. In that very Instant, as Fortune would have it, the German Cavalry arrived; and without difcontinuing their Course, endeavoured to force an imme diate Entrance by the Decuman Gate. As their March had been covered by a Wood, they were not discovered till they were just upon the Camp; insomuch that the Sutlers, who kept their Booth's under the Rampart, had not Time to retire within the Intrenchments. Men were so surprised at this sudden and unexpected Attack, that the Cohort upon Guard could scarce sustain the first Onset. The Enemy spread themselves on all Sides to find a Place of Entrance. The Romans with Difficulty defended the Gates; the Rampart securing them, every where else. The whole Camp was in an Uproar, every one inquiring of another the Cause of the Confusion; nor could they determine which Way to advance the Standards, or where to post themselves. Some reported the Camp was already taken: Others that the Germans, having destroyed Casar and his Army, were come victorious to ftorin their Trenches. The greater Number, full of imaginary Fears, when they considered the Place in which they were encamped, called to minu the Fate of Cotta and Titurius, who perished in that very Fort. This universal Consternation being perceived by the Barbarians, confirmed them in the Belief of what the Prisoners had told them, that there was scarce any Garrison within to defend the Camp. They renewed their Endeavours to force the Intrenchments, and mutually exhorted one another, not to let fo fair a Prize escape out of their Hands.

XXXV. Among the Sick in Garrison was P. Sextius Baculus, a Centurion of the first Rank, of whom Mention has been made in former Battles, and who had not tasted Food for five Days. This Officer, anxious for his own Sasety, and that of the Legion, rushed unarmed out of his Tent. He saw the Enemy at hand, and the Danger extreme. Snatching the first Arms that offered,

Offered, he posted himself in the Gate of the Jamp. The Centurions of the Cohort upon Guard sollowed the Example, and for a while sustained the Enemy's Charge. Syrius expired under a Multitude of Wounds, and was with Dissiculty carried off by the Soldiers. This short Delay gave the rest Time to resume their Courage; so that at least, as to mount the Rampart, and make a Shew of defending themselves.

XXXVI. MEAN-TIME our Foragers returning, heard the Noise at the Camp. The Cavalry advancing before, were soon apprized of the Danger. Here was no Fortification to shelter the frighted Troops. The new Levies, unexperienced in Matters of War, fixed their Eyes upon the Tribunes and Centurions, waiting their Orders. Not a Man was found so hardy and resolute, as not to be disturbed by so unexpected an Accident. The Germans perceiving our Ensigns at a Distance, gave over the Attack of the Camp, imagining at first it was Casar and the Legions, which the Prisoners had informed them were marched farther into the Country. But soon observing how sew they were, they surrounded and fell upon them on all Sides.

XXXVII. THE Servants of the Camp fled to the nearest rising Ground; whence being immediately driven, they threw themselves amongst the Ranks of the Cohorts, and thereby increased their Terror. Some were for drawing up in Form of a Wedge, and forcing their Way through the Enemy: For as the Camp was io very near, they imagined, that if some fell, the rest at least must escape. Others were for retiring to an Eminence, and all sharing there the same Fate. The veteran Soldiers, who had marched out with the Detachment, could by no means relish this Proposal: Wherefore mutually encouraging one another, and being led by C. Trebonius, a Roman Knight, under whose Command they were, they broke through the Midst of the Enemy, and all to a Man arrived fafe in the Camp. The Servants and Cavalry following them, and seconding their Retreat, were likewise by their Bravery preserved. But the Troops who had retired to the Hill, being unexperienced in military Affairs, could neither perfift in the Resolution they had taken of defending themselves from the higher Ground,

Ground, nor imitate that brisk and vigorous Effort which they saw had been so serviceable to their Companions: But endeavouring to gain the Camp, quitted the Advantage of their Situation. The Centurio s, some of whom had been selected from veteran Legions, and on Account of their Bravery promoted to higher Stations among the new Levies; sought resolutely to maintain the Glory they had acquired, and endeavoured to sell their Lives as dear as they could. Their Valour obliging the Enemy to sall back a little, Part of the Troops, contrary to Expectation, reached the Camp The rest were surrounded and cut to Pieces by the Barbarians.

Camp, as they saw our Men now prepared to defend the Works, repassed the Rhine with the Booty they had deposited in the Woods. But so great was the Terror of the Remans even after their Retreat, that C. Volusenus arriving in the Camp the same Night with the Cavalry, could not persuade them that Cassar and the Army were safe. For Fear had taken so thorough a Possession of their Minds, that as if berest of Understanding, they persisted in believing the Insantry was wholly destroyed, and that the Cavalry alone had escaped: It seeming to them altogether incredible, that the Germans would have dared to attack the Camp, had no Missortune befallen the Reman Army. But Cassar's Arrival soon put an End to their Fears.

XXXIX. Upon his Return, being informed of what had happened, he only complained of the fending out the Cohorts to forage; observing: "That in War nothing ought to be left to Fortune, whose Power appared evidently in the sudden Arrival of the Enemy, and much more in their coming up unperceived to the very Gates of the Camp." But nothing in this whole Affair appeared to him more wonderful, than that the Germans having crossed the Rhine with Design to plunder the Territories of Ambiorix, should by falling upon the Roman Camp do him a most acceptable Service.

XL. C man a marched a fecond Time to harafs the Enemy, and having drawn a great Number of Troops together

together from the neighbouring States, sent them into all Parts upon this Service. All the Houses and Vil-Loes were fet on Fire: The Plunder was univertal: This aft Number of Men and Horfes not only deftroyed great Quantities of Corn, but the Rains and advanced Searen made Havock of all that was left; infomuch that if any of the Enemy escaped for the present, it seemed ver likely, mut after the Retreat of the Army, they must perith by Famine. As the Cavalry were divided into many Parties, they often came to Places, where the Priioners not only informed them they had feen Ambieria alving, but that he could even yet be scarce out of View. The Hope of coming up with him made them leave nothing unartempted, as imagining they would thereby gain the highest Favour with Cafar, whose good Fortune wanted only this to render it complete. But all their Endeavours were fruitless: For he still found Means to hide himself in the Woods and Morasles; whence removing privately in the Night, he escaped into other Regions, accompanied with only four Horsemen, in whom alone he duift confide.

XLI. CASAR having destroyed the whole Country, led back his Army into the Territories of the Rhemi, with the Loss of only two Cohorts. There he summoned a general Assembly of Gaul, to examine into the Assair of the Senones and Carnutes: And having passed a severe Sentence against Acce, the Contriver of the Revolt, ordered him to be executed on the Spot. Some fearing a like Fate, sled; whom having banished by a Decree of the Diet, he quartered two Legions in Treves, two among the Linguis, and the remaining six at Agendicum, in the Country of the Senones. And having provided the Army with Corn, he went, pursuant to his Design, into Italy, to hold the Assemblies of Cisalpine Gaul.



C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

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WARS in GAUL

BOOK VII.

THE ARGUMENT

I. The Gauls concert Measures for renewing the War. II. The Carnutes massucre a Number of Roman Citizens a Genabum. VI. Vercingetorix excites his Followers to a Revolt, and by the Consent of many Nations is declared Generalissimo of the League. VIII. Cæsar suddenly investe Auverque. X. Vercingetorix invests Gergovia, whith he is followed by Cæfar. XI. Cæfar make himself Maste of Vellaunodunum and Genabum. ZII. Vercingetori quits the Siege of Gergovia. Cæsar possesses bimse f of Noviodunum, puts Vercingetorix's Cavalry to Fright, and inwests Avaricum. XIII. By Advice of 'ercingetorix, the Biturigians fet Fire to their Town. that they may not furnish Subsistence to the Romans. XVI. Cæsar in great Straits for want of Corn. XVII. The two Armies near each other, but without coming to a Battle. XIX. Vercingetorix, ac-cused of Treason, clears himself. XXI. Cæsar continues the Siege of Avaricum. XXII. The Construction of the Walls of Towns among the Gauls. XXIII. Avaricum, after a resolute Defence, is at last taken by Storm. XXVIII. Vercingetorix consoles his Men by a Speech. XXIX. And prepares with greater Force to renew the War. XXX. Cæsar quiets the intestine Divisions of the Æduans. XXXII. Sets out upon his March towards Auvergne. XXXIII. Passes the Allier by a Feint. XXXIV. And arriving before Gergovia, seizes an Eminence near the Town. XXXV. The Æduans form the Design of a Revolt from the Romans. XXXVIII. But by Cæsar's Prudence and Diligence, are in some measure prevented. XII. Cæsar carries three of the Enemy's Camps before Gergovia. XLIV. The Romans preffing the Attack too far, are repulsed with great Slaughter. XLIX. 'Datar reprehends the Temerity of his Soldiers. L. And resolves to retire into the Country of the Æduins. Lil. Noviodunum Jeized and set on fire by the Treachery of the Æduans. LIV. Labienus, after a successful Expedition against the Parifians, returns to Cælar with all his Forces. LVII. The Revolt of the Ædu.ns followed by that of ulmost all Gaul. LVIII. Preparations for War. LIX. The Gauls, under the Conduct of Vercingetoria, attack Cæsar in the Territories of the Lingones. I.XI. But are routed with great Slaughter. M 2 Carlar

THE ARGUMENT.

Cæsar pursues them as far as Alesia. LXIII. De-scription of that Town. LXIV. The Gauls defeated. in an Engagement between the Cavalry. LXV., ercingetorix sends away all bis Horse. LXVI. Ciesar surrounds Alefia with Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation. LXIX. The Gauls drowing their Forces together, endeavour to raise the Siege. LXXI. Critognatus's Speech to the Garrison of Alesia, LXXII. The Gauls within and withe a the Town prepure to attack the Romans, LXXII. A Battle of the Horse, in which the Romans have the Advantage. LXXIV. The Gauls make several Attempts upon the Roman Lines, but are always repulsa with Loss. LXXXI. At length the Romans fallying from the Intrenchments, defeat the Gauls with great Slaughter. LXXXII. Alesia furres iers. LXXXIII. The Æduans and Averni jubmit. Cæsar sends his Army into Winter-quarters.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's COMMENTARIES

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WARS in GAUL.

BOOK VII.

I. CESAR having quieted the Commotions in Gaul, went, as he deligned, into Italy, to prefide in the Assembly of the States. There he was informed of the Death of P. Clodius: And understanding farther, that the Senate had passed a Decree, ordering all the Youth of Italy to take up Arms, he resolved to levy Troops over the whole Province. The Report of this foon spread into Farther Gaul: And the Gauls themselves, forward to encourage such Rumors, added of their own Accord what the Case seemed to require: " That Casar was "detained by a domestick Sedition, and Could not, "while these Disorders continued, come to head the "Army." Animated by this Opportunity; they, who before lamented their Subjection to the Romans, now began with more Freedom and Boldness to enter upon Measures of War. The leading Men of the Nation, concerting private Meetings among themselves, in Woods and remote Places, complained of the Death of Acco; remonstrated, that such might one Time or other be their own Fate; and after bemoaning the common Fortune of their Country, endeavoured by all Manner of Promifes and Rewards, to draw over some to begin the War, and with the Hazard of their own Lives, pave the Way to the Liberty of Gaul. But chiefly they thought it incumbent upon them, before their fecret Conferences thould be differered, to cut off Cafar's Return to the M 3 Army.

Army. This appeared abundantly easy; because neither would the Legions, in the Absence of their General, dare to quit their Winter-quarters; nor was it possible for the General to join the Legions, without a Body of Troops to guard him. In fine, they concluded it was better to die bravely in the Field, than not recover their former Glory in War, and the Liberty the had received from their Ancestors.

II. Such were the Debates in the private Councils of the Gauls: When the Garnutes, declaring their Readiness to submit to any Danger for the common Safety, offered to be the first in taking up Arms against the Romans. And because the present giving of Hostages might endanger a too early Discovery of their Designs, they proposed; that the other States should bind themselves by a solemn Oath, in Presence of the military Ensigns, which is the most facred Obligation among the Gauls, not to abandon them during the Course of the War. This Offer of the Carnutes was received with universal Applause, the Oath required was taken by all present, and the Time for Action being fixed, the Assembly separated.

III. WHEN the appointed Day came; the Carnutes, headed by Cotuatus and Conetodunus, Men of desperate Resolution, slew upon a Signal given to Genabum; massacred the Roman Citizens settled there on account of Trade; among the rest C. Fusius Cotta, a Roman Knight of Eminence, whom Cæsar had appointed to superintend the Care of Provisions; and plundered their Effects. The Fame of this foon spread into all the Provinces of Gaul. For when any Thing fingular and extraordinary happens, they publish it from Place to Place by Outcries, which being successively repeated by Men stationed on purpose, are carried with incredible Expedition over the whole Country. And thus it was on the present Occasion. For what had been done at Genabum about Sun-rise, was known before nine at Night in the Territories of the Averni, a Distance of one hundred and fixty Miles.

IV. FIRED by this Example, Vereingetorix, the Son of Celtillus, of the Nation of the Averni, a young Noble-

man of great Power and Interest, whose Father had presided over all Geltic Gaul, and for aiming at the Sove reignty been put to Death by his Countrymen; calling his Clients and Followers together, eatily persuaded them to a Revolt. His Design being discovered, the People immediately flew to Arms: And Govanitio, his Uncle with the other principal Men of the State, dreading the Consequences of so rash an Enterprise, united all thei. Authority against him, and expelled him the City Gergivia. Yet still he adhered to his former Resolution, and assembling all the Outlaws and Fugitives he could find, engaged them in his Service. Having by this 'leans got together a Body of Troops, he brought all so whom he applied himself to fall in with his Views; prefled them to take up Arms for the common Liberty; and finding his Forces greatly increased, quickly drove those out of the Territories of Auvergne, who had so lately expelled h m the City Gergovia. Upon this he was faluted King by his Followers: And difpatching Ambassadors into all Parts, exhorted them to continue firm to the Confederacy. The Senones, Pari-Gans, Pictones, Cadurci, Gurones, Aulerci, Lemovices, Andes, and all the other Nations bordering upon the Ocean, readily came into the Alliance, and with unanimous Consent declared him Generalissimo of the League. Armed with this Authority, he demanded Hostages of the several States; ordered them to furnish a certain Number of Men immediately; appointed what Quantity of Arms each was to prepare, with the Time by which they must be in Readiness; and above all applied himself to have on foot a numerous Cavalry. To the most extreme Diligence, he joined an extreme Rigor of Com-mand; and by the Severity of his Punishments, obliged the Irresolute to declare themselves: For in greater Faults the Criminals, after having been tortured, were burnt alive: And for lighter Offences, ordering the Ears of the Guilty to be cut off, or one of their Eyes put out, he fent them thus mutilated Home, to serve as an Example to the rest, and by the Rigor of their Sufferings to keep others in Awe.

V. HAVING by the Terror of these Punishments speedily assembled an Army: He sent Luterius of Quercy, a boid and enterprising Man, with Part of the Forces M 4

against the Rutheni; and marched himself into the Territories of the Biturigians. The Biturigians, upon his Arrival, dispatched Ambassadors to the Æduans under whose Protection they were, to demand Succours against the Enemy. The Æduans, by Advice of the Lieutenants Cæsur had left with the Army, ordered a Supply of Horse and Foot to the Assistan a of the Biturigians. This Body of Troops, advancing to the Banks of the Loire, which divides the B turigians from the Æduans, halted there a few Days; and not daring to pass that River, returned again to their wn Country. The Reason of this Conduct, according to the Report made to our Lieutenants, was an Apprehension of Treachery from the Biturigians: for that People, as they pretended, had formed the Design of surrounding them beyond the Loire, on one Side with their own Troops, on the other with those of Auvergne. Whether this was the real Cause of their Return, or whether they acted perfidiously in the Affair, is what we have not been able to learn with Certainty, and therefore cannot venture to affirm. The Biturigians, on their Departure, immediately joined the Forces of the Averni.

VI. These Things being reported to Cæsar in Italy; as the Troubles at Rome were in a great measure quieted by the Care and Vigilance of Pompey, he set out immediately for Transalpine Gaul. Upon his Arrival there, he sound it extremely difficult to resolve after what Manner to rejoin the Army. For should he order the Legions to repair to the Province, he foresaw they would be attacked on their March in his absence: and should he himself proceed to the Quarters of the Legions, he was not without Apprehensions of Danger, even from those States that seemingly continued faithful to the Romans.

VII. In the Mean-time Luterius of Quercy, who had been sent into the Territories of the Rutheni, brought over that State to the Alliance of the Averni; advancing thence among the Nitobrigians and Gabali, he received Hostages from both Nations; and having got together a numerous Body of Troops, drew towards Narbonne, to attack the Roman Province on that Side. Casar being

informed

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informed of his Defign, thought it first and principally incumbent upon him, to provide for the Security of the Province. With this View he slew to Narbonne; onfirmed the Wavering and Timorous; placed Garrisons on the Towns of the Rutheni subject to the Romans; also in those of the Volscians, Tolosatians, and other State border ng upon the Enemy: and having thus taken effectual Measures against Luterius, ordered Part of the provincial Forces, with the Recruits he had brought from Italy, to rendezvous upon the Frontiers of the Helvetians, whose Territories adjoin to those of the Averni.

VIII. I HESE Dispositions being made, and Luterius checked and forced to retire, because he did not think it adviseable to venture among the Roman Garrisons; Cafar advanced into the Country of the Helvians, Although the Mountains of the Sevennes, which separate the Helvians from Auvergie, by the great Depth of the Snow in that extreme rigorous Season, threatened to obstruct his March; yet having cleared away the Snow, which lay to the Der'n of fix Feet, and with infinite Labour to the Soldier's opened a Passage over the Mountains, he at length reached the Confines of the Averni. As they were altogether unprepared, regarding the Sevennes as an impenetrable Barrier, impassable at that Season even to single Men, he ordered the Cavalry to spread themselves on all Sides, and strike as universal a Terror into the Enemy as possible. Fame and Messengers from the State foon informed Vercing etorix of the Difaster befallen his Country. All the Averni gathered round him in a Body, and with Looks full of Difmay, conjured him to regard their Fortunes, and not abandon them to the Ravages of the Roman Army; more especially, as he now faw the whole War pointed against them. Vercingetorix, moved by their Intreaties, put his Army upon the March, and quitting the Territories of the Biturigians, drew towards Auvergne.

IX. This Cafar had foreseen: and after a Stay of two Days in those Parts, set out under pretence of setching a Reinforcement. He left young Brutus to command in his Absence; charged him to disperse the Cavalry as wide as he could; and promised to return, if possible, within

themselves, that he might the better impose upon the Gauls, he posted by great Journeys to Vienne. There he sound the new levied Cavalry whom he had sent thither some Time before: and travelling Day and Night without Intermission, through the Country of the Eduans, to prevent by his Expedition any Dengus they might form against him; he at length reached the Confines of the Lingones, where two of his Legions wintered. Thence sending immediately to the rest, he drew them all together into a Body, before the Avernicould be apprized of his Arrival.

X. VERCINGETORIX, upon Notice of this, led back his Army into the Territories of the Biturigians; and marching thence, resolved to invest Gergovia, a Town belonging to the Boii, where they had been fettled by Cafar after the Defeat of the Helvetians, and made subject to the Æduan State. This Step greatly perplexed the Roman General; if he continued encamped with his. Legions in one Place during the rest of the Winter, and abandoned the Subjects of the Æducas to the Attempts of the Enemy; he had Reason to apprehend that the Gauls, seeing him afford no Protection to his Friends, would univerfally give into a Revolt: if, on the contrary, he took the Field early, he risked the want of Provision and Forage, by the great Difficulty of procuring Convoys. Resolving however at Hazards, not to submit to an Affront, that must for ever alienate the Hearts of his Allies; he pressingly enjoined the Æduans to be very careful in supplying him with Provisions: and dispatching Messengers to the Boii, to inform them of his Approach, exhorted them to continue firm to their Duty, and sustain with Courage the Assaults of the Enemy. Mean-while leaving two Legions and the Baggage of the whole Army at Agendicum, he set out upon his March to their Relief.

XI. ARRIVING the next Day before Vellaunodunum, a City of the Senones; that he might leave no Enemy behind him capable of obstructing his Convoys, he resolved to be seeing it, and in two Days completed his Circumvaliation. On the third, Deputies came from the

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the Town to treat about a Surrender: when ordering them to deliver up their Arms, Horses, and six hundred Hostages, he left C. Trebonius, one of his Lieutenants. to cause the Articles be put in Execution; and continuing his March with all Diligence, advanced towards Genabum. The Carnutes, to whom this City belonged, were grawing Troops together for its Defence; imagirling that the Siege of Vellaunodunum, of which they had just then received Intelligence, would be a Work of fome Time. Cæsar reached the Place in two Days, encamped be ore it, and finding it began to be late, deferred the Assault till next Morning. Mean-while he gave the necessary Orders to his Men: and because the Town had a Bridge over the Loire, by which the Inhabitants might endervour to escape in the Night, he obliged two Legions to continue under Arms. A little before Midnight, the Genabians, as he had foreseen, stole filently out of the City, and began to pass the River. Notice being given of this by his Spies; he fet fire to the Gates, introduced the Legions whom he had kept in readiness for that Purpose, and took possesfion of the Plate. Very few of the Enemy escaped on this Occasion; because the Narrowness of the Bridge and Passages obstructed the Flight of the Multitude. Cæsar ordered the Town to be plundered and burnt; distributing the Spoil among the Soldiers: and crossing the Loire with his whole Army, advanced into the Territories of the Biturigians.

XII. VERCINGETORIX, upon Notice of his Approach, quitted the Siege of Gergovia, and marched directly to meet him. Cafir mean-while had fat down before Noviodunum, a City of the Biturigians, that lay upon his Route. The Inhabitants fending Deputies to the Camp, to implore Forgiveners and Safety: that he might the fooner accomplish his Deligns, in which Expedition had hitherto availed him so much, he ordered them to deliver up their Arms, Horses, and a certain Number of Hoftages. Part of the Hof ages had been already sent; the other Articles of the Treaty were upon the Point of Execution; and even some Centurions and Soldiers had entered the Place, to fearch for Arms and Horses: when the Enemy's Cavairy, who were a little advanced before the rest of the Army, appeared at a Distance.

Distance. Immediately the Besieged, upon this Prospect of Relief, setting up a Shout, slew to Arms, thut the Gates, and manned the Walls. The Centurions in the Town, judging from the Noise among the Gauls, that they had some new Project in view, posted themselves with their Swords drawn at the Gates; and getting all their Men together, retreated without Loss to the Camp. Cæsar ordering the Cavalry to advance, fell upon the Enemy's Horse; and finding his Troops hard pressed, sustained them with some Squadrons of Germans, whom, to the Number of about four Hundred, he had all along retained in his Service. The Gauls, unable to stand their Charge, at length betook themfelves to Flight, and were driven with great Slaughter to the main Body of their Army. Upon this the People of Noviodunum, terrified anew by the Defeat of their Friends, seized all who had been instrumental in breaking the Capitulation, fent them Prisoners to Cæsar's Camp, and delivered up the Town. These Affairs dispatched, Cæsar directed his March towards Avaricum. As this was the f ongest and nost considerable City of the Biturigians, d fituace in the finest Part of the Country, he casily per usuad 1 ist, that by the Reduction of it, he should bring the whole Nation under Subjection.

XIII. VERCINGETORIX, after so many successive Losses, at Vellaunodunum, Genabum, Noviodunum; calling a general Council of his Followers, represented: That it was necessary to resolve upon a very different e Plan of War, from that which hitherto had been .. purfued: and above all Things make it their Endeavour, to intercept the Roman Convoys and Foragers: That this was both a fure and practicable Scheme, as they themselves abounded in Horse, and the Season of the Year greatly favoured the Design: "That the Ground as yet affording no Produce, the Enemy must unavoidably disperse themselves in the Villages for Subsistence, and give them daily Opportunities of cutting them off by means of their Ca-66 valry. That where Life and Liberty were at stake, 66 Property and private Possession ought to be neglected: That therefore the best Resolution they could take was, to fet all their Houses and Villages on fire, from the Territories of the Boii, to wherever the "Romans might extend their Quarters for the fake of "Forage: That they themselves had no Reason to apprehend Scarcity, as they would be plentifully se supplied by those States, whose Territories should become the Seat of the War; whereas the Enemy must " either be reduced to the Necessity of Starving, or making distant and dangerous Excursions from their "Camp: That it equally answered the Purpose of the Gauls, to cut the Roman Army to pieces, or seize upon their Baggage and Convoys; because without " these last, it would be impossible for them to carry on the War: That they ought to fet fire even to the Towns themselves, which were not strong enough by Art or Nature to be perfectly secure against all Danger; as by this Means they would neither become 66 Places of retreat to their own Men, to screen them from military Service; nor contribute to the Support of the Romans, by the Supplies and Plunder they 66 might furnish: In fine, that though these Things were indeed grievous and terrible, they ought yet to esterm it still more terrible and grievous, to " fee times vv and Children dragged into Captivity, and themselves exposed to Slaughter, which was the unavoidable Lot of the Vanquished."

XIV. This Proposal being approved by all, upwards of twenty Cities of the Biturigians were burnt in one Day. The like was done in other States. Nothing but Conflagrations were to be seen over the whole Country. And though the Natives bore this Desolation with extreme Regret, they nevertheless consoled themselves with the Hope that an approaching and certain Victory would foon enable them to recover their Losses. A Debate arising in Council about Avaricum, whether it would be proper to defend or fet it on fire; the Biturigians, falling prostrate at the Feet of the rest of the Gauls, implored: " That they might not be obliged " to burn with their own Hands, one of the finest " Cities of all Gaul, which was both the Ornament and 66 Security of their State; more especially as the Town " itself, almost wholly surrounded by a River and 66 Morafs, and affording but one very narrow Approach, was, from the Nature of its Situation, capable of " an

an easy Defence." Their Request prevailed; Vercingetoria, though he at first opposed, afterwards coming into the Design; partly moved by the Intreaties of the Biturigians, partly by the Compassion of the Multitude. A chosen Garrison was immediately put into the Place.

Marches, and chose for his Camp a Place surrounded with Woods and Marshes, about fifteen Miles distant from Avaricum. There he had hourly Intelligence by his Scouts, of all that passed before the Town; and sent his Orders from Time to Time to the Garrison. Mean-while he strictly watched our Convoys and Foragers; set upon our dispersed Parties, who were obliged to setch Provisions from a great Distance; and in spite of all Endeavours to prevent it, by choosing such Times and Routes, as were most likely to deceive his Vigilance, very much incommoded them by his Attacks.

XVI. CÆSAR encamping on that Side of the Town. where the Intermission of the River and Morals formed, as we have said, a narrow Approach; began to raise a Mount, bring forward his battering Engines, and prepare two Towers of Assault; without troubling himfelf about Lines of Circumvallation, which the Nature of the Ground rendered impossible. Mean-while he was continually soliciting the Eduans and Boii for Corn: but received no great Supplies from either; partly occasioned by the Negligence of the Æduans, who were not hearty in the Affair; partly by the want of Ability in the Boii, who possessing only a small and inconsiderable Territory, soon consumed all the Produce of their own Lands. But though the Army laboured under the greatest Scarcity of Corn, through the Inability of the Boii, the want of Inclination in the Æduans, and the universal Devastation of the Country: though they were even for many Days altogether without Bread, and had nothing to appeale their extreme Hunger, but the Cattle brought from distant Villages: yet not an Expression was heard over the whole Camp, unworthy the Majetly of the Roman Name, or the Glory they had acquired by former Victories. Nay, when Cafar

Cefar visited the different Quarters of the Legions in person, and offered to raise the Siege, if they sound the Famine insupportable; they all with one Voice requested him not to do it, adding: "That during the many "Years they had served under him, they never yet had met with any Check, or undertaken aught in which they had not succeeded: That they could not but look upon it as inglorious, to relinquish a Siege they had once begun; and had rather undergo the greatest Hardships, than not revenge the Blood of the Roman Citizens, persidiously massacred by the Gauls at Genabum." The same they said to the Centurions and military Tribunes, intreating them to report their Sentiments to Cæsar.

XVII. And now the Towers began to approach the Walls: when Cæsar was informed by some Prisoners, that Vercingctorix having consumed all the Forage round him had removed his Camp nearer to Avaricum, and was gone himself at the Head of the Cavalry, and the light-arried Troops accustomed to fight in their Intervals, to form an Ambuscade for the Romans, in a Place where it was a possed they would come next Day to forage. Upon this Intelligence, setting out about Midnight in great Silence, he arrived next Morning at the Enemy's Camp. But they having had timely Notice of his Approach by their Scouts, instantly con veyed their Baggage and Carriages into a thick Wood, and drew up in Order of Battle upon an open Hill. Cafar then ordered all the Baggage to be brought together into one Place, and the Soldiers to prepare for an Engagement.

XVIII. THE Hill itself where the Enemy stood, rising all the Way with an easy Ascent, was almost wholly surrounded by a Morass, distincult and dangerous to be passed, though not above fifty Foot over. Here the Gauls, confiding in the Strength of their Post, and having broke down all the Bridges over the Morass, appeared with an Air of Resolution. They had formed themselves into different Bodies, according to their surral States: and planting select Detachments at all the Avenues and Fords, waited with determined Courage, that if the Romans should attempt to force their

Way thorough, they might fall upon them from the higher Ground while entangled in the Mud. To attend only to the Nearness of the two Armies, they seemed as if ready to fight us on even Terms; but when the Advantage of their Situation was confidered, all this Offentation of Bravery, was cafily difcerned to be mere Show and Pretence. Nevertheless the Romans; full of Indignation, that the Enemy should dare to face them with fo small a Space between, loudly demanded to be led to Battle. Caefar checked their Ardor for the prefent, and endeavoured to make them fenfible, that in attacking an Army fo strongly posted, the Victory must cost extremely dear, and be attended with the Loss of many brave Men. To this he told them, he was the more averse, because finding them prepared to face every Kind of Danger for his Glory, he thought he could not be too tender of the Lives of those who merited fo highly at his Hands. Having by this Speech confoled the Soldiers, he led them back the same Day to their Camp, and applied himself wholly to the carrying on of the Siege.

XIX. VERCINGETORIX, upon his Return to the Camp, was accused by the Army of Treason. The Removal of his Quarters nearer to those of the Enemy; his Departure at the Head of all the Cavalry; his seaving fo many Troops without a Commander in Chief; and the opportune and speedy Arrival of the Romans dering his Absence: all these, they said, could not eafily happen by Chance, or without Defign; and gave great Reason to believe, that he had rather owe the Sovereignty of Gaul to Cæsar's Grant, than to the Favour and free Choice of his Countrymen. To this Charge he replied: "That the Removal of his Camp was occasioned by the Want of Forage, and done at their own express Desire: That he had lodged himself nearer to the Romans, on account of the Advantage of the Ground, which secured him against " all Attacks: That Cavalry were by no Means wanted in a Morass, but might have been extremely see serviceable in the Place to which he had carried 66 them: That he purposely forbore naming a Cont es mander in Chief at his Departure, lest the Imof patience of the Multitude should have forced him ee upon

" upon a Battle; to which he perceived they were all 66 strongly inclined, through a certain Weakness and Effeminacy of Mind, that rendered them incapable of long Fatigue: That whether Accident or Intellies gence brought the Romans to their Camp; they ought to thank, in the one Case Fortune, in the other the Informer, for giving them an Opportunity of discovering from the higher Ground the incon-66 siderable Number, and despising the feeble Efforts of the Enemy; who not daring to hazard an Enes gagement, ignominiously retreated to their Camp: "That for his Part, he scorned treacherously to hold es an Authority of Cæsar, which he hoped soon to merit by a Victory, already in a Manner affured, both to himself and the rest of the Gauls: That he "was willing even to refign the Command, if they thought the Honour done him by that Distinction too es great for the Advantages procured by his Conduct. "And, added he, to convince you of the Truth and "Sincerity of my Words, hear the Roman Soldiers themselves." He then produced some Slaves, whom he had made Prisoners a few Days before in foraging, and by Severity and hard Usage brought to his Purpose. These, according to the Lesson taught them beforehand, declared: " That they were legionary Soldiers: That " urged by Hunger, they had privately stolen out of the Camp, to fearch for Corn and Cattle in the "Fields: That the whole Army laboured under the " like Scarcity, and was reduced to so weak a Condition, as no longer to be capable of supporting Fatigue: That the General had therefore resolved, if the "Town held out three Days longer, to draw off his Men from the Siege. Such- (faid Vercingetorix) are the Services you receive from the Man whom " you have not scrupled to charge with Treason. To " him it is owing, that without drawing a Sword, you " see a powerful and victorious Army almost wholly " destroyed by Famine; and effectual Care taken, that " when Necessity compels them to seek Refuge in a thameful Flight, no State shall receive them into its Territories."

XX. The whole Multitude set up a Shout; and Rriking, as their Manner was, their Lances against their

their Swords, to denote their Approbation of the Speaker, declared Vercingetorix a consummate General, whose Fidelity ought not to be questioned, and whose Conduct deserved the highest Praises. They decreed that ten thousand Men, chosen out of all the Troops, should be fent to reinforce the Garrison of Avaricum; it seeming too hazardous to rely upon the Biturigians clone for the Desence of a Place, whose Preservation, they imagined, would necessarily give them the Superiority in the War.

XXI. And indeed, though the Siege was carried on by our Men with incredible Bravery, yet were all their Efforts in a great Measure rendered ineffectual, by the Address and Contrivances of the Gauls. For they are a People of fingular Ingenuity, extremely quick of Apprehension, and very happy in imitating what they see practised. They not only turned aside our Hooks with Ropes, and after having feized them, drew them into the Town with Engines ; but likewise fet themselves to undermine the Mount: in which they the more succeeded, because the Country abounding with Iron Mines, they are perfectly skilled in that whole At the same Time they raised Towers on all Parts of the Wall, covered them carefully witheraw Hides, and continuing their Sallies Day and Night, either set Fire to the Mount, or fell upon the Workmen. In Proportion as our Towers increased in Height, by the continual Addition to the Mount; in like Manner did they advance the Towers upon their Walls, by raifing one Story perpetually over another: and counterworking our Mines with the utmost Diligence, they either filled them up with great Stones, or poured melted Pitch into them, or repulsed the Miners with long Stakes, burnt and sharpened at the End; all which very much retarded the Approaches, and kept us at a Distance from the Place.

XXII. THE fortified Towns among the Gauls have their Walls mostly built in the following Manner Long massy Beams of Wood are placed upon the Ground, at the equal Distances of two Feet one from another, and so as to constitute by their Length the Thickness of the Wall. These being again crossed over

by others, which serve to bind them together, have their Intervals on the inside filled up with Earth, and. on the outside with large Stones. The first Course thus completed and firmly joined, a second is laid over it; which allowing the same Openings between the Beams, rests them not immediately upon those of the Order below, but disposes them artfully above their Intervals, and sonnects them as before with interjacent Earth and Stones. In this Manner the Work is carried on to a proper Height, and pleases the Eye by its uniform Variety, the alternate Courses of Stones and Beams, ranning in even Lines, according to their feveral Orders. Nor is it less adapted to Security and Defence. For the Stones are Proof against Fire, and the whole Mass is impenetrable to the Ram; because being strongly. bound together by continual Beams, to a Depth of forty Feet, it can neither be disjointed nor thrown down.

XXIII. Such were the Obstacles we met with in the Siege. But the Soldiers though obliged to struggle during the whole Time, with Cold, Dirt, and perpetual Rains; yet by Dint of Labour overcame all Difficulties, and at the End of twenty-five Days, had raised a Mount three hundred and thirty Feet broad, and eighty Feet high. When it was brought almost close to the Walls, Cæsar according to Custom attending the Works, and encouraging the Soldiers to labour without Intermission; a little before Midnight it was observed to smoke, the Enemy having undermined and fired it. At the same Time they raised a mighty Shout, and fallying vigoroufly by two several Gates, attacked the Works on both Sides. Some threw lighted Torches and dry Wood from the Walls upon the Mount, others Pitch and all Sorts of Combustibles; so that it was hard to determine on which Side to make Head against the Enemy, or where first to apply Redress. But as Cafar kept always two Legions upon Guard in the Trenches, besides great Numbers employed in the Vorks, who relieved one another by Turns: Troops were soon in a Condition; some to oppose those t' at sallied from the Town; others to draw off the Towers, and make Openings in the Mount; whilst the whole Multitude ran to extinguish the Flames.

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XXIV. THE Fight continued with great Obstinacy during the remaining Part of the Night: The Enemy still entertained Hopes of Victory; and persisted with the more Firmness, as they saw the Mant es that covered the Towers burnt down, and the Romans, inable to rescue them for want of Shelter. At the same Time fresh Troops were continually fent, to supply the Place of those that were fatigued; the Besieged believing, that the Safety of Gaul entirely depended upon the Issue o that critical Moment. And here I cannot forbear mentioning a remarkable Instance of Intrepidity, to which I was myself a Witness on this Occasion. A certain Gaul posted before the Gate of the City, threw into the Fire Balls of Pitch and Fallow to feed it. This Man being exposed to the Discharge of a Roman Battery, was Aruck through the Side with a Dart and expired. Another striding over his Body, immediately took his Place. He also was killed in the same Manner. A third succeeded: To the third a fourth: Nor was this dangerous Post left vacant, till the Fire of the Mount being extinguillied, and the Enemy repulsed on all Sides, an End was put to the Conflict.

XXV. THE Gauls having tried all Methods of Defence, and finding that none of them succeeded, confulted next Day about leaving the Town; in concert with, and even by the Order of Vercingetorix. This they hoped easily to effect in the Night; as that General's Camp was not far off, and the Morass between them and the Romans, would serve to cover their Retreat. Night came, and the Besieged were preparing to put their Design in Execution: When suddenly the Women running out into the Streets, and casting themselves at their Husbands Feet, conjured them with many Tears, not to abandon to the Fury of an enraged Enemy, them and their common Children, whom Nature and Weakness rendered incapable of Flight. But finding their Intreaties ineffectual; for in extreme Danger, Fear often excludes Compassion; they began to set up a loud Cry, and inform the Romans of the intended Flight. alarmed the Garrison, who apprehending the Passag's would be seized by our Horse, desisted from the Refolution.

Tower, and gave the necessary Directions about the Works. A heavy Rain chancing just then to fall, he thought it a favourable Opportunity for effecting his Design; as he observed the Wall to be less strictly guarded. Wherefore ordering the Soldiers to abate a little of their Vigour, and having instructed them in what Manner to proceed; he exhorted the Legions, who advanced under Cover of the Machines, to seize at last the Fruit of a Victory acquired by so many Toils. Then, promising Rewards to those who should first scale the Town, he gave the Signal of Attack. The Romans rushed suddenly upon the Enemy from all Parts, and in a Moment possessed

XXVII. THE Gauls terrified at this new Manner of Assault, and driven from their Towers and Battlements, drew up Triangle-wise in the Squares and open Places, that on whatever Side our Men should come to attack them, they might face in order of Battle. But observing that we still kept upon the Walls, and were endeavouring to get possession of their whole Circuit; they began to fear they should have no Outlet to escape by; and throwing down their Arms, ran tumultuously to the farthest Part of the Town. There many fell within the City, the Narrowness of the Gates obstructing their Flight: Others were flain by the Cavalry without the Walls: Nor did any one for the present think of Plunder. The Romans eager to revenge the Massacre at Genabum, and exasperated by the obstinate Defence of the Place, spared neither old Men, Women, nor Children; insomuch that of all that Multitude, amounting to about forty Thousand, scarce eight Hundred, who had quitted the Town upon the first Alarm, escaped sale to Vercingetorix's Camp. They arrived there late in the Night, and were received in great Silence: For Vercingetoria fearing lest their Entrance in a Body, and the Compassion it would naturally raise among the Troops, might occasion some Tumult in the Camp, had sent out his Friends, and the principal Noblemen of each Province, to meet them by the Way, and conduct them reparately to the Quarters of their several States.

XXVIII. NEXT Day having called a Council, he consoled and exhorted the Troops, not to be too much disheartened, or cast down by their late Missortune: That the Romans had not overcome by Bravery, or in the Field; but by their Address and Skill in Sieges, with which Part of War the Gauls were less acquainted: That it was deceiving themselves to hope for Success in every Measure they might think fit to of pursue: That himself, as they all knew, had never advised the Defence of Avaricum, and could not buimpute the present Disaster to the Imprudence of the "Biturigians, and the too easy Compliance of the rest. "That he hoped however foon to compensate it by su-" perior Advantages, as he was using his utmost En-"deavours to bring over the other States, which had "hitherto refused their Concurrence, and to form one se general Confederacy of all Gaul, against whose united "Strength, not the whole Earth would be able to pre-" vail: That he had even in a great Measure effected his Design, and in the mean Time only required of " them, for the Sake of the common Safety, that they " would fet about fortifying their Camp, the better to fe-" cure them from the sudden Attacks of the Enemy. I his Speech was not unpleasing to the Gauls; and the rather, as notwithstanding so great a Blow, Vercingetorix seemed to have lost nothing of his Courage; neither withdrawing from publick View, nor shunning the Sight of the Multitude. They even began to entertain a higher Opinion of his Prudence and Forefight, as from the first he had advised the burning of Avaricum, and at last sent Orders to abandon it. And thus bad Success, which usually finks the Reputation of a Commander, served only to augment his Credit, and give him greater Authority among the Troops. At the same Time they were full of Hopes, from the Assurances he had given them, of feeing the other States accede to the Alliance. And now for the first Time the Gauls set about fortifying their Camp; being so humbled by their late Misfortune, that though naturally impatient of Fatigue, they resolved to refuse no Labour imposed upon them. by their General.

XXIX. Nor was Vercingetorix less active on his Side, to bring over the other Provinces of Gaul to the Confederacy,

federacy, endeavouring to gain the leading Men in each by Presents and Promises. For this Purpose he made choice of fit Agents, who by their Address, or particular Ties of Frien ship, were most likely to influence those to whom they were fent. He provided Arms and Clothing for the Troops that had escaped from Avaricum; ava to repair the Lois sustained by the Taking of that Place, gave Orders to the several States, to furnish a certain Number of Men, and fend them to the Camp y a Day prefixed. At the same Time he commanded all the Archers, of which there were great Numbers in Gaul, to be fought out and brought to the Army. By these Measures he soon replaced the Men whom he lost at the Siege of Avaricum. Mean-while Theutomatus, the Son of Ollovico, and King of the Nitobrigians, whose Father had been stiled Friend and Ally by the Senate of Rome, came and joined him with a great Body of Horse, which he had raised in his own Territories, and in the Province of Aquitain.

XXX. CESAR finding great Plenty of Corn and other Provisions at Avaricum, stayed there several Days to refresh his Men, after the Fatigue and Scarcity they had so lately undergone. Winter was now drawing towards a Period; and as the Season itself invited him to take the Field, he resolved to march against the Enemy, either to draw them out of the Woods and Marshes, or besiege them in their Fastnesses. While he was full of these Thoughts, Deputies arrived from the Æduans, to beg his Interposition and Authority, for settling the Dif-ferences of their State. "Every Thing there, they told " him, threatened an intestine War. For whereas it " had been all along the Custom to be governed by a " fingle Magistrate, who possessed the supreme Power 66 for the Space of one Year; they had now two dif-66 puting for that Title, each pretending his Election was according to Law: That the one was Convicto-" litanis, an illustrious and popular young Nobleman; the other Cotus, of an ancient Family, great Autho-66 rity, and powerful Relations, whose Brother Vide-· liacus had exercised the same Office the Year before: ' That the whole State was in Arms, the Senate divided, and each Party backed by their Clients among " the People; nor had they any other Hopes of eleap-

ing a civil War, but in his Care and timely Endeavours to put an End to the Controversy."

XXXI. ALTHOUGH Cæsar was senible it would greatly prejudice his Affairs, to quit the Jursuit of the War, and the Enemy; yet reflecting on the Mischiefs that often arise from Divisions, and desirous if possible to prevent so powerful a State, in strict Amity with the People of Rome, and which he had always in a particular Manner cherished and befriended, from having Re course to the Method of Violence and Arms, which might drive the Party that least confided in his Friendship, to seek the Assistance of Vercingetorix; he resolved to make it his first Care, to put a stop to the Progress of these Disorders. And because by the Constitutions of the Æduans, it was not lawful for the supreme Magistrate to pass beyond the Limits of the State; that he might not seem to detract from their Privileges, he resolved to go in person thither, and summoned the Senate and two Candidates to meet him at Decise. The Affembly was very numerous: When finding upon Enquiry, that Cotus had been declared chief Magistrate by his own Brother, in Presence of only a few Llectors privately called together, without Regard to Time or Place, and even contrary to the express Laws of the State, which forbid two of the same Family, while yet both alive, either to hold the supreme Dignity, or so much as fit together in the Senate; he obliged him to resign in favour of Convictelitanis, who upon the Expiration of the Office of the preceding Magistrate, had been elected in all the Forms by the Pricits.

XXXII. This Sentence being passed; and having exhorted the Æduans to lay aside their Quarrels and Divisions, and apply themselves solely to the Business of the present War; to expect with Considence the sull Recompense of their Services, as soon as the Reduction of Gaul was completed; and to send him immediately all their Caralry, with ten thousand Foot, to form a Chain of Posts for the Security of his Convoys; he divided his Army into two Parts. Four Legions under the Conduct of Labienus, were sent against the Senone and Parisians. Six, headed by himself, in person, marched along the Banks of the Allier, towards the Territories

of

the Cavalry followed the Route of Labienus; Part remained with Cafar. Vercingetorix having Notice of this, broke down all the Bridges upon the Allier, and began his March or the other Side of the River.

XXXIII. As both Armies were continually in View, eneamped almost over-against each other; and the Enemy's Scouts fo stationed, that it was impossible for the Romans to make a Bridge for carrying over their Forces: Cæsar began to be uneasy, lest he should be hindered the greatest Part of the Summer by the River, because the Allier is seldom fordable till towards Autumn. prevent this Inconvenience, he encamped in a Place full of Woods, over-against one of those Bridges which Vercingetorix had caused to be broken down: And remaining there privately next Day with a good Body of Troops, formed by draughting every fourth Cohort, that the Number of Legions might still appear complete; he sent forward the rest of the Army, with all the Baggage as usual, ordering them to march as far as they could. When by the Time of the Day he judged they might be arrived at the Place of their Encampment, he fet about rebuilding the Bridge, making use of the old Piles, whose lower Part the Enemy had left standing. Having foon completed the Work, marched over the Troops he had with him, and chosen a proper Place for his Camp; he recalled the rest of the Forces. Vercingetorix, upon Intelligence of this, advanced before by long Marches, that he might not be obliged to fight against his Will.

AXXIV. Cæsar after five Days March came before Gergovia, where he had a flight Engagement with the Enemy's Horse: And having taken a View of the Place, which he found situated upon a very high Mountain, all whose Approaches were extremely difficult; he not only despaired of reducing it by Storm, but resolved even to forbear investing it, until he had secured the necessary Supplies for his Army. Vercinge.orix mean-while was encamped near the Town upon the Hill, where he had disposed the Forces of the several States around him, in different Divisions, separated from one another by moderate Intervals. As his Army possessed all the Summits of the Mountain, whence there was any Prospect into

into the Plains below, they made a very formidable Appearance. Every Morning by Day-break, the Chiefs of each State, who composed his Council, asl mbled in his Tent, to advise with him, or receive his Orders: Nor did he suffer a single Day to pass without detaching fome Cavalry, intermixed with Archers, to skirmish with the Romans, that he might make Trial of the Spirit and Courage of his Men. There was a rifing Ground, that joined to the Foot of the Mountain on which the Town stood, excellently well fortified by Nature, as being very fleep on all Sides, and of extreme difficult Access. This Hill, though of fuch Importance to the Enemy, that by our getting possession of it, we could in a great measure deprive them of Water and Forage, was yet but very indifferently guarded. Cæsar therefore leaving his Camp about Midnight; before any Assistance could arrive from the Town, dislodged the Enemy, seized the Hill, and having placed two Legions upon it to defend it, drew a double Ditch twelve Feet deep from the greater to the leffer Camp, that the Soldiers might pass and repass in Safety, even fingle and without a Guard.

XXXV. WHILE Things were in this Posture before Gergovia, Convictolitanis the Æduan, to whom, as we have related above, Cæsar had adjudged the supreme Magistracy; being strongly solicited by the Averni, and at length gained over by their Money, addressed himself to some young Noblemen, the chief of whom were Litavicu and his Brothers, of the most distinguished Family of the Province. With these he shared the Reward he had received, and exhorted them to confider: That they were Subjects of a free State, and born to command: That Liberty and Victory were retarded by the Eduans alone, whose Authority restrained the other States, and whose Concurrence in the common "Cause would take from the Romans all Possibility of " supporting themselves in Gaul: That though he was " himself under some Obligation to Casar, at least so " far as a just and equitable Decision deserved that "Name, he thought he owed still more to his Country, " and could see no Reason why the Æduans should rather have Recourse to the Roman General, in what " regarded their Laws and Custoris, than the Romans in the like Case to the Æduans." The Representations

from prevailed: They even offered to become the chief Conductors of the Enterprise; and nothing was wanting but to consult of proper Means for accomplishing the Design, as it was easily foreseen, that the State would not be induced without great Difficulty to engage in so dangerous a War. At last it was agreed, that Litavicus should have the Command of the ten thousand Foot appointed to join Casar; that he should begin his March; that his Brothers should be sent before to the Roman Camp; and that the rest of the Project should be then executed, according to a Plan previously concerted among them.

XXXVI. LITAVICUS having received the Command of the Army; when he was within about thirty Miles of Gergovia, fuddenly called the Troops together, and addreffing them with Tears: "Whither, Fellow-soldiers, faid he, are we going? All our Cavalry, all our No-66 bility are stain. Eporedorix and Virdumarus, Men of the first Quality in the State, being accused by the Romans of Treason, are put to Death without Trial. Learn these Things of those who have escaped this "this general Massacre: For as to me, overwhelmed as "I am with Grief for the Loss of my Brothers and "Kinsmen, I have neither Strength nor Voice to utter our Calamities." He then produced some whom he had beforehand instructed for that Purpose, and who joining in the same Story, told the Multitude, "That the greatest Part of the Æduan Cavalry had been put to the Sword, under Pretence of holding Intelligence with the Avarni; and that themselves had escaped only in the Crowd, by withdrawing during the ge-" neral Slaughter." Upon this the whole Army called aloud to Litavicus, intreating him to provide for their Safety. " As if, said he, there was room for Counsel; " or any Choice left, but that of marching directly to " Gergovia, and joining the Averni. Can we doubt, after so black an Instance of Roman Persidy, but that they are already on their Way to complete the Mas-" facre? Let us therefore, if aught of Spirit or Courage remains in our Breasts, revenge the Death of " our Countrymen so undeservedly slain, and put these inhuman Spoilers to the Sword." He then presented

fome Roman Citizens, who had taken the Opportunity of their March, for conducting a large Convoy of Corn and Provisions to the Camp. Instantly the Convoy was plundered, the Romans themselves put to Death with the most cruel Torments, and Messengers dispatched through all the Territories of the Eduans, to spread the same Forgery of the Massacre of their Cavalry and Princes, and thereby rouse them to a like Vengeance.

XXXVII. EPOREDORIX the Æduan, a young Noble man of distinguished Birth, and great Interest in the State; as likewise Virdumarus, of equal Age and Authority, though not so well descended; whom Casar, upon the Recommendation of Divitiacus, had raised from a low Condition to the highest Dignities; were both at this Time in the Roman Camp, having come along with the Cavalry at Cæsar's express Desire. Between these two was a Competition for Greatness; and in the late Dispute about the Magistracy, the one had declared warmly for Convictolitanis, the other for Cotus. Eporedorix getting Notice of Litavicus's Design, came about Midnight to Cæsar's Tent, discovered the whole Plot, and intreated him to obviate the mischievous Counfels of a few young Noblemen, and not suffer the State to fall off from the Alliance of the Romans, which he foresaw must happen, should so many thousand Men once join the Enemy. For it was by no Means probable, that either their own Relations would neglect their Safety, or the State itself make light of so great a Part of its Forces.

XXXVIII. This Piece of Intelligence gave Cæsar extreme Concern, because he had always manifested a particular Regard to the Æduans. He therefore drew out immediately four Legions without Baggage, together with all the Cavalry: And because the Affair seemed to depend wholly upon Dispatch, would not even take Time to contract his Camp, but lest C. Fabius his Lieutenant, with two Legions, to defend it against the Enemy. Finding that Litavicus's Brothers, whom he ordered to be seized, had some Time before gone over to Vercingetorix, he began his March, exhorting the Soldiers to bear the Fatigue cheerfully in so pressing a Conjuncture. They sollowed with great Alacrity, and advancing

Book VII. HIS WARS IN GAUL.

vancing about five-and-twenty Miles from Gergovia, came at last within fight of the Æduans. Cæsar immediately detached the Cavalry against them, to retard and stop their March; but with strict Charge to abstain from Bloodshed. He ordered Eporedorix and Virdumarus, whom they believed stain, to ride up and down among the Squadrons, and call to their Countrymen. As they were soon known, and Litavicus's Forgery thereby discovered; the Æduans stretched out their Hands, made Signs of Submission, and throwing down their Arms, began to beg their Lives. Litavicus, with his Clients, who by the Customs of the Gauls, cannot without Insamy abandon their Patrons, even in the greatest Extremities of Fortune, escaped safe to Gergovia.

XXXIX. CÆSAR having dispatched Messengers to the Æduans, to inform them, that his Lenity and Regard for their State had prevailed with him to spare Troops, whom by the right of War he might have put to the Sword; after allowing the Army three Hours Rest during the Night, marched back to Gergovia. About half way he was met by a Party of Horse, fent by Fabius, to give him notice of the Danger that threatened his Camp. They told him, " That the 66 Enemy had attacked it with all their Forces, and by " fending continual Supplies of fresh Men, were like in " the End to overpower the Romans, whose Fatigue " admitted of no Relaxation, because the vast Extent " of Ground they had to defend, obliged them to be " perpetually upon the Rampart: That the Multitude of Arrows and Darts discharged by the Gauls, had "wounded many of the Soldiers, notwithstanding the " Protection received from the Engines, which yet had " been of good Service in beating off the Assailants: "That Fabius, upon the Retreat of the Enemy, had " closed up all the Gates of the Camp but two, carried " a Breastwork quite round the Rampart, and made " Preparation for fustaining a like Assault the next " Day." Cafar informed of these Things, hastened his March with all Diligence, and seconded by the unusual Ardor of the Troops, arrived in the Camp before Sun-rife.

XL. WHILE these Things passed at Gergovia, the Aduans, upon receipt of the first Dispatches from Litavicus, staid not for Confirmation of the Report; but prompted partly by Avarice, partly by Revenge, and many by a native Rashness, to which the Gauls'in general are extremely addicted, being ready to catch up every flying Rumor as a certain Truth: flew immediately to Arms, plundered the Roman Citizens of their Effects, slaughtered their Persons, or dragged them into Servitude. Convictolitanis fomented to the utmost this Fury, which had already taken but too fast hold of the Multitude; that by plunging them into some desperate Act of Violence, he might render a Retreat the more difficult and shameful. At his Instigation, they obliged M. Aristius, a military Tribune, who was upon his Way to join the Army, to quit Cabillonum, promising not to molest him in his Journey: The same they did by feveral Roman Merchants, who had stopt there on account of Traffick; and attacking them treacheroufly on the Road, stripped them of their Baggage, invested Day and Night those that made Resistance; and many being killed on both Sides, drew together a greater Number of Men to effect their Design. Mean-while coming to understand, that all their Troops were in Cæsar's Power; they ran to Aristius, assured him that nothing had been done by publick Authority, ordered Informations to be brought against those who had been concerned in pillaging the Romans, confiscated the Estates of Litavicus and his Brothers, and sent Ambassadors to Cæsar to excuse what had happened. All this they did with a View to the Recovery of their Froops: but confcious of Guilt; loth to part with the Plunder, in which great Numbers had shared; and dreading the Punishment so gross an Outrage deserved; they began privately to concert Measures of War, and by their Ambassadors solicited other States to join them. Though Casar was not ignorant of these Practices, he spoke with the greatest Mildness to the Æduan Deputies, affuring them of the Continuance of his Favour, and that he would not confider as the Crime of the whole. Nation, what was owing only to the Imprudence and Levity of the Multitude. Apprehenning however an universal Revolt of Gaul, and that he might be surrounded by the Forces of all the States at once, he

began to think of retiring from Gergovia, and drawing his whole Army again into a Body; yet in such Manner, that a Retreat occasioned by the Fear of an Insurrection, might not carry with it the Appearance of a Flight.

XLI. WHILE he was full of these Thoughts, an Opportunity seemed to offer of acting against the Enemy with Success. For coming into the lesser Camp, to take a View of the Works, he observed a Hill, that for some Days before was scarce to be seen for the Multitudes that covered it, now quite naked and deftitute of Troops. Wondering what might be the Cause, he enquired of the Deserters, who flocked daily in great Numbers to the Roman Camp. They all agreed with our Scouts; that the Back of the Hill was almost an even Ground, but narrow and woody in that Part, where the Passage lay to the other Side of the Town: That the Enemy were mightily afraid of losing this Post, because the Romans, who had already possessed themselves of one Hill, by seizing the other likewise, would in a Manner quite surround them; and being Masters of all the Outlets, might entirely cut off their Forage: That Vercingetorix had therefore drawn all his Forces on that Side, with defign to fortify the Passage.

XLII. CÆSAR, upon this Intelligence, dispatched some Squadrons of Cavalry thither about Midnight, ordering them to ride up and down the Place, with as much Noise as possible. At Day-break he drew a great Number of Mules and Carriage-horses out of the Camp, fent away their usual Harness, and furnishing the Grooms and Waggoners with Helmets, that they might resemble Horsemen, commanded them to march quite round the Hill. With these he joined a few Cavalry, who, for the greater Shew, were to expatiate a little more freely; and the whole Detachment had Orders to move towards the same Parts, taking a very large Circuit. All these Dispositions were seen from the Town, which commanded a full View of the Roman Camp, though the Distance was too great to distinguish Objects with Certainty. At the same Time Casar, the more effectually to deceive the Enemy, detached a Legion

gion towards the same Eminence, and when it was advanced a little Way, stationed it at the Foot of the Hill, affecting to conceal it in the Woods. This increated the Jealoufy of the Gauls to fuch a Degree, that they immediately carried all their Forces thither to defend the Post. Cæsur seeing their Intrenchments abandoned, made his Soldiers cover the military Enfigns and Standards, and file off in small Parties from the greater to the leffer Camp, that they might not be perceived from the Town. He then opened his Design to his Lieutenants, whom he had appointed to command the several Legions, counselling them above all Things to moderate the Ardour of the Soldiers, that the Hope of Plunder, or Defire of fighting, might not carry them too far. He represented particularly the Disadvantage of the Ground, against which there was no Security but in Dispatch; and told them, that it was not a regular Attack, but a sudden Onset, to be pursued no farther than Opportunity served. These Precautions taken, he gave the Signal to engage, and at the same Time detached the Æduans by another Ascent, to charge the Enemy on the right.

XLIII. THE Wall of the Town, had no Breaks or Hollows intervened, was about twelve hundred Paces distant from the Plain below, measuring in a direct Line from the Foot of the Mountain. The Circuit the Troops were obliged to take, to moderate the Steepnes of the Ascent, added still to this Space upon the March. Half way up the Hill, as near as the Nature of the Ground would allow, the Gauls had run a Wall of large Stones, fix Foot high, the better to defend themselves against our Attacks. All between this and the Plain was left quite void of Troops by the Enemy; but the upper Part of the Hill, to the very Walls of the Town. was crowded with the Camps of their several States. The Signal being given, the Romans immediately mounted the Hill, scaled the outward Wall, and posfessed themselves of three of the Enemy's Camps. too was the Expedition wherewith they carried them, that coming suddenly upon Theutomatus, King of the Nitobrigians, as he was reposing himself in his Tent about Noon, he very narrowly chaped being taken; for he

he was obliged to fly away half naked, and had his Horse wounded under him.

XLIV. CASAR having succeeded as far as his Design required, ordered a Retreat to be sounded; and the tenth Legion, which fought near his Person, obeyed. The other Legions, not hearing the Signal, because separated from the General by a large Valley, were yet commanded to halt by the Lieutenants and military Tribunes, according to the Instructions given by Cafar in the Beginning. But elated with the Hopes of a speedy Victory, the Flight of the Enemy, and the Remembrance of former Successes, they thought nothing impracticable to their Valour, nor desisted from the Pursuit, till they had reached the very Walls and Gates of the Town. Upon this a great Cry arising from all Parts, those that were farthest from the Place of Assault, terrified by the Noise and Tumult, and imagining the Enemy already within the Gates, quitted the Town with Precipitation. The Women throwing their Money and Clothes from the Walls, with naked Breasts, and extended Arms, conjured the Romans to spare their Lives, and not, as at Avaricum, facrifice all to their Resentment, without Distinction of Age or Sex. Some being let down by their Hands from the Wall, delivered themselves up to our Soldiers. L. Fabius, a Centurion of the eighth Legion, was that Day heard to fay; that he had not yet forgot the Plunder of Avaricum, and was resolved no Man should enter the Place before him. Accordingly, having with the Affistance of three of his Company got upon the Town-wall, he helped them one after another to do the like.

XLV. MEAN-WHILE the Troops, who, as we have related above, were gone to defend the Post on the other Side of the Town; incited by the Crics of the Combatants, and the continual Accounts brought that the Enemy had entered the Place; sending all the Cavalry before to stop the Progress of the Romans, advanced in ighty Crowds to the Attack. In proportion as they a rived, they drew up under the Wail, and augmented the Number of those who sought on their Side. As they soon became formidable by their Multitude; the Women, who a little before had implored the Compassion

passion of the Romans, now began to encourage their own Troops, shewing their dishevelled Hair, and producing their Children, according to the Custom of the Gauls. The Contest was by no means equal, either in respect of Number, or of the Ground; and the Romans, already satigued with the March and Length of the Combat, were little able to sustain the Attack of fresh and vigorous Troops.

KLVI. CASAR observing the Disadvantage of the Ground, and the continual Increase of the Enemy's Troops, began to be apprehensive about the Event; and sending T. Sextius his Lieutenant, whom he had left to guard the lesser Camp, ordered him to bring forth the Cohorts with all Expedition, and post them at the Foot of the Hill upon the Enemy's Right; that if our Men should give way, he might deter the Gauls from pursuing them. He himself advancing a little with the tenth Legion, waited the Issue of the Combat.

XLVII. WHILE the Conflict was maintained with the utmost Vigour on both Sides; the Enemy trusting to their Post and Numbers, the Romans to their Courage; suddenly the Æduans, whom Cæsar had sent by another Ascent on the Right, to make a Divertion, appeared on the Flank of our Men. As they were armed after the Manner of the Gauls, this Sight greatly terrified the Romans; and though they extended their right Arins in token of Peace, yet still our Men fancied it a Stratagem to leceive them. At the same Time L. Fabius the Centurion, and those who had got upon the Wall with him, being furrounded and flain, were thrown down by the Enemy from the Battlements. M. Petreius, a Centurion of the same Legion, who had endeavoured to force the Gates; finding himself overpowered by the Enemy, and desparing of Safety, because he was already covered with Wounds, turning to his Soldiers that had followed him, faid: " As I find it im-" possible to preserve both myself and you, I will at least do my best to further your Escape, whom I have brought " into this Danger through too eager a Defire of Glory. " Take advantage therefore of the present Opportunity." Then throwing himself upon the Enemy, he killed two. drove

drave the rest from the Gate, and seeing his Men run to his Assistance; "In vain, says he, do you endeavour to preserve my Life. My Blood and Strength sorsake me. Go therefore, while you may, and rejoin your Legion." Continuing still to sight, he expired soon after, preserving his Followers with the Loss of his own Life.

XLVIII. Our Men thus pressed on all Sides, were at length driven from the Place, with the Loss of forty-fix Centurions: but the tenth Legion, which had been posted a little more advantageously to cover their Retreat, checked the impetuous Pursuit of the Gauls; being sustained by the Cohorts of the thirteenth Legion, who had quitted the lesser Camp under Sextius, and possessed themselves of an Eminence. The Legions having gained the Plain, immediately halted, and faced about towards the Enemy: but Vercingetorix drawing off his Troops from the Foot of the Hill, retired within his Intrenchments. The Romans lost that Day about seven hundred Men.

XLIX. CESAR affembling the Army next Day, severely blamed the Temerity and Avarice of the Soldiers: " That they had taken upon themselves to se judge how far they were to proceed, and what they "were to undertake; regarding neither the Signal to retreat, nor the Orders of their Officers. He exof plained the Disadvantage of the Ground, and te-" minded them of his own Conduct at the Siege of " Avaricum, when having furprised the Enemy without a General, and without Cavalry, he had rather chosen to give up a certain Victory, than by attacking 66 them in a difficult Post, hazard an inconsiderable Loss: That as much as he admired the astonishing Courage of Men, whom neither the Intrenchments of several Camps, nor the Height of the Mountain, " nor the Walls of the Town could check; so much did he blame the Licentiousness and Arrogance of oldiers, who thought they knew more than their "General, and could fee better than him the Way to "Conquest: That he looked upon Obedience and " Moderation in the Pursuit of Booty, as Virtues no 0 2

- 196 CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES OF Book VII.
 " less essential to a good Soldier, than Valour and
 " Magnanimity."
- L. HAVING made this Speech, and in the End exhorted his Soldiers, not to be discouraged by their late. Misfortune, nor ascribe that to the Bravery of the Enemy, which was entirely owing to the Disadvantage of the Ground: as he still persisted in his Design of retiring, he drew out his Legions and formed them in order of Battle upon the Plain. But Vercingetorix not thinking proper to descend; after a small and successful Skirmish between the Cavalry, Casar returned again to his Camp. The like he did the following Day: when thinking he had done enough to confirm the Courage of his own Men, and abate the Pride of the Gauls, he decamped towards the Territories of the Eduans. As the Enemy made no Attempt to pursue him, he arrived the third Day on the Banks of the Allier, and having repaired the Bridge, passed over with his whole Army.
- LI. HERE he was informed by Eporedorix and Virdumarus, that Litavicus was gone with all the Cavalry to folicit the Æduans; and it would be therefore necessary for themselves to set out, in order to prevent his Designs, and confirm the State in their Attachment to the Romans. Though Cæsar was by this Time abundantly convinced of the Perfidy of the Æduans, and plainly foresaw, that their Departure would only hasten the Revolt; he yet did not think proper to detain them, that he might give no Ground of Offence, nor betray any Suspicion of Distrust. At parting, he briefly enumerated the Services he had done the Æduans: " How low and depressed he had found them, shut up in "their Towns, deprived of their Lands, without Troops, Tributaries to their Enemies, and obliged " to submit to the ignominious Demand of Hostages: "To what Power and Greatness they were now raised by his Favour, fo as not only to have recovered their " former Consideration in Gaul, but even to exce d in "Dignity and Lustre all that appeared most flourishing " in the ancient Annals of their State." With this Charge he dismissed them.

LII. Noviodunum was a Town belonging to the Æduans, advantageously situated upon the Banks of the Loire. Here Casar had lodged all the Hostages of Gaul, his Provisions, his military Cheft, and great Part of his own and his Army's Baggage. Hither also he had fent many Horses, brought up in Italy and Spain for the Service of the War. When Eporedorix and Virdumarus arrived at this Place, and were informed of the Disposition of the State: " That Litavicus had " been received with great Marks of Favour at Bibracte, " the capital City of the Province: That Convictolitanis "the chief Magistrate, and almost all the Senate, were " gone thither to meet him: That Ambassadors had been " publickly fent to Vercingetorix, to conclude a Treaty of Peace and Alliance:" They thought the present favourable Opportunity was by no Means to be neglected. Having therefore put the Garrison of Noviodunum, with all the Romans found in the Place to the Sword; they divided the Money and Horses between them, ordered the Hostages to be conducted to Bibracte; and not thinking themselves strong enough to defend the Town, set it on fire, that it might not be of any Service to the Romans. All the Corn they could in so short a Time, they carried away in Barks; and burnt the rest, or threw it into the River. Then drawing together the Forces of the neighbouring Parts, they lined the Banks of the Loire with Troops; and to strike the greater Terror, began to scour the Country with their Cavalry; hoping to cut off Cæsar's Convoys, and oblige him through want of Provisions, to return into the Roman Province. This appeared the easier, as the Loire was considerably swelled by the Melting of the Snow, and gave little Room to think that it could be any where forded.

LIII. Upon Advice of these Proceedings, Casar thought it necessary to use Dispatch; and if he must build a Bridge, endeavour to come to an Action with the Enemy, before they had drawn more Forces together. For he did not even then think it necessary to return to the Roman Province; not only as the Retreat itself would be inglorious, and the Mountains of the Sevennes, and the Badness of the Ways, were almost insuperable Obstacles; but chiefly, because he was O 3 extremely

extremely desirous to rejoin Labienus, and the Legions under his Command. Wherefore marching Day and Night with the utmost Diligence, contrary to all Mens Expectation, he arrived upon the Banks of the Lorre; and his Cavalry very opportunely finding a Ford, which however took the Soldiers up to the Shoulders, he placed the Horse higher up to break the Force of the Stream, and carried over his Army without Loss; the Enemy being so terrified by his Boldness, that they forsook the Banks. As he found a great deal of Corn and Cattle in the Fields, the Army was plentifully supplied, and he directed his March towards the Country of the Senones.

LIV. WHILST Casar was thus employed, Labienus leaving the Levies which had lately arrived from Italy, at Agendicum, to guard the Baggage; marched with four Legions to Lutetia, a City of the Parisians, situated in an Island of the Seine. Upon Notice of his Approach, the Enemy drew a great Army together from the neighbouring States. The chief Command was given to Camulogenus an Aulercian, who though in a very advanced Age, was yet urged to accept of that Honour, on account of his fingular Knowledge in the Art of War. This General observing there was a large Morass, whose Waters ran into the Seine, and obstructed all the Passages round about, encamped there, to hinder the Romans from passing the River. Labienus at first endeavoured to force a Passage, filling up the Morass with Hurdles and Mould, to give firm Footing to the Army. But finding the Attempt too difficult, he privately quitted his Camp about Midnight, and returned towards Melodunum. This City belongs to the Senones, and is also situated in an Island of the Scine, as we before said of Lutetia. He found there about fifty Boats, which he fpeedily drew together, and manned them with his Soldiers. The Inhabitants, terrified at this new Manner of Attack, and being too few to de-fend the Place, because the greater Part of them had joined the Army of Camulogenus, yielded upon the first Summons. Having repaired the Bridge which the Enemy had cut down some Days before, he crossed the Seine there; and following the Course of the River, marched back towards Lutetia. The Enemy having Intelligence

Intelligence of this by those who escaped from Melodunum, set fire to Lutetia, broke down its Bridges, and covering themselves with the Morass, encamped on the opposite Bank of the Seine, over-against Labienus.

LV. It was now known that Cafer had departed from Gergovia. The Revolt of the Eduans, and the universal Insurrection of Gaul, were every where spread abroad by the Voice of Fame. The Gauls on all Occasions gave out, that Cæjar, finding his March ob-Aructed by the Loire, and being reduced to great Straits for want of Corn, had been forced to take the Route of the Roman Province. At the same Time the Bellovaci, naturally prone to throw off the Yoke, upon hearing of the Defection of the Eduans, began to raise Forces, and openly prepare for War. Labienus perceiving fo great a Change in the Posture of Affairs, soon saw the Necessity of pursuing other Measures; and that it was not now his Business to make Conquests, or give the Enemy Battle, but to secure his Retreat to Agendicum. On the one Side he was pressed by the Bellovaci, reputed the most warlike People of all Gaul; on the other by Camulogenus, with a numerous and wellappointed Army. Add to all this, that the Baggage of the Troops, and the Detachment appointed to guard it, were separated from the Legions by a great River. So many Difficulties furrounding him at once, he faw no Way to extricate himself but by his Valour and Presence of Mind.

LVI. ACCORDINGLY in the Evening he called a Council of War; and having exhorted the Officers to execute his Orders with Vigour and Dispatch, distributed the fifty Boats he had brought from Melodunum to as many Roman Knights, commanding them to fall down the River about nine at Night without Noise, four Miles below Lutetia, and there wait his coming. F ve Cohorts, such as appeared least sit for Service, were left to guard the Camp. The other five of the same Legion, with all the Baggage, had Orders to march up the River at Midnight, with much Tumult and Bustle, which was farther increased by Means of some small Barks sent the same Way, that made a might

mighty Noise with their Oars. He himself setting out foon after with three Legions, advanced filently to the Boats that waited for him. There he surprised the Enemy's Scouts, who were stationed along the River, and had, been prevented by a sudden Storm from discerning his Approach. The whole Army was quickly carried over, by the Care and Diligence of the Roman Knights, to whom that Affair had been given in charge. Almost at the same Instant the Enemy had notice, that an unfual Tumult was heard in the Roman Camp; that a strong Detachment had marched up the River, on which Side likewise a great Noise of Oars was heard; and that a little below they were passing the River in Boats. This Intelligence made the Gauls conclude, that the Legions, alarmed at the Revolt of the Æduans, were endeavouring to cross the Seine in three different Places; for which Reason they likewise divided their Army into three Bodies. For leaving one Party to guard the Passage over-against our Camp, and detaching another towards Me iosedum, with Orders to advance to the Place where the Boats had stopped, they marched with the rest of their Forces against Labienus. By Day-break our Troops had passed the River, and the Enemy's Army appeared in View. Labienus exhorting his Men to remember their wonted Bravery, the many Victories they had gained, and even to fancy themselves in the immediate Presence of Casar, under whose Conduct they had so often been successful, gave the Signal of Baili. At the very first Charge, the seventh Legion, which formed the right Wing of the Roman Army, broke the Enemy's left, and put it to rout. But the right Wing of the Gauls, which was engaged with the twelfth Legion, and where Camulogenus was present in person to encourage his Men; though the first Ranks were destroyed by the Roman Javelins, still maintained its Ground with the utmost Bravery, and seemed deter-mined to conquer. The Dispute was long and dubious; when the Tribunes of the feventh Legion having notice how matters went, faced about, and attacked the Enemy's Rear. Even then not a Man offered to fly; but at last, being surrounded on all Sides, they were cut to Pieces with their General. The Party left behind to watch our Camp, hearing the Noise of the Battle, flew to the Assistance of their Countrymen,

and

and posted themselves on a Hill: but not being able to sustain the Assault of the victorious Romans, they soon mingled with the rest of the Fugitives, and were cut to Pieces by the Cavalry, those only excepted who sheltered themselves in the Woods and Mountains. After this Victory, Labienus retreated to Agendicum, where he had lest the Baggage of the whole Army; and from thence, with all his Forces, went and joined Cæsur.

LVII. THE Revolt of the Æduans gave new Strength to the Confederacy. Deputies were immediately difpatched into all Parts. Interest, Money, and Authority were employed in their Turns, to procure the Concurrence of the States that still continued quiet. The Hostages seized at Noviodunum, enabled the Æduans to compel such as were refractory. They sent to require of Vercingetorix, that he would come and concert with them Measures for carrying on the War; and in particular infifted on being at the Head of the League. But this Demand meeting with Opposition, a general Assembly of Gaul was held at Bibratte, whither the Deputies of all the confederated Nations repaired, and after taking the Affair into confideration, confirmed Vercingetorix in the Title of Generalissimo. The Rhemi, Lingones, and Treviri were not present at this Assembly: the two First, because they had resolved to continue faithful to the Romans; and the Treviri on account of their great Distance, and the Employment found them by the Germans; which was the Reason that they took no Part at all in this War, nor lent their Assistance to either Side. The Æduans were greatly mortified at seeing themselves excluded from the chief Command: they complained of this Change in their Fortune, and began to regret the Loss of Cæsar's Favour. But as they were already too far engaged in the Revolt, they durft not think of detaching themselves from the Confederacy. It was not however without Reluctance, that Eporedorix and Firdumarus, two young Noblemen of the greatest Hopes, consented to take Orders from Vereingetorix.

I.VIII. As he was now invested with the supreme Command, he enjoined the several States to send Hostages,

tages, appointed a Day for that Purpose, and ordered all the Cavalry, to the Number of fifteen Thousand, to assemble with the utmost Expedition. He said " He was sufficiently provided with Infantry, as he had no Mind to refer the Decision of the War to Fortune, or hazard an uncertain Engagement; but abounding in Horse, judged it the easier and safer Way, to intercept the Roman Convoys and Foragers: That in the Mean-time they must resolve to destroy their ce Corn, set fire to their Houses, and patiently submit to a present and private Loss, which was to be rewarded with Liberty and perpetual Empire." Having thus settled the Plan of the War, he commanded the Eduans and Segusians, who border upon the Roman Province, to raise ten thousand Foot: to these he joined eight hundred Horse, and put them under the Conduct of Eporedorix's Brother, with Orders to attack the Allobrogians. At the same Time he commissioned the Gabali, and the nearest Cantons of Auvergne, to make an Irruption into the Territories of the Helvians: and the Rutheni and Cadurci, into those of the Volca Arecomici. He neglected not however, by Messengers and private Emissaries, to sound the Disposition of the Allobrogians, whose Minds he hoped were not yet thoroughly reconciled to the Roman Yoke; endeavouring to gain the leading Men by Presents, and the State by an Offer of the Sovereignty of the Roman Provin

LIX. To oppose all these Attacks, two-and-twenty Cohorts were drawn together, while L. Cafar, Lieutenant-General, levied in the Province; and with them prepared to make head on all Sides. The Helvians venturing to come to an Engagement with the Enemy, were defeated, and forced to shelter themselves in their walled Towns, after having lost G. Valerius Donaturus, the Son of Caburus, a Man of principal Rank in their State, and feveral other Persons of Distinction. The Allobrogians placing Detachments at proper Distances along the Banks of the Rhone, guarded all the Accesses to their Country with great Diligence and Care. Cafar, as he found the Enemy superior in Cavalry, and that his Communication with Italy and the Province was cut off, so as to deprive him of all Hopes of Succour from

from that Quarter, had recourse to the German Nations beyond the Rhine, which he had subdued in the preceding Campaigns, and obtained from them a Supply of Horse, with some light-armed Foot accustomed to fight amongst them. Upon their Arrival, perceiving they were but indifferently mounted, he took the Horses from the military Tribunes, Centurions, Roman Knights, and Volunteers, and distributed them among the Germans.

LX. WHILST these Things passed, the Enemy's Forces from Auvergne, and the Cavalry of all the confederate States of Gaul, met at the general Rendezvous, and formed a very numerous Army. Cæsar marching through the Frontiers of the Lingones, into the Country of the Sequani, to be the nearer at hand to succour the Roman Province; Vercingetorix lodged himself at about ten Miles Distance, in three several Camps; and having affembled the Officers of the Cavalry, told them, "That the Season of Victory was at length arrived, " when they faw the Romans obliged to abandon Gaul, " and feek a Retreat in the Province: That this " indeed ferved to fecure Liberty for the Present, but " was insufficient to future Ease and Tranquillity, as "they would doubtless return with greater Forces than " before, and persist in the Design of making War. "It was therefore best to attack them now, while they " marched incumbered with their Baggage. If the "Infantry faced about in order to affift the Horse, " they would thereby be unable to advance; bul if, as "was more likely, they abandoned the Baggage, to " provide for their own Safety, they would be deprived of every Convenience, and return covered with "Ignominy and Reproach: for as to the Enemy's "Cavalry, it was not once to be imagined, that any " of them would so much as stir from the Body of the "Army. That to encourage them the more, and " strike the greater Terror into the Enemy, he was " resolved to have the whole Army under Arms before " the Camp." These Words were followed by the Acclamations of all the Cavalry, who proposed taking an Oath never to return to their Homes, nor visit their Parents, Wives, and Children, if they did not twice pierce through the Roman Army from one End to the other.

LXI. THE Proposal being approved, and the Oath administered to all; Vercingetorix next Day divided his Cavalry into three Bodies, two of which appeared upon the Flanks of the Roman Army, while the third began to charge and harass it in Front. Notice of this being given to Cæsar, he also formed his Horse in three Divisions, ordering them to advance against the Enemy. They made Head on all Sides at once, the Infantry mean-while continuing quietly under Arms, with the Baggage placed in the Center. Wherever the Romans gave way, or appeared hard pressed by the Enemy, thither Cæsar sent Detachments from the Legions; which both checked the Progress of the Gauls, and confirmed the Courage of our Men, as they thus faw themselves sure of being supported. At last the Germans on the Right, having seized an Eminence, drove the Enemy before them, and purfued them with great Slaughter as far as the River, where Vercingetorix was posted with the Infantry. The rest of the Gauls perceiving the Defeat of their Countrymen, and apprehensive of being surrounded, betook themselves likewise to flight. A dreadful Slaughter ensued on all Sides. Three Æduan Noblemen of the first Distinction were brought Prisoners to Casar: Cotus, General of the Cavalry, who the Year before had been Competitor with Convictolitanus for the supreme Magistracy; Cavarillus, who after Litavicus's Revolt, had been appointed to command the Infantry; and Eporedorix, who was Generalishmo of the Æduan Troops in the War against the Sequani, before Cæsar's Arrival in Gaul.

LXII. VERCINGETORIX, upon this total Rout of the Gaulish Cavalry, drew off his Troops, whom he had formed in order of Battle before the Camp, and immediately retreated towards Alesia, a Town belonging to the Mandubii; ordering the Baggage to follow him with all Expedition. Casar leaving his on a neighbouring Hill, under a Guard of two Legions, pursued the Enemy as far as Day would permit, cut three thousand of their Rear to Pieces, and arrived on the Morrow before Alesia. After examining the Situation of the Town; as he saw the Enemy much daunted by the Descat of their Cavalry, which was the Part of their Strength in which they chiefly consided, he exhorted

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his Soldiers not to be discouraged at the Labour they must undergo, and resolved to invest the Place.

LXIII. THE City of Alesia was situated on the Top of a very high Hill, so as not to be taken without a formal Siege. The Bottom of the Hill was washed on the two Sides by two Rivers. Before the Town was a Plain, extending about three Miles in Length; but every where else, a Ridge of Hills, whose Summits were nearly upon a Level, ran round the Place at a moderate Distance. Under the Walls, on the Side facing the East, lay all the Forces of the Gauls encamped; who filled that whole Space, and were defended by a Ditch, and a Rampart fix Foot high. The Line of Contravallation begun by the Romans, took in a Circuit of eleven Miles. The Camp was conveniently fituated, and strengthened with three-and-twenty Redoubts, in which Sentinels were placed by Day, to give Notice of any sudden Irruption, and a strong Guard, by Night, to defend them in case of Assault.

LXIV. WHILST the Romans were employed in these Works, Vercingetorix ventured on another Engagement of the Horse, in the Plain between the Hills, which, we have faid, extended about three Miles in Length. The Contest was sharply maintained on both Sides; but our Men at length beginning to give Ground, Cæsar detached the Germans to their Assistance, and drew up the Legions in Order of Battle fore the Camp, that he might be ready to oppose any sudden Irruption of the Enemy's Infantry. The Sight of the Legions revived the Courage of our Men: the Enemy were put to flight; and crowding upon one another in their Retreat, to obstructed the Gates of the Camp, that it became in a Manner impossible to enter. The Germans pursued them to their Intrenchments, where a very great Slaughter enfued. Some quitting their Horses, endeavoured to pass the Ditch, and get over the Rampart. Cæsar perceiving their Disorder, ordered the Legions, whom he had drawn out before the Camp, to advance a little. This Motion no lets alarmed the Gauls within the Rampart; who believing the whole Body of the Roman Army was coming to attack them, founded to Arms. Some in their Fright Acd

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fled into the Town; upon which Vercingetorix, fearing the Camp would be abandoned, ordered the Gates to be shut. At length the Germans, having slain great Numbers of the Enemy, and taken a Multitude of Horses, returned from the Pursuit.

LXV. VERCINGETORIX, before our Line was completed, resolved to dismiss his Cavalry by Night. At parting he enjoined them, "To repair feverally to their " respective States, and assemble all the Men capable 66 of bearing Arms. He set forth the many Services " he had done them, and conjured them not to neglect " his Safety, or abandon to the Cruelty of the Enemy, " one who had deserved so well of the common Liberty. "He told them, that if they were remiss in the Exe-"cution of his Orders, no less than eighty thousand chosen Men must perish with him: That by Comes putation, he had scarce Corn for thirty Days: and 66 that even with the utmost Occonomy it could be es made to hold out but a very little longer." After giving these Instructions, he dismissed them quietly about nine at Night, on the Side where the Roman Line was not yet finished. He then ordered the People of the Town to bring in all their Corn, threatening them with Death in case of Disobedience. As there was a great Number of Cattle in the Place, which had been driven thither by the Mandubians, he distributed them to the Soldiers, Man by Man, resolving to deliver out the Corn sparingly and by Measure. At the same Time he made all his Forces enter the Town; and having thus fettled the Plan of his Defence, waited for the expected Succours.

LXVI. CASAR having Notice of these Things from the Prisoners and Deserters, constructed his Lines in the following Manner. He made a Ditch twenty Foot wide, with perpendicular Sides, giving it the same Breadth at Bottom as at Top. All the other Works were four hundred Feet surther off the Town than this Ditch. As his Lines included so great a Space, and therefore could not be alike guarded in all Parts, he judged this Precaution necessary, to secure them against sudden Sallies by Night, and screen the Workmen from the Enemy's Darts by Day. Observing this Distance,

he

many deep; and filled the innermost, which lay in a low and level Ground, with Water from the River. Behind these was a Rampart of twelve Feet high, strengthened with a Parapet and Battlements; and to prevent the Enemy from getting over, a Fraise ran along the Foot of the Parapet, made of long Stakes, with their Branches cut in Points, and burnt at the End like a Stag's Horns. The whole Work was flanked with Redoubts, eighty Foot distant one from another.

LXVII. Bur as the Soldiers were employed at the fame Time to fetch Wood and Provisions, and to wilk at the Fortifications; which confiderably lessened the Number of Troops left to defend the Camp, many of them being at a Distance on these Services: And as the Gauls, besides, often sallied at several Gates, with defign to interrupt the Works: For all these Reasons, Cafar judged it necessary to make some Addition to his Lines, that they might not require so many Men to guard them. He therefore took Trees of no great Height, or large Branches, which he caused to be made sharp at the Ends: and running a Trench of five Feet deep before the Lines, he ordered them to be put into it, and made fast at Bottom, so that they could not be pulled up. This Trench was again filled up in fuch a Manner, that nothing but the Branches of the Head appeared, of which the Points must have run into those who should have endeavoured to pass them. As there were five Rows of them, interwoven in a Manner with each other, they were unavoidable. The Soldiers called them Cippi. In the Front of these he caused Pits of three Feet deep to be dug in Form of the Quincunx, and something narrower at Bottom than at Top. In these Pits he fixed strong Stakes, about the Thickness of a Man's Thigh, burnt and sharpened at the Top, which rose only four Inches above the Level of the Ground, into which they were planted three Feet deeper than the Pits, for the Sake of Firmness. The Pits were covered over with Bushes to deceive the Enemy. There were eight Rows of them at the Distance of three Feet from each other. They were called Lillies from the Resemblance they bore to that Flower. In the Front of all, he

wanced Ditch with Crows-feet of an extraordinary Size which the Soldiers called Spurs.

LXVIII. THESE Works completed, he drew another Line of fourteen Miles in Compass, constructed in the same Manner as the former, and carried through the most even Places he could find, to serve as a Barrier against the Enemy without; that if the Gauls should attack the Camp in his Absence, they might not be able to surround it with the Multitude of their Troops, or charge with equal Vigour in all Parts. At the same Time, to prevent the Danger his Men might be exposed to, by being sent in quest of Provisions and Forage, he took care to lay in a sufficient Stock of both for thirty Days.

LXIX. WHILST these Things passed before Alesia, a general Council being held of the principal Noblemen of Gaul, it was not thought proper to affemble all that were able to bear Arms, as Vercingetorix defired, but to order each Nation to furnish a Contingent; lest the Confusion inseparable from so great a Multitude, should bring on a Scarcity of Provisions, or render the Observance of military Discipline impracticable. The Æduans, with their Vassals the Segusians, Ambivareti, Aulerci, Brannovices, and Brannovii, were rated at thirty-five Thousand. A like Number was demanded from the Averni in conjunction with their Dependents the Cadurci, Gabali, and Velauni. The Senones, Sequani, and Biturigians, Xantones, Rutheni, and Carnutes, were ordered each to furnish twelve Thousand: The Bellovaci, ten Thousand: The Lemovices, the same Number: The Pictones, Turoni, Parisians, and Suessiones, each eight Thousand: The Ambiani, Mediomatrici, Petrocorians, Nervians, Morini, Nitobrigians, and Aulerci Cenomani, each five Thousand: The Atrebatians, four Thousand: The Bellocasians, Lexovians, and Aulerci Eburovices, each three Thousand: The Rauraci and Boii, thirty Thoufand: The maritime and Armorican States, of which Number are the Curiosolites, Rhedones, Caletes, Ossmians, Lemovices, Venetians, and Unellians, each fix Thousand. The Bellovaci alone refused to furnish the Troops required, pretending it was their Design to wage an independent

pendent War with the Romans, without being subject to the Controul of any one: However, at the Request of Comius, for whom they had a great Respect, they sent a Body of two thousand Men.

LXX. This. Comius, as we have related above, had been fingularly faithful and serviceable to Casar in his Britannick Expedition; in confideration of which, his State had been exempted from all Tribute, restored to the full Enjoyment of its Laws and Privileges, and even enlarged; by having the Country of the Morini added to its Territories. But such was the present Unanimity of the Gauls, in the Design of vindicating their Liberts and recovering their wonted Reputation in War, that neither Benefits received, nor the strictest Ties of Friendship, could make any Impression upon their Minds; but all with one Content flew to Arms, and contributed largely to the Support of the War. The Country of the Æduans was the general Rendezvous of the Army which amounted to eight thousand Horse, and two hundred and forty thousand Foot. Four Commanders in chief were appointed; Comius of Arras, Virdumarus and Eporedorix the Æduans, and Vergasillaunus of Auvergne, Cousin-german to Vercingetorix. To these were added a select Number of Officers, chosen from among the several States, to serve by way of a Council of War. The whole Army advanced towards Alefia, full of Courage and Confidence, and satisfied that the Romans would not sustain the very Sight of so prodigious a M retitude; especially in an Encounter attended with so much Hazard, where they must be exposed to a vigorous Sally from the Town, at the same Time that they saw themselves surrounded with such Numbers of Horse and Foot.

LXXI. MEAN-WHILE the Troops that up in Alesta, having confumed all their Provisions, finding the Day appointed for the Arrival of Succours expired, and knowing nothing of what was transacted among the Aduans, summoned a Council of War, to debate upon what was requisite in the present Exigence. Various Opinions were proposed: Some advised a Surrender: Others were for fallying while yet their Strength would permit: Amongst the rest Critegnatus, a Man of the first Rank

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Rank and Authority in Auvergne, addressed the Assembly in a Speech, which for its fingular and detestable Inhumanity, deserves a particular Mention in this Place. " I shall not, says he, take notice of the Opinion of those, who endeavour to shelter an ignominious Ser-« vitude, under the plausible Name of a Surrender; 66 such should neither be reckoned Gauls, nor suffered to come to this Council. Let me rather apply myself to them who propose a general Sally: For here, as " all of you feem to think, we meet with fomething " worthy of our ancient Virtue. And yet I am not afraid to fay, that it is at the Bottom Weakness, and " pot Courage, that inspires such Thoughts, and renders us unable to support Want a few Days. It is easier to find those who will voluntarily rush on Death, than " fuch as can patiently endure Pain. I shall not however be against this Proposal, which I confess has " something generous in it, if only our own Lives were 44 at Stake. But in this Deliberation, we must keep all "Gaul in View, whom we have called to our Affistance. "How would it dispirit our Relations and Friends, to " fee eighty thousand of their Countrymen slaughtered " in one Place, and be obliged to fight in the Midst of their dead Bodies! Deprive not then of your Affift-" ance those, who, to fave you, have exposed them-" selves to the greatest Dangers; nor through an incon-66 fiderate Temerity, and mistaken Valour, destroy at once all the Expectations of Gaul, and plunge her into perpetual Servitude. If the expected Succours " are not arrived exactly at the appointed Time, ought " you therefore to suspect the Fidelity and Constancy " of your Countrymen? And can you think that it is " for Amusement only, that the Romans labour on those " Lines towards the Country? Though you hear not " from your Friends, because all Communication is " hindered; yet you may learn the Approach of the "Succours from your Enemies theinfelves; who, through Fear of them, work Day and Night without ceasing on these Fortifications. What then should I of propose? What but to do as our Ancestors did in the " War with the Teutones and Cimbri, much less interest-" ing than that we are now engaged in. Compelled to " thut themselves up in their Towns, and reduced to a " Diffress equal to that we now experience, rather than " furrender

furrender to their Enemies, they chose to sacrifice to their Subfistence the Bodies of those whom Age incaes pacitated for War. Had we no such Precedent to " follow, yet still I should esteem it glorious, in so noble a Cause as that of Liberty, to institute and give one to Posterity. For where had we ever a War upon our Hands like that we are now engaged in? The " Cimbri, after laying waste Gaul, and spreading Desolation through the whole Country, withdrew however their Forces at length, and repaired to other Regions, leaving us the full Enjoyment of our Laws, Customs, Lands, and Liberties. But the Romans, instigated by Envy, and, jealous of a People so renowned and e powerful in War, aim and intend nothing less than to establish themselves in our Cities and Territories; and reduce us to perpetual Servitude. This has ever been the Object of all their Wars. If you are unacquainted with what passes in distant Countries, cast your Eyes upon the adjoining Gaul, which, reduced into the Form of a Province, stript of its Laws and "Privileges, and subjected to the arbitrary Sway of the Conqueror, groans under an endless Yoke of Sla-" very." When all had delivered their Opinions, a Resolution was taken, that such as by Age or Sickness were unfit for War, should be obliged to quit the Town, and every Expedient be tried, rather than give into the Proposal of Critognatus: But if Necessity urged, and Relief was long deferred, they determined upon fubmitting to his Advice, preferably to Peace or a Surrender. The Mandubii, to whom the City belonged, were driven thence with their Wives and Children. When they came to the Roman Lines, they with Tears petitioned to be received as Slaves, and faved from perishing miserably by Famine. But Cafar having planted Guards along the Rampart, refused to admit them into his Camp.

LXXII. MEAN-WHILE Comius, and the other general Officers, on whom the chief Command had been conferred, arrived before Alesia with all their Forces, and encamped on a Hill without the Town, not above five hundred Paces from the Roman Lines. The next Day they drew out their Cavalry, and covered the whole Plain under the Hill, which, as we have already said, extended three Miles in Length. The Infantry were stationed at

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from the View of the Romans. As Alesia commanded a full Prospect of the Plain below, the Succours were soon discovered by the Besieged, who assembling in Crowds, congratulated each other; and testified an universal Joy. Immediately they came forth with all their Forces, posted themselves before the Town, and having silled up the nearest Ditch with Earth and Fascines, prepared for a vigorous Sally, and every Thing else that might happen.

LXXIII. CESAR having disposed his whole Army on both Sides the Works, that in case of Need, every Soldier might know his Post, and be ready to maintain it, ordered the Cavalry to fally out upon the Enemy, and begin the Charge. The Camp running along a Ridge of a rising Ground, commanded a View of the Plain on all Sides; and the Soldiers to a Man, with deep Attention, waited the Issue of the Combat. Gauls had interspersed among their Cavalry some Archers and light-armed Troops, to sustain them in case of Need, and check the Impetuofity of our Horse. Several of the Romans being wounded by these at the first Charge, were obliged to quit the Battle. The Gauls now believing they had the Advantage, and feeing our Men overpowered by Numbers, set up an universal Shout, as well within as without the Place, to give new Life to their Troops. As the Action passed in the View of both Armies, who were of course Witnesses to the Valour or Cowardice of the Countatants, the Defire of Applause, or Fear of Ignominy, spurred on each Side to exert their utmost Bravery. After a Conflict that lasted from Noon till near Sun-set, Victory all the while continuing doubtful, the Germans in close Order charged furiously the Enemy on one Side, and forced them to give Ground. Their Flight leaving the Archers exposed, they were all furrounded and cut to pieces. The Success was equal in other Parts of the Field, where our Men pursuing the Runaways to their Camp, gave them no Time to rally. The Troops who had quitted Alesia, despairing now almost of Victory, returned disconsolate to the Town.

LXXIV. AFTER the Interval of a Day, which was wholly spent in providing a great Number of Fascines, Scaling-Ladders, and Iron Hooks; the Gauls issuing from

from their Camp at Midnight in great Silence, attacked the Roman Lines on the Side of the Plain. They began with setting up a sudden Shout, to advertise the Besieged of their Arrival; threw their Fascines into the Ditch; endeavoured by a Difcharge of Stones, Darts, and Arrows, to drive our Men from the Rampart; and practifed every Thing necessary to render the Storm successful. At the same Time Vercingetorix, hearing their Cries, founded to Arms, and led forth his Men to the Attack. The Romans, whose Posts had been allotted them some Days before, flew to the Works, and with Slings, Darts, Bullets, and Engines, prepared on purpose, struck a Terror into the Affailants. As the Parties could not fee one another by Reason of the Darkness, many Wounds were received on both Sides, and a great Number of Darts discharged from the Engines. But M. Antonius and C. Trebonius, who commanded on the Side that was most pressed by the Enemy, took care to draw out Parties from the more distant Redoubts, and send them where their Assistance was chiesly wanted.

LXXV. WHILE the Gauls kept at a Distance from our Lines, they did great Execution by the Multitude of their Darts: But in proportion as they approached, they either intangled themselves unawares among the Caltrops, or tumbling into the Wells, were wounded by the pointed Stakes, or were pierced by the Darts discharged from the Towers and Rampart. After many Wounds given and received; finding, when Day appeared, that they had not forced any Part of the Lines; and fearing to be taken in Flank by some Troops that were fallying from the Redoubts on the Eminence, they retreated to their Camp. Mean-while the Besieged, after much Time spent in preparing for a Sally, and filling up the advanced Ditch, finding that their Countrymen were retired, before they could to much as approach the Works, returned into the Town without effecting any Thing.

LXXVI. THE Gauls thus twice repulsed with great Loss, consult what new Measures they are to pursue; and advising with those who knew the Ground, learnt from them the Strength and Situation of the upper Camp. North of the Fown was a Hill of too great a Compass to be taken into the Circumvallation; info-

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much that the Romans had been obliged to post themselves on its Ascent, in a very disadvantageous Satuation, because their Camp was commanded by its Summit. C. Antistius Reginus, and C. Caninius Rebilus, Lieutenantgenerals, guarded this Quarter with two Legions. The Enemy's Generals, after informing themselves of the Nature of the Country by their Scouts, selected five and fifty thousand of their best Troops, concerted privately among themselves the Plan and Manner of acting, appointed the Time for the Aslault about Noon, and asfigned the Command of the Detachment to Vergafillaunus of Auvergne, one of the four principal Leaders, and near Relation of Vercingetorix. Vergasillaunus leaving his Gamp in the Evening, finished his March by Daybreak; and concealing his Troops behind a Hill, ordered his Soldiers to refresh themselves after their Fatigue. As foon as it was Noon, he approached the Quarters of the two Legions. At the same Time the Cavalry advanced into the Plain, and the whole Army drew out before the Camp.

LXXVII. VERCINGETORIX observing these Motions from the Citadel of Alesia, led forth his Troops; carrying along with him the Fascines, long Poles, covered Galleries, Hooks, and other Instruments he had prepared for the Assault. The Fight was maintained on all Sides at once; nor did the Gauls leave any Thing unattempted, but slocked continually to those Parts of the Works which appeared to be the weakest. The Roman Forces having so many Works to guard, were dispersed in different Places, and scarce sufficed for the Desence of them all. What mostly contributed to disturb them was, the Cries of the Combatants behind, which informed them that their Sasety depended on the Valour of others. For such is the Constitution of the human Mind, as always to aggrandize absent Objects, and magnify the Danger that is out of Sight.

LXXVIII. CÆSAR chose a Post from whence he could see every Thing, and then sent Reinforcements where necessary. Both Parties called to mind, that now was the Time for making the greatest Effort. The Gauls had no Hope of Sasety, but in forcing the Roman Lines. Our Men again were sensible, that if they came

would be at an End. The chief Stress of the Battle lay at the higher Fortifications, where Vergusillanus charged with his Detachment; because the small Eminence, which commanded the Declivity of the Hill, gave the Enemy great Advantage. Some were employed in throwing Darts; others advanced to the Attack under Cover of their Shields, fresh Men still succeeding in the Room of those that were fatigued. The Earth they threw up against our Lines, not only enabled them to ascend the Rampart, but entirely frustrated the Design of the Works the Romans had made in the Ground. In fine, our Men had neither Strength nor Weapons left to make Resistance.

LXXIX. CESAR observing the Danger they were in, fent Labienus with fix Cohorts to their Affiitance; ordering him, if he found himself unable to defend the Works, to fally out upon the Enemy; yet this only in case of Extremity. He himself went in person to the rest of the Troops, exhorting them to bear up courageoufly under their present Fatigue, and representing, that the Fruit of all their former Victories depended upon the Issue of that critical Day and Hour. The Troops within the Place, despairing to force the Intrenchments on the Side of the Plain, because of the great Strength of the Works, attacked them in the more fleep and difficult Places, whither they brought all the Instruments prepared for the Affault. They foon Live our Men from the Towers by a Discharge of Darts, levelled the Way with Earth and Fascines, and began to cut down the Rampart and Breast-work with their Hooks.

LXXX. Cæsar first sent young Brutus, with six Cohorts; after him, C. Fabius, Lieutenant-general, with seven more; and last of all, as the Dispute grew very warm, marched himself in person at the Head of the whole Detachment. Having by this Means restored the Pattle, and forced the Enemy to retire, he hastened to the Side where Labienus was engaged. He drew sour Cohorts from the nearest Fort, ordered Part of the Cavalry to follow him, and charged the rest to take a Circuit round the outward Works, and fall upon the Enemy's Rear. Labienus, finding that neither the Rampart P 4

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nor Ditch were sufficient to stop the Progress of the Enemy, drew together about thirty-nine Cohorts from the nearest Forts, and sent to inform Cæsar of his Design. Cæsar immediately quickened his March, that he might be present at the Action.

LXXXI. His Arrival being known from the Colour of his Garments, by which he used to distinguish himself in a Day of Battle; and the Troops, and Cohorts he had ordered to follow him, appearing; all which were casily discerned from the higher Ground: The Enemy began the Charge. A mighty Shout was raised on both Sides, which being catched by those on the Rampart, was carried quite round the Lines. Our Men, having cast their Darts, fell upon the Gauls Sword-inhand. At the same Time the Cavalry appeared unexpectedly in their Rear: Fresh Cohorts flocked continually to our Assistance: The Enemy took to Flight, and in their Retreat were encountered by our Horse: A dreadful Slaughter ensued. Sedulius, Chief and General of the Lemovices, was flain on the Spot; Vergasillaunus of Auvergne, was made Prisoner in the Pursuit; seventyfour Colours were taken, and brought to Cæsar; and out of so great a Multitude, very sew regained the Gaulish Camp. The Rout and Slaughter being observed from the Town, the Besieged, despairing of Success, drew off their Troops from the Attack. Instantly, upon the Report of this Disaster, the Gauls abandoned their Camp; and had not our Troops been wearied out by the continual Fatigue of the Day, and the frequent Reinforcements they were obliged to furnish, the Enemy's whole Army might have been exterminated. At Midnight Cafar detached the Cavalry to pursue them, who falling in with their Rear, flew some, and took a great Number of Prisoners. The rest escaped to their several Habitations.

Council, represented to the Besieged: "That he had undertaken that War, not from a Motive of private Interest, but to recover the common Liberty of Gaul: And that, since there was a Necessity of yielding to I ortune, he was willing to become a Victim for their Safety, whether they should think proper to appeale

"Tver him up alive." A Deputation immediately waited on Cæsar to receive his Orders. He insisted on the Surrender of their Arms, and the delivering up of all their Chiefs. Having accordingly seated himself at the Head of his Lines before the Camp; their Leaders were brought; Vercingetorial delivered up; and their Arms thrown into the Ditch. Reserving the Æduans and Averni, as a Means to recover those two potent Nations, he divided the rest of the Prisoners among his Soldiers, giving to each one.

LXXXIII. THESE Affairs dispatched, he marched into the Territories of the Aduans, where he received the Submission of their State. There he was addressed by the Ambasiadors of the Averni, who promised an entire Obedience to his Commands. He exacted a great Number of Hostages; sent his Legions into Winterquarters; and reffored about twenty thousand Captives to the Eduans and Averni. T. Labienus, with two Legions and the Cavalry, was quartered among the Sequani, jointly with MI. Sempronius Rutilus. C. Fubius, and L. Minutius Basilus, were ordered with two Legions into the Country of the Rhomi, to defend it against the Attempts of the Bellevaci their Neighbours. C. Antistius Reginus had his Station affigned him among the Ambivareti; T. Sextius, among the Biturigians; and C. Caninius Rebilus, among the Rutheni; each with one Legion. 2. Tullius Cicero, and P. Sulpicius, were placed at Cabillo and Matisco upon the Arar, in the Country of the Æduans, to have the Care of Provisions. He himself resolved to winter at Bibracte. The Senate being informed of these Things by Cæsar's Letters, a Procession of twenty Days was decreed.

A CONTINUATION OF

CÆSAR's COMMENTARIES

OF HIS

WARS in GAUL.

By A. HIRTIUS PANSA.

BOOK VIII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Pansa's Preface. I. The Gauls form a Resolution to renew the War. II. Cæsar falls unexpectedly upon the Biturigians, and compels them to submit. IV. He afterwards disperses the Carnutes by the Terror of his Arms. V. The Bellovaci prepare for War. VI. Their Designs. VII. Cæsar endeavours to draw them to an Engagement, by inspiring them with a Contempt of his small Numbers. VIII. But as they carefully avoid a Battle, he resolves to fortify his Camp. XI. The Bellovaci intercept, the Roman Foragers. XII. Daily Skirmishes within View of the two Camps. XIII. The Bellovaci artfully counterfeit a Retreat. XVI. And falling upon the Romans from an Ambuscade, after an obstinate Fight, are entirely dispersed. XVII. The Bellovaci and other States submit. XX. Cæsar divides bis Army. XXI. Caninius and Fabius relieve Duracius, besieged by Dumnacus in Limo. XXIV. Caninius pursues Drapes and Luterius. XXV. Fabius obliges the Carnutes and other States to Submit. XXVI. Drapes and Luterius possess themselves of Uxellodunum. XXVII. Caninius invests the Town. XXVIII. Intercepts a Convoy escorted by Luterius. XXIX. Attacks and carries the Camp of Drapes. XXX. And joining the Forces under Fabius, returns to the Siege of Uxellodunum. XXXI. Cæsar repairs to the Camp of Caninius. XXXIII. And depriving the Besieged of Water, compels the Town to surrender. XXXVII. He then fends his Army into Winter-quarters. XXXVIII. Comius, defeated in an Engagement of Horse, surren-ders to Antony. XLI. The Year following Gaul being in perfect Quiet, Caesar goes into Italy. XLII. Where he is received with the highest Demonstrations of Respect. XLIII. He returns to the Arm, where he learns the Designs formed against him at Rome. XIVI. And thereupon fees out again for Italy.

A CONTINUATION OF CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES.

OF HIS

WARS in. GAUL. By A. HIRTIUS PANSA

BOOK VIII.

IN consequence of your repeated Importunities, Bal-bus, I have at last been prevailed with to engage in a very delicate Work; fearing lest my daily Refusals should be construed rather to flow from Idleness, than any Sense of the Difficulty of the Undertaking. I therefore here present you with a Continuation of Casar's Commentaries of his Wars in Gaul, though not in any respect to be compared with what be himself wrote on the same Subject, nor with the Memoirs of the Civil War, which he likewise left behind him impersect, and which I have in the same Manner carried down from the Transactions at Alexandria, to the End, I will not say of our civil Dissensions, which are like to have no End, but of Cæfar's Life. I would have all who read these Picces know, with how much Reluctance I engaged in this Defign; that I may be the more easily acquitted of the Charge of Arrogance and Folly, for prefuming to infert my Writings amongst those of Cæsar. It is univerfally agreed, that the most elaborate Compositions of others, fall far short of the Elegance of their Commentaries. He indeed intended them only as Memoirs

for future Historians; but they are every where in such. high Esteem, as serves rather to discourage other Writers, than furnish them for the Attempt. This Circumstance the more commands our Admiration, because while the rest of the World can judge only of the Beauty and Correctness of the Work, we besides know with what Ease and Dispatch it was composed. Casar not only possessed the Talent of Writing in the highest Perfection, but was likewise best able to unfold the Reasons of those military Operations, of which he was himself the Contriver and Director. On the contrary, it was my Misfortune to be present neither in the Alexandrian nor African Wars: and though I had many of the Particulars relating to both from his own Mouth, yet we give a very different Attention to Things, when we hear them only through an Admiration of their Novelty and Greatness, and when with a View of transmitting them to Posterity. But I forbear any farther Apologies, lest in enumerating the Reasons why my Work ought not to be compared with that of Cafar, I fall under the Suspicion of flattering myself, that in the Judgment of some, it may not seem altogether unworthy of that Honour. Adieu.

I. AUL being wholly reduced, Cafar was defirous T that his Troops might enjoy some Repose during the Winter, especially after so long and fatiguing a Campaign, in which there had been no Intermission from the Toils of War: but he soon understood, that feveral States were meditating a Revolt, and contriving all at once to take up Arms. The Cause assigned for this Conduct was not improbable: for though the Gauls were by this Time fully sensible, that it was impossible for them to resist the Roman Army entire, by any Forces they could bring into the Eield; yet still they thought, that if many States revolted together, and fet on foot as many different Wars, the Romans would have neither Time nor Troops to subdue them all; and that though some among them must be Sufferers, their Lot would be the more supportable, as the Delay occasioned by that Diversion, might procure the Liberty of the whole Nation.

Book VIII. THE GALLICK WAR

II. CESAR, to stiffe this Opinion in its Birth, left M. Antony the Questor to command in his Winter-quarters; and setting out the last of December from Bibracte, with a Guard of Cavalry, went to the Camp of the thirteenth Legion, which he had placed among the Biturigians, not far from the Territories of the Æduans. To this he joined the eleventh Legion, whose Quarters lay nearest; and leaving two Cohorts to guard the Baggage, marched with the rest of the Army into the most fertile Parts of the Country of the Biturigians; who having large Territories, and abounding in Towns, had not been awed by the Presence of a single Legion, from forming Confederacies, and preparing for War.

III. CÆSAR by his sudden and unexpected Arrival, as was natural to suppose, found them unprepared and dispersed up and down the Fields; insomuch that they were easily surprised by the Horse, before they could retreat into their Towns. For he had expressly forbid fetting fire to the Houses, the usual Sign of an Invasion, that he might neither alarm the Enemy by the Conflagration, nor expose himself to the Want of Corn and Forage, if he should advance far into the Country. Having made many thousands of the Biturigians Prifor ers; such as could escape the first Coming of the Romans, fled in great Terror to the neighbouring States, relying either upon private Friendship, or the-Ties of a mutual Confederacy. But all was to no purpose: for Cæsar by great Marches soon reached their Places of Retreat, and making every Province anxious for its own Safety, left them no Time to think of giving Shelter to others. This Diligence confirmed the Well-affected in their Duty, and obliged the Wavering to hearken to Conditions of Peace. The like Offers were made to the Biturigians; who seeing that Casar's Clemency left the Way still open to his Friendship; and that the neighbouring States, upon delivery of Hostages, had been pardoned and received into Prorection; resolved to follow the Example. Casar, to recompense the Fatigue and Labour of his Soldiers, who in the Winter-season, through difficult Ways, and during the most intense Colds, had followed him with incredible Patience and Constancy; promised a Reward of two hundred Sesterces to every private Man, and

and two thousand to every Centurion: and having sep back the Legions to their Winter-quarters, returned again to Bibraste, after an Absence of forty Days.

IV. WHILST he was there employed in the Distribution of Justice, Amit assadors arrived from the Bi irigians, to implore his Assistance against the Carnutes who were laying waste their Country. Upon this Intelligence, though he had not rested above eighteer Days, he immediately sent for the fixth and fourteenth Legions, which he had quartered along the Arar for the convenience of Provisions, as has been related in the foregoing Book. With these two Legions he marched against the Carnutes; who hearing of his Approach, and dreading the same Calamities which others had been made to fuffer, abandoned their Towns and Villages, confisting mostly of little Cottages run up in haste, to defend them from the Cold, (for most of their Cities had been destroyed in the late War,) and sled different Ways. Cafar, unwilling to expose his Soldiers to the Severity of the Storms, which commonly rage with the greatest Violence at that Season, fixed his Camp at Genabum; and lodged his Men, partly in the Huts lately built by the Gauls, partly in the old Houses, whose Walls were still standing, and which he ordered to be thatched with Straw, that they might afford the better Sheiter to the Troops. But he fent the Cavalry and the auxiliary Foot into all Parts where he understood the Enemy were retired: nor without Success; for they commonly returned loaden with Spoil. Carnutes, distressed by the Difficulty of the Season, the Sense of their Danger, (because being driven from their Habitations, they durit not continue long in any Place for fear of our Parties,) and finding no Protection in the Woods against the extreme Severity of the Weather; were at length dispersed on all Sides with great Loss, and scattered among the neighbouring States.

V. Cæska thinking it sufficient in that difficult Season to have dispersed the Troops that began to assemble, and prevented their rekindling the War; and being likewise well assured, as far as human Prudence could determine, that it would be impossible for them, during the ensuing Summer, to raise up any very dangerous War; lest

left C. Trebonius, with the two Legions he had brought along with him, to winter at Genabum. Mean-while understanding by frequent Embassies from the Rhemi, that the Bellovaci, the most distinguished for Bravery of all the Belgian and Gallick Nations, with force of the neigneouring States, under the Conduct of Correus, Gengra! of the Bellovaci, and Comius the Atrebatian, were raising an Army, and drawing their Forces to a general Rendezvous, with defign to invade the Territories of the Suessiones, a People subject to the Jurisdiction of the Rhemi; he thought that both Honour and Interest required him to undertake the Defence of Allies, who had deserved so well of the Commonwealth. He therefore drew the eleventh Legion again out of its Winter-quarters; wrote to C. Fabius, to march the two Legions under his command into the Country of the Sueff nes; and ordered Labienus to fend one of those he was charged with. Thus, as far as the Convenience of Winter-quarters, and the Nature of the War would allow, he employed the Legions alternately in Expeditions, giving himself, Mean-while, no Intermission from Fatigue.

VI. WITH these Forces he marched against the Bellowaci, and encamping within their Territories, dispersed his Cavalry on all Sides to make Prisoners, from whom he might learn the Enemy's Defigns. The Horse, in consequence of this Commission, brought him back word, that the Lands and Houses were in a Manner quite abandoned, and that the few Prisoners they had found, after a most diligent Search, were not left to cultivate the Ground, but to serve as Spies. Cafar enquiring of these, whither the Bellovaci were retired, and what might be their Designs, found: " That all " of them capable of bearing Arms had affembled in one " Place, and been joined by the Ambiani, Aulerci, Ca-" letes, Vellocasians, and Atrebatians: That they had chosen for their Camp a rising Ground, surrounded with a difficult Morass, and disposed of their Baggage in remote Woods: That a great many of their " Chiefs were concerned in the War, but the principal " Authority rested in Correus, because he was known to bear an implacable Hatred to the Roman Name: "That a few Days before, Comius had left the Camp

to folicit Aid of the Germans, who were their nearest Neighbours, and abounded in Troops: That it had been resolved among the Bellovaci, with Confent of all the Generals, and at the earnest Desire of the Polle; if Casar came at the Head of only three Degions, an was reported, to offer him Pattle; lest they should be afterwards obliged to fight no harder and more unequal Terms, when he had got his whole Army together: but if he brought greater Forces along with him; to continue within their Camp, intercept his Corn and Convoys, and cut off his Forage, which in that Season of the Year was extremely scarce, and very much dispersed."

VII. THESE Things being confirmed by the Testimony of all the Prisoners; Cafur, who found their Designs full of Prudence, and remote from Testimony of Barbarians, resolved by all Manner of Ways to draw them into a Contempt of his Numbers, that he might the more easily bring them to an Engagement. He had with him the seventh, eighth, and ninth Legions, all Veterans of approved Valour; and though the eleventh was not of equal standing, nor had attained the same Reputation of Bravery, they were yet a chosen Youth of great Hopes, who had served under him eight Campaigns. Calling therefore the Army together, he laid before them the Advices he had received, and exhorted the Soldiers to preserve their wonted Courage. At the same Time, to draw the Enemy to an Engagement, by an Appgarance of only three Legions, he fo contrived the Order of his March, that disposing the feventh, eighth, and ninth Legions in Front; the Baggage, which, as in a hasty Expedition, was but moderate, behind them; and the eleventh Legion in the rear of all; no more Troops were in View, than what the Gauls themselves had determined to hazard an Action against. The Army thus drawn up, formed a Kind of Square, and arrived before the Enemy's Camp much sooner than expected.

VIII. WHEN the Gauls perceived the Legions advancing suddenly against them in Order of Battle with a steady Pace, they altered the Resolution which had been reported to Gasjar; and either fearing the Success

of the Battle, surprised at so, sudden an Approach, or willing to know our further Designs, drew up before their Camp, without descending from the higher Ground. Cafev, though defirous to come to an Engagement; yet furn ised at the Multitude of the Enemy, a on the Advantage of their Situation, as being separated from him by a Valley, still more considerable for its Depth than Breadth; contented himself for the present to encamp directly over-against them. He threw up a Rampait twelve Feet high, strengthened by a proportionable Breaft-work; and secured it by two Ditches, each fifteen Feet deep, with perpendicular Sides. He likewise raised several Turrets of three Stories, and joined them to each other by Galleries, having little Parapets of Ofier before, that the Works might be defended by a double Range of Soldiers; one of which fighting from the Galleries, and secured by their Height, would with more Boldness and Advantage launch their Darts against the Enemy; the other, though nearer Danger, and planted upon the Rampart itfelf, were yet screened by the Galleries from the impending Darts. All the Entrances to the Camp were fecured by strong Gates, over which he placed very high Towers.

IX. He had a twofold Design in these Fortifications: one, by the Greatness of the Works, to make the Enemy believe him afraid, and thereby increase their Presumption and Confidence: the other, to enable him to defend his Camp with a few Troops, when it was necessary to go far in quest of Corn and Forage. Mean time there happened frequent Skirmishes between the two Camps, carried on for the most part with Arrows at a Distance, by reason of a Morass that separated the Combatants: sometimes indeed the auxiliary Gauls and Germans crossed the Morais and pursued the Enemy: fometimes again the Enemy having the Advantage, passed in their Turn, and drove back our Men. And as we daily fent out Parties to forage, who were obliged to disperse, and scatter themselves from House to House over the whole Country; it now and then fell out, as unavoidable in these Circumstances, that our Foragers were surprised and cut to Pieces by their Detachments. These Losses, though very inconsiderable to us, as being mostly confined to some Carriages Q 2

and Servants, yet strangely swelled the Hopes of the Barbarians; and the more, as Comius, who had gone to fetch the German Auxiliaries, was now returned with a Body of, Horse. And though the Number was not great, not making in all above five Hundres the Enemy were nevertheless mightily encouraged by thi Supply.

X. CÆSAR, after a Stay of many Days, finding that the Enemy still kept within their Camp, which was advantageously situated with a Morass in Front: and considering at the same Time, that he could neither force their Intrenchments without great Loss, nor inclose them with Works with so small an Army; wrote to Trebonius, to send with all Diligence for the thirteenth Legion, which was quartered among the Biturigians under the Care of T. Sextius; and with that, and the two Legions under his own Command, make what Haste he could to join him. Mean-while he detached the Cavalry of Rheims, of the Lingones, and the other Provinces of Gaul, of which he had great Numbers in his Camp, to guard by Turns the Foragers, and protect them from the sudden Incursions of the Enemy.

XI. This was done every Day: but Custom by Degrees relaxing their Diligence, as frequently happens in Things of long Continuance; the Bellovaci, who had observed the daily Stations of our Horse, placed a chosen, Body of Foot in Ambush in a Wood, and sent their Cavalry thither next Day, to draw our Men into the Snare, and then attack them furrounded on every This ill Fortune fell upon the Cavalry of Rheims, whose Turn it was that Day to guard the Foragers: for these, suddenly discovering the Enemy's Cavalry, and despising their small Numbers, pursued with such Eagerness, that they were at.length surprised and surrounded by the Foot. This threw them into Consusion, and obliged them to retreat hastily, with the Loss of Fortiscus their General, and the chief Man of their State; who though so far advanced in Years, that he could hardly fit on horseback, yet according to the Custom of the Gauls, would neither decline the Com mand on account of his Age, nor suffer them to figl t without him. The Enemy were animated and ercouraged

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couraged by this Success, and the Death of the Chief and General of the Rhemi: our Men, on the other Hand, were cautioned by their Loss, carefully to ex mine the Ground before they took their Posts, and pu fue a retreating Enemy with more Raf run

1.1. MEAN-WHILE the daily Skirmithes between the wo Camps, at the Fords and Passes of the Morais, still continued. In one of these, the Germans, whom Cæsar had brought from beyond the Rhine, that they might fight intermingled with the Cavalry; boldly passing the Morass in a Body, put all that made Resistance to the Sword, and pursued the rest with great Vigour. Fear not only seized those who sought Hand to Hand, or were wounded at a Distance; but even the more remote Partier, who were posted to sustain the others, shamefully betook themselves to flight; and being driven from Height to Height, ceased not to continue the Rout, until they had reached their very Camp: nay some, quite confounded by their Fear, fled a great Way beyond it. Their Danger spread to universal a Terror among the Troops, that it appeared hard to fay, whether they were more apt to be clated by a trifling Advantage, or depressed by an inconsiderable Las.

XIII. AFTER a Stay of many Days in this Camp: upon Information that C. Trebonius was approaching with the Legions; the Generals of the Bellovaci, fearing a Siege like that of Alesia, sent away by Night all whom Age or Infirmities rendered unfit for Service; and along with them the Baggage of the whole Army. But before this confused and numerous Train could be put in Order, (for the Gauls, even in their sudden Expeditions, are always attended with a vast Number of Carriages,) Day-light appeared; and the Enemy were obliged to draw up before their Camp, to hinder the Romans from disturbing the March of their Baggage. Cassar did not think proper to attack them in so advantageous a Post, nor was willing to remove his Legions to such a Distance, as might give them an Opportunity of retreating without Danger. Observing therefore that the two Camps were divided by a very dangerous Morats, Q_3

the Difficulty of passing which might greatly retard the Pursuit; and that beyond the Morass there was an Eminence, which in a Manner commanded the Enemy's Camp, and was separated from it only by a small Valley; he laid Brid er the Morass, passed his Legions, as d quickly gained the Lummit of the Hill, which was see red on each Side by the Steepness of the Ascent. Then e he marched his Legions in Order of Battle to the extremest Ridge, and posted them in a Place, where his Engines could play upon the Enemy's Battalions.

XIV. THE Cauls confiding in the Strength of their Post, resolved not to decline a Battle, if the Romans should attack them on the Hill; and not daring to make their Troops file off, for fear of being charged when separated and in Disorder, continued in the same Polture. Cæsar perceiving their Obstinacy, kept twenty Cohorts already drawn up; and marking out a Camp in the Place where he then flood, ordered it to be fortified immediately. The Works being finished, he drew up his Legions before the Rampart, and aligned the Cavalry their feveral Posts, where they were to wait with their Horses ready bridled. The Bellovaci seeing the Romans prepared for the Pursuit; and finding it impossible to pass the Night, or continue longer in that Place without Provisions, fell upon the following Stratagem to secure their Retreat. They collected and placed at the Head of their Line all the Fascines in the Camp, of which the Number was very great, (for, as has been already observed, the Gauls commonly sit upon these, when drawn up in Order of Battle,) and towards Night, upon a Signal given, set fire to them all at The Flame blazing out on a Sudden, with great Violence, covered their Forces from the View of the Remans; and the Gauls laying hold of that Opportunity, retreated with the utmost Diligence.

XV. Though Cæfar could not perceive the Enemy's Departure, because of the Flames; yet suspecting that this was only a Contrivance to cover their Flight, he made the Legions advance, and detached the Cavalry to pursue them. Mean-while apprehending an Ambus-cade, and that the Enemy might perhaps continue in the

the same Post, to draw our Men into a Place of Disadvantage, he took care to follow slowly with the Foot. The Cavalry not daring to enter that thick Column of Flame and Smoke; or if any had the Courage to advanture it, being unable to discern the very Heads of their Horses, thought proper to redie so hear of a Survey, and left the Bellovaci at full liberty to escape. Thus by a Flight, which equally spoke their Fear and Address, they retreated ten Miles without Loss, and encamped in a Place of great Advantage. Thence, by frequent Ambuscades of Horse and Foot, they often attacked and cut to Pieces the Roman Foragers.

XVI. CESAR having received many Losses of this Kind, understood at last by a certain Prisoner, that Correus, General of the Bellovaci, had chosen fix thousand of his best Foot, and a thousand Horse, to form an Ambuscade in a Place abounding in Corn and Grass, and where it was therefore presumed the Romans would come to forage. Upon this Intelligence, he drew out a greater Number of Legionaries than usual; sent the Cavalry, who formed the ordinary Guard of the Foragers before; intermixed them with Platoons of light-armed Foot; and advanced himself as near as possible with the Legions. The Enemy, who lay in Ambush, having chosen for the Place of Action a Plain of about a Mile every Way, and environed on all Sides with thick Woods, or a very deep River, which inclosed it as in a Toil, disposed their Forces all around. Our Men, who knew their Design, and advanced armed and resolved for Battle, because the Legions were behind to sustain them, entered the Plain Troop by Troop. Upon their Arrival, Correus thinking that now was the proper Time for Action, appeared first with a few of his Men, and fell upon the nearest Squadrons. Our Men resolutely sustained the Attack, nor flocked together in Crowds, as frequently happens among the Cavalry on Occasions of sudden Surprise, when the very Number of Combatants throws all into Confusion. The Squadrons fighting thus in good Order, and preferring a proper Distance, to prevent their being taken in Plank; fuddenly the rest of the Garls broke from the Woods, and advanced to the Aid of those who fought under Correns. The Cont if was C 4 carried

carried on with great Heat, and continued for a long Time with equal Advantage on both Sides: when at last the Foot advancing slowly in Order of Battle from the Woods, obliged our Men to give Way. Unon this the light- smed Infantry, who, as we have observed. had been ser; belove the Legions, marched up specuity to their Assistance; and placing themselves in the In ervals of the Squadrons, continued the Fight. Contest again became equal. At length, 13 was natural in an Encounter of that Kind, those who had sustained the first Charge of the Ambuscade, began for this very Reason to have the Superiority, because the Enemy had gained no Advantage over them. Mean-while the Legions approached, and both Sides had Notice at the same Time that Cæsar was advancing with his Forces in Order of Battle. Our Troops, animated by this Hope, redoubled their Efforts; lest by pushing the Enemy too flowly, the Legions should have Time to come in for a Share of the Victory. The Enemy, on the contrary, lost Courage, and fled different Ways: But in vain: for the very Difficulties of the Ground, by which they hoped to have enfnared the Romans, ferved now to entangle themselves. Being at last vanquished and repulsed, with the Loss of the best Part of their Men, they fled in great Terror whither Chance directed; some towards the Woods, some towards the The Romans urged the Pursuit with great Keenness, and put many to the Sword. Mean-while Correus, whose Resolution no Missortune could abate. would neither quit the Fight, and retire to the Woods; nor accept of any Offers of Quarter from our Men but fighting on to the last with invincible Courage, and wounding many of the victorious Troops, constrained them at length to transix him with their Javelins.

XVII. AFTER this Action; Cafar coming up just as the Battle was ended; and naturally supposing, that the Enemy, upon Intelligence of so considerable a Defeat, would immediately abandon their Camp, which was not above eight Miles distant from the Place of Slaughter: though he saw his March obstructed by the River, he passed it notwithstanding, and advanced with his Forces against them. But the Bellovaci, and the other States in their Alliance, hearing of their Disaster

by some of the Runaways, who though wounded, sound Means to escape under cover of the Woods; and finding that every Thing was against them, their General slain, their Cavalry and the Flower of their Infantry destroyed, an the Romans doubtless upon the Ma to attack them: speedily assembling a Cauncil by Sound of Transet, demanded with great Cries, that Ambassadors and Hostages might be sent to Casar.

XVIII. This Proposal being approved by all, Comius the Atrebatian fled to the Germans, whose Assistance he had obtained in the War. The rest immediately dispatched Ambassadors to Casar, and requested: "That "he would regard their present Sufferings, as a suffi-" cient Punishment for their Revolt, fince they were " fuch, as his Humanity and Clemency would never have " fuffered him to inflict upon them, had he compelled " them to submit entire and without fighting: That " their Power was utterly broken by the late Defeat of " their Cavalry: That feveral thousands of their best "Infantry were destroyed, scarce enough being left to " bring them News of the Difaster: That yet in so " great a Calamity, it was no finall Advantage to the "Bellovaci, that Correus, the Author of the War, ' : who had stirred up the Multitude to revolt, was "killed; because while he lived, the headstrong " Populace would always have had more Authority " in the State than the Senate." The Ambasiadors having ended their Speech, Cæsar put them in mind: "That the Year before, the Bellovaci had, in con-"junction with the other States of Gaul, taken up " Arms against the Romans: That of all the Confe-"derates they had persisted with the greatest Obstinacy " in their Revolt, nor been induced by the Submission " of the rest to hearken to Reason: That nothing was " casier than to lay the Blame of their Misconduct upon " the Dead; but they would find it difficult to make " him believe that a fingle Man could have so much "! Influence, as in spite of the Opposition of the Nobi-" lity and Senate, and the Efforts of all good Men, to " ftir up and support a War, by the mere Authority of the Multitude: That however, he would be satisfied for the present with the Punishment they had brought upon themselves."

XIX. NEXT Night the Deputies returned with Cafar's Answer, and Hostages were immediately sent to the Roman Camp. The Deputies of the other States, who only waited the Event of this Treaty, immediately flocked to Jujur, gave Hostages, and submitted to 1 Commands. Comius alone would not hear of treating, from a particular Distrust of the Romans. For the Year before, while Cæsar was employed in the Affairs of Cifalpine Gaul, Labienus understanding that Comius was soliciting several States to rebel, and join in a Confederacy against the Romans; thought it might be allowed him to use Perfidy towards the Perfidious. And because he expected to be refused, should he send for him to the Camp; that he might not by an unfuccessful Attempt put him upon his Guard, he employed C. Volusenus Quadratus, to kill him under pretence of an Interview; turnishing him with some chosen Centurious for that Purpose. When the Interview began; and Volusenus, by way of Signal, had taken Comius by the Hand; one of the Centurions, as if surprised at a Step so unusual, attempted to kill him; but Comius's Friends hastily interposing, he was prevented: However, the first Blow wounded him severely on the Head. Both Sides immediately drew, not so much with a Design to engage, as to retire: Our Men, because they believed Comius mortally wounded; the Gauls, because discovering the innended Treachery, they apprehended the Danger to be greater than as yet appeared. From that Time Comius determined never to be in the fame Place with any Roman.

XX. CESAR having thus fubdued the most warlike Nations of Gaul, and finding no State disposed to take up Arms, or make Resistance; but that only some few had left their Towns and Possessions, to avoid present Subjection; resolved to divide his Army into several Bodies. M. Actory the Question, with the eleventh Legion, had Orders to continue with him. C. Febius was sent at the Head of twenty-sive Cohorts, into the remotest Parts of Gaul; because he understood some States were in Arms on that Side, whom G. Caninius Rebilus, his Lucutement, who commanded in those Provinces, was searcely strong enough to oppose with only two Legions. He then there for T. Lubienus, and ordered the twelsth Legion.

Legion, which he commanded, into Gallia Togata, to protect the Roman Colonics there, that they might not fuffer by the Incursions of the Barbarians, as had happened the Year before to the Tergellini, whose Territories and been plundered by a fudden and mexpected invation. He himself marched to ravage and lay waite the Ter toxies of Ambierix: For finding it impossible to lay hold or that perfidious Gaul, whose Fear prompted him to fly continually before him; he thought it behoved him, in regard to his own Dignity, so effectually to ruin the Country, by destroying his Towns, Cattle, and Subjects, as might render him odious to his Followers, if any still remained, and deprive him of all Hope of being restored to his Possessians. Having spread his Legions and Auxiliaries over the whole Country of Ambiorix, destroyed all with Fire and Sword, and either killed or made Prisoners an infinite Number of People; he dispatched Labienus, with two Legions, against the Treviri; whose Country bordering upon Germany, and exercised in continual Wars, differed little from the Temper and Fierceness of that Nation; nor ever submitted to his Commands, unless enforced by the Prefence of an Army.

K.II. MEAN-TIME C. Caninius, Lieutenant-general, understanding by Letters and Messengers from Duracius, who had always continued faithful to the Romans, even in the Defection of many of his own State; that great Numbers of the knowny were assembled in the Territories of the Pictones; marched towards the Town of Limo. Upon his Arrival there, having certain Information from force Prisoners, that Duracius was flut up and besieged in Lims, by a great Army of Gauls, under the Conduct was, General of the Andes; as he was not strong cf D track the knemy, he encamped in a Place of ere Dumnacus hearing of his Approach, great mes against the Legions, and resolved turned n n Camp. But after many Days spent to inven in the At. , and the Loss of a great Number of Men, without any in prefition made upon the Intrenchments, he returned ag un to the Siege of Lims.

XXII. At the same Time C. Fabius, having brought over many States to their Duty, and confirmed their Sub-

mission by receiving Hostages; upon Intelligence sent him by Caninius, of the Posture of Affairs among the Pictones, marched immediately to the Assistance of Duragius. Dumnacus hearing of his Arrival, and concluding hanfelf lost. should he at the same Time be obliged to make head against an Enemy without, and sustain the Effor's or the Townsmen within; suddenly decamped with all his Forces, resolving not to stop till he had got on the other Side of the Loire, which, by reason of ts Largeness, could not be passed without a Bridge. Fabius, though he had neither as yet come within Sight of the Enemy, nor joined Forces with Caninius; yet instructed by those who were well acquainted with the Country, eafily conjectured the Route the Gauls would take. Wherefore directing his March towards the same Bridge, he ordered the Cavalry to keep before the I egions; yet so, that without too much fatiguing their Horses, they might return and encamp with them again at Night. The Cavalry followed the Enciny as directed; came up with their Rear; and attacking them flying, dismayed, and incumbered with their Baggage; killed great Numbers, gained a confiderable Booty, and returned in triumph to the Camp.

XXIII. THE Night following Fabius sent the Cavalry before, with Orders to engage the Enemy, and keep their whole Army employed, till he himfelf should come up with the Legions. Q. Atius Varus, a prudent and experienced Officer, who had the Charge of the Detachment, desirous to execute the Commands of his General with Success, exhorted his Men; and coming up with the Enemy, disposed some Squadrons in the most convenient Places, and engaged the Gauls with the rest. The Enemy's Cavalry made a resolute Stand, being supported by their Foot, who halting in a Body, advanced to the Assistance of their own Men. The Conflict was sharp on both Sides. For the Romans, despising Enemies whom they had overcome the Day before, and remembering that the Legions were coming up to join them; partly ashamed to give way, partly eager to bring the Battle to a speedy Issue by their own Valour alone, fought with great Bravery against the Enemy's Foot. And the Gauls, who had no Apprehension of the Approach of more Forces, because none other had appeared the

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the Day before, fancied they had now a favourable Opportunity of cutting off our Cavalry. As the Fight continued with great Obstinacy for a considerable Time; Dumnacus advanced with the Foot in Battle-array, to tiftain the Horse: When suddenly the Legions, marching in close Order, appeared within view of the Enemy. This Sight discomposed the Gallick Squadrons, and producing an universal Confusion through their whole Army, which spread even to the Baggage and Carriages; they with great Uproar and Tumult betook themselves to a precipitate Flight. But our Horse, who a little before had fought against an Enemy that vigoroufly opposed them; now elated with the Joy of Victory, furrounded them with great Cries, and urged the Slaughter as far as the Strength of their Horses to purfue, and the Vigour of their right Hands to destroy, were able to bear them out. Upwards of twelve Thoufand perished on this Occasion, partly in the Battle, partly in the Pursuit; and the whole Baggage was taken.

XXIV. AFTER this Rout, Drapes, of the Nation of the Senones (who upon the first Revolt of Gaul had drawn together a Band of desperate Men, invited Slaves io join him by the Hopes of Liberty, assembled all the Figitives he could find, received even publick Robbers into his Service, and with that profligate Crew intercepted the Roman Convoys and Baggage) having rallied about five thousand of the Runaways, directed his March towards the Province; being joined by Luteriu of Quercy, who, as we have feen in the foregoing Book, had attempted an Invasion on that Side at the first Breaking, out of the War. Caninius having Notice of this Defign, marched in Pursuit of them with two Legions, to prevent any Alarm in those Parts, and hinder the Province from falling a Prey to the Ravages of a desperate and needy Crew.

XXV. FABIUS, with the rest of his Army, marched against the Carnutes, and other States, whose Forces had served under Dumnacus in the late Action: For he made no doubt of finding them humbled by so great a Blow; and was unwilling, by any Delay, to give Dumnacus an Opportunity of rousing them to a Continuance of the War. In this Expedition Falius had all the Success he

upon his Approach: For the Carnutes, who though often harassed, had never yet made mention of Peace; now surrendered and gave Hostages: And the other States, inhabiting the more remote Parts of Gaul, burdering, upon the Ocean, and known by the Name of Lirmorica, influenced by their Authority, and the Arrival of Fabius and his Legions, readily accepted the Terms he offered them. Dumnacus, expelled his Territories, and forced to wander and hide himself in lurking Holes, at length escaped into the farthest Parts of Gaul.

XXVI. But Drapes and Luterius, understanding that Caninius was in Pursuit of them with the Legions; and sensible, that having an Army at their Heels, they could not without certain Destruction make an Irruption into the Province, nor safely indulge themselves in the Liberty of plundering and ravaging the Country; halted in the Territories of the Cadurci. As Luterius; during his Prosperity, had bore a considerable Sway in the State, and been always in great Reputation with the Multitude, as the Author of new and enterprising Counfels; he seized upon Uxelledunum, a Town strongly fortised by Nature, which had somerly been under his Patronage; and prevailed with the Inhabitants to join his and Drapes's Forces.

XXVII. CANINIUS foon arrived before the Place, which he found surrounded on every Side with steep Rocks, so very difficult of Access, that it was hardly possible for armed Troops to ascend them, even where there were no Opposers. But knowing that there was a vast Quantity of Baggage in the Town, which could not be conveyed away so privately as to escape the Legions, much less the Cavalry, he divided his Army into three Bodies; and encamping on three remarkable Eminences, resolved gradually, and as the Number of his Troops would allow, to carry a Line of Circumvallation quite round the Town. Which the Garrison perceiving, began to dread the Fate of their Countrymen at Alefia, especially Luterius, who had been present at that formidable Siege, and therefore advited them to lay in Store of Corn. Accordingly, they refolved with unanimous Consent, to leave Part of the Forces to defend

fend the Town, and march out with the rest to setch Provisions. This Resolution being taken, the sollowing Night Luterius and Drapes, leaving two thousand Men in the Place, marched at the Head of all the rest. These, in a sew Days, drew together a vast Quantity of Corn in the Territories of the Cadurci, who partly stood included to assist them in their present Exigence, partly were mable to hinder their carrying it off. Sometimes they attacked our Posts by Night, which made Caninius delay the Circumvallation of the Town, searing he would not be able to defend the Line, or man it sufficiently in all Parts.

XXVIII. LUTERIUS and Drapes having got a great Quantity of Corn, took up their Quarters about ten Miles from the Town, that they might convey it thither by Degrees. Each chose his particular Part: Drapes stayed behind with Part of the Army to guard the Camp: Luterius fet forward with the Convoy. Having dispoted Parties along the Road for the greater Security, he began his March towards the Town about four in the Morning, by narrow Ways through the Woods. But our Sentinels hearing a Noise, and Intelligence being brought by the Scouts of what was a-doing, Caninius speedily dre v sc me Cohorts together from the nearest Posts, and fell upon the Convoy about Day-break; who surprised at so unexpected an Attack, retreated towards their Guard. Our Men perceiving this, fell with redoubled Fury upon the Escort, giving Quarter to none. Luterius escaped with a few Followers, but returned not to the Camp.

XXIX. CANINIUS having succeeded in this Action understood from the Prisoners that Drapes was encamped about ten Miles off with the rest of the Army. This being confirmed from many Hands; as he supposed it would be easy to overwhelm them, after the Terror occasioned by the Defeat of one of their Leaders, he thought it very fortunate, that none of the Fugitives had retreated towards the Camp, to inform Drapes of the Disaster. As there was therefore no Hazard in the Attempt, he ordered all the Cavalry, with the German Infantry, who were of remarkable Swiftness, to advance before; and having distributed one Legion into his three Camps,

Camps, followed them with the other without Baggage. As he drew near the Enemy, he was informed by his. Scouts, whom he had fent before, that the Gauls, according to Custom, had pitched their Camp at the Foot of a Mountain by a River-side, and that the German Foot, and Cavalry, coming suddenly and unexpectedly upon them, had begun the Fight. Upon this In elligence, he brought forward the Legion in Order of Battle, and giving the Signai of Onset, soon possessed himself of the higher Ground. The Germans, and Cavalry, encouraged by the Ensigns of the Legions, redoubled their Efforts. The Cohorts threw themselves in Crowds upon the Enemy, and having either slain or made them all Prisoners, obtained a considerable Booty. Drapes himself was taken in the Battle.

XXX. Caninius, after so fortunate an Action, in which scarce any of his Soldiers had been wounded, returned to the Siege of Uxellodunum. Having got rid of the Enemy without, who had obliged him to augment his Garrisons, and postpone the Works about the Place, he now resumed them with great Diligence, and was the next Day joined by Fabius and his Forces, who undertook one Side of the Town.

XXXI. MEAN-TIME Cæsar, leaving M. Antony the Questor, with fifteen Cohorts in the Country of the Bellocraci, to prevent any new Infurrections among the Belgians; marched himself into other States, to enjoin Hollages, and allay their Fears. When he arrived among the Carnutes, by whom the War was first begun, as Cæsar has mentioned in the preceding Book; observing that they in a particular Manner dreaded his Resentment, from a Consciousness of their Guilt; that he might the fooner free them from their Fears, he defired them to deliver up to Justice Guturvatus, the prime Mover and Incendiary of that War; who, though he hid himsels even from his own Countrymen, yet being diligently fought after by a whole People, was foon brought to Casar's Camp. Casar, contrary to his natural Clemency, was constrained to give him up to Punishment by his Soldiers, who imputed to Guturvatus all the Losses they had sustained, and all the Dangers they had been

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been exposed to during the War. Accordingly he was scourged and beheaded.

XXXII. HERE he was informed by frequent Advices from Caninius, of the Defeat of Drapes and Luterius, and the Resolution taken by the Garrison of Usellodunum. Though he despised them on account of the Smallasis of heir Number, he yet thought their Obstinacy deserved the severest Chastisement; that Gaul might not run into a Persuasion, that not Strength but Constancy had been wanting, to enable them to refist the Romans; which might perhaps induce other States, who had the Advantage of strong Towns, to affert their Liberty; it being univerfally known in Gaul, that only one Year of his Government remained; during which, if they could but hold out, they had no farther Danger to apprehend. Leaving therefore the two Legions he had then with him to the Care of 2. Calenus his Lieutenant, with Orders to follow him by easy Marches; he himself, at the Head of all the Cavalry, hastened to Uxellodunum, to forward the Siege begun by Caninius.

YXXIII. HE arrived before the Town, unexpected eithe by his own Troops, or those of the Enemy; faw the Circumvallation completed; and that there was no quitting the Siege without Dishonour: but understanding from the Descriters, that the Place was well stored with Provisions, he resolved, if possible, to cut off their Water. Uxellodunum stood upon a steep Rock, surrounded almost on every Side by a very deep Valley, through which ran a River. There was no possible Way of turning the Course of this Stream; because it flowed by the Foot of the Rock in so low a Channel, that Ditches could not be funk deep enough to receive it. But the Descent was so difficult and steep, that the Townsmen in coming to and returning from it, lay greatly exposed to our Troops who might word and kill them at Pleafure. This being known to Cæsar, he posted his Archers and Slingers, with some Engines, over-against the Places of easiest Access, and thereby hindered their Approach to the River. This obliged the whole Multitude to water at one Place, close under the Walls of the Town, whence issued a very plentiful ĸ

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plentiful Fountain, on the Side where the River intermitted its Circuit, and left an Opening of about three hundred Foot. The whole Army were defirous to deprive the Besieged of this Resource; but Cæsar alone discovered the Means of effecting it. He brought for ward his Calleries, and began a Terrass over against the Mountain, with much Danger to the Soldies, irreredible Fatigue, and a continued Series of Fighting the Garrison rushing furiously upon us fi om the higher Ground, charged without Danger, and wounded great Numbers of our Men, as they advanced obstinately to the Combat; yet without deterring them from bringing forward their Machines, and by their Works and Affiduity furmounting the Difficulties of the Ground. At the same Time they carried on their Mines, from the Terrais and Galleries, quite to the Fountain; a Kind of Work in which they proceeded without Danger or Suspicion. A Terrass was raised fixty Foot high, and a Tower of ten Stories placed upon it; not indeed to equal the Height of the Walls, for which no Works were fufficient; but to command the Top of the Spring. From this Tower we were continually playing our Engines upon all the Accesses to the Fountain, which made it extremely dangerous to water at the Place; in fomuch that not only Cattle and Beafts of Carriage but great Numbers of People perished by Thirst.

XXXIV. THE Enemy, terrified at this Disaster, filled several Barrels with Tallow, Pitch, and dry Wood; and having fet them on Fire, rolled them down upon the Works. At the same Time they charged the Romans with great Fury, that the Anxiety and Danger of the Battle might hinder them from extinguishing the Flames. The Conflagration foon became general: for whatever was rolled down from above, being stopped by the Machines and Terrais, communicated the Flame to that Part. But our Soldiers, though engaged in a dangerous Kind of Fight, because of the Inequality of the Ground, yet bore all with great Firmness and Retolution. For the Action was in a conspicuous Place, within View of our Army, and great Shouts weirs raised on both Sides. Thus every one was the more ardent to fignalize himself, and brave the Flames and Darts of the Enemy, as his Bravery would be better

better known, and have the Testimony of many Witnesses.

XXXV. CESAR feeing many of his Soldiers wounded, ordered the Cohorts to afcend the Mountain on all Sides, and as if preparing to scale the Wills, raise a mign y S out. This alarmed the Inhabitants, who not knowing what passed in other Parts, recalled their Troops from the Attack, and disposed them along the Walls. Thus our Men, being relieved from the Battle, foon found Means to extinguish or put a Stop to the But as the Besieged still continued to defend themselves with great Obstinacy, and notwithstanding the Loss of the greatest Part of their Number by Thirst, persisted in their first Resolution; Cæsar at last contrived to drain or avert the Spring by Mines. Upon this the Fountain suddenly becoming dry, so effectually deprived the Besieged of all Hopes of Safety, that they imagined it an Event brought about, not by human Council, but by the Will of the Gods; and therefore, compelled by Necessity, immediately surrendered themfelves.

XXXVI. CESAR conscious that his Clemency was kne vn to all, and no way fearing that his Severity on this & casion would be imputed to any Cruelty of Nature; as he perceived there would be no End of the War, if other States in different Parts of Gaul, should in like Manner form the Design of a Revolt; resolved, by a fignal Example of Punishment, to deter them from all such Projects. He therefore cut off the Hands of all whom he found in Arms; granting them their Lives, that their Punishment might be the more conspicuous. Drapes, who, as we have said, had been made Prisoner by Caninius; either out of Indignation at finding himself a Captive, or dreading a severer Fate, put an End to his Life by abstaining from Food. the same Time Luterius, who had escaped out of the Battle, falling into the Hands of Epasnastus of Auvergne, (for by continually removing from Place to Place, he was obliged to confide in many, because he could stay no where long without Danger, and knew the little Reason he had to expect Favour from Cæsar;) was by R 2 him,

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him, a great Favourer of the Roman People, delivered without Hesitation bound to Cæsar.

XXXVII. In the Mean-time Labienus engaged the Cavalry of the Treviri with Success: and having killed a considerable Number on the Spot, as likewise many Germans, who were always ready to the Romans; made the greatest Part of their Chiefs Prisoners; and among the rest Surus the Æduan, a Nobleman of distinguished Birth and Valour, and the only one of that Nation, who had continued until then in Arms. Upon Notice of this Victory, Casar, who thw his Affairs in a flourishing Condition in Gaul, and that his last Campaigns-had completed the Subjection of the whole Country; refolved upon a Journey to Aquitain, where he had never yet been in person, though P. Crassus had in part reduced it to his Obedience. He therefore set out for that Country with two Legions, defigning to spend there the rest of the Campaign. This Expedition was attended with the defired Success; for all the States of Aquitain sent Ambaffadors to him, and delivered Hoffages. He then went with a Guard of Cavalry to Narbonne, and distributed his Army into Winter-quarters under the Care of his Lieutenante M. Antony, C. Trebonius, P. Vatinius, and Q. Tu ius, were quartered in Belgium with four Legions. Two were fent into the Country of the Æduans, whom he knew to be the most powerful People in Gaul: two into that of the Turones, bordering upon the Carnutes, to hold the maritime States in awe: and the remaining two were stationed among the Lemovices, not far from Aux rgne, that none of the Provinces of Gaul might be destitute of Troops. He remained some Days at Narbonne, held all the usual Assemblies of the Province, decided the Differences subfisting among the People, recompensed those who had distinguished themselves by their faithful Ser. ices; (for he had a wonderful Faculty of differning now Men stood affected in the general Revolt of Gaul, which he had been able to fustain, merely by the Fidelity and Affistance of the Province; and having dispatched all these Affairs, repaired to the Legions in Belgium, and took up his Winter-quarters at Nimiticenna.

XXXVIII. HERE he was informed that Comius of Arrus had had an Engagement with his Cavalry. For after the Arrival of Antony in his Winter-quarters; as the Atrabatians, awed by his Presence, continued in their Duty to Cæsar: Comius, who ever since the kyound abo're-mentioned had kept a watchful Eye upon all the Motions . his Countrymen, that in case of a War, he might b ready to offer them his Counsel and Assistance; hading that the State now submitted quietly to the Romans, applied his Troops to support himself and his Followers by Plunder; and often carried off the Convoys that were going to the Roman Winter Quarters.

XXXIX. Among those who commanded under Antony in his Winter-quarters was C. Volusenus Quadratus, an Officer of the first Rank among the Horse. Him Antony sent in pursuit of the Enemy's Cavalry. Volusenus, to his natural Bravery, which he possessed in an eminent Degree, added a particular Hatred of Comius, which induced him the more readily to accept of this Commission. Accordingly, having planted his Ambuscades, he found Means frequently to engage the Enemy, and always came off victorious. At last, a

v warm Dispute ensuing: and Volusenus, through an tige Defire of making Comius Prisoner, urging the Chace with only a few Attendants; while Comius by a hasty Retreat, drew him a considerable Way from his Party: suddenly the latter, invoking the Assistance of his Followers, called upon them to revenge the Wound he had treacherously received from the Romans; and turning short upon our Detachment, advanced without Precaution towards Volusenus. All his Cavalry did the same, and soon put our small Party to slight. Comius clapping Spurs to his Horse, ran furiously against Quadratus, and drove his Lance through his Thigh. Our Men seeing their Commander wounded, instantly faced about, and forced the Enemy to give ground. In this last Attack, the Gauls, after a considerable S'aughter, were entirely routed by the vigorous Charge Some were trodden to Death in the of our Cavalry. Pursuit, others made Prisoners; but Comius escaped by the Swiftness of his Horse. Volusenus being dangerously wounded, almost beyond Hope of Recovery, was carried Comius, either satisfied with the back to the Camp. Revenge R 3

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Revenge he had taken, or apprehensive he must at last, be ruined, as he continually lost some of his Men; sent a Deputation to Antony, offering to retire wherever he should orde him, to submit to whatever should be imposed or him, and to give Hostages for the Performance of these Conditions: he only required that so much Regard might be shewn to his jut so, as not to have it insisted on that he should appear before any Roman. Antony, conscious that his Apprehensions were but too well grounded, excused him, took Hostages, and granted him Peace.

CASAR, I know, affigns a distinct Book to each of his several Campaigns. But I have not judged it necessary to pursue this Method; because the ensuing Year, under the Consulship of L. Paulus, and C. Marcellus, surnishes nothing memorable transacted in Gaul. However, that none may be ignorant where Casar and his Army were during this Time, I have subjoined a short Account to the present Commentary

XL. CÆSAR, during the Time of his Winter-quarters in Belgium, made it his whole Study to ingratiate himself with the Gauls, and deprive them of all Pretence or Colour for a Revolt. For there was a sing he more earnestly desired, than to leave Gaul peaceably disposed at his Departure; lest, when he was about to withdraw his Army, any Sparks of Rebellion should remain, which would infallibly rekindle into a War, were the Roman Troops once removed. Wherefore, by treating the several States with Respect, liberally rewarding their Chiefs, and abstaining from the Imposition of new Burdens, he easily prevailed with the Gauls, wearied and exhausted by long unsuccessful Wars, to embrace the Ease and Quiet attendant on their present Submission.

XLI. THE Winter being over, contrary to his Custom, he posted by great Journeys into Italy, to visit the municipal Towns and Colonies of Cisalpine Gaul, and engage their Interest in favour of M. Antony his Questor, who was then a Candidate for the Priest-hood. He the more warmly interested himself in this Affair, not only as it was in behalf of a Man united to him

m by the strictest Ties of Friendship, but as it likewise gave him an Opportunity of opposing a small Faction, who 'aimed to diminish Cæsar's Credit, by repulsing Anton.". Although he heard upon the Read, before he reached Italy, that Antony had been made Algu. full thought it incumbent upon him to visit the minicipal To : and Colonies of the Province, in order to thank them for the Zeal they had shown in behalf of his Friend, and to recommend them his own Petition for the Consulship of the ensuing Year. For his Enemies every where boasted, that L. Lentulus and C. Marcellus had been chosen Consuls, in the View of despoiling him of all his Honours and Dignities; and that Sergius Galba had been excluded, though much the strongest in the Number of Votes, because of his known Intimacy with Cæsar, and having served under him as Lieutenant.

XLII. HE was received every where with incredible Honours, and the warmer Testimonies of the People's Affection. For this was the first Time he had appeared among them fince the total Reduction of Gaul. Nothing was omitted that could contribute to the C... ment of the Gates, Ways, and Places through which he was to pass. The People with their Children came out to meet him: Sacrifices were offered in all Parts: Tables richly spread were placed in the publick Squares and Temples: and so great was the Magnificence displayed by the Rich, such the Eagerness of the Poor to express their Satisfaction, that every Thing wore the Face of a most splendid Triumph.

XLIII. CESAR having visited the several Provinces of Cisalpine Gaul, returned in all Haste to the Army at Nemetocenna; and ordering the Legions to quit their Winter-quarters, and rendezvous in the Territories of "he Treviri, went thither and reviewed them in person. l'e gave the Government of Cifalpine Gan' to Labienus, : le better to reconcile him to his Demand of the Consalfhip; and marched the Army from Place to Place, that by the Motion and Change of Air, he might prevent any Sickness getting among the Troops. he often heard, that L'abienus was strongly solicited by his Enemies; and was for certain informed, that fome

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were labouring, by Means of the Senate's Authority to deprive him of Part of his Army; yet neither dia he credit any Reports to Labienus's Disadvantage, nor ould be induced to fet himself in opposition to the Authorism of the Senate. For he made no Doubt obtaining his Demand by the free Suffrages of the Fathers: and the rather, because C. Cu. Tribune of the People, having undertaken the Defe ice of Tæsar's Cause and Dignity, had often proposed in the Senate: "That if Cafar's Army gave Umbrage to any, as " Pompey was no less fermidable to the true Friends of "Liberty, both should be ordered to dismiss their "Troops, and return to a private Condition, which " would entirely free the Commonwealth from all " Apprehensions of Danger." Nor did he only propose this, but even began to put it to the Vote. But the Confuls and Pompey's Friends interposed, which hindered the Senate from coming to any Reformion.

XLIV. This was an authentic Testimony from the whole Senate, and agreeable to what had passed on a former Occasion. For when Marcellus, who strove to render himself considerable by opposing Cæsar, had proposed the Year before, contrary to the Law of Pompey and Crassis, to recall Cæsar before his Commission was expired, the Overture was rejected a very full House. But this, instead of discouraging Cæsar's Enemies only pushed them on to new Attempts, that they might at length bring the Senate into their Measures.

XLV. A Senatufconfultum foon after passed, that one Legion from Pompey, and another from Cæsar, should be sent to the Parthian War. But it was visibly their Design to take both Legions from Cæsar alone. For Pompey offered the first Legion for that Service, which he had lent some Time before to Cæsar. having raised it in his Province. But Cæsar, thoug now fully satisfied of the ill Designs of his Enemie readily sent back Pompey's Legion; and in compliant with the Decree of the Senate, ordered the sisteenth, one of his own Number, which was then in Hither Gaul, to be delivered to their Commissioners; and sent the thirteenth into Italy to replace it, and supply the Garrisons



Garrisons whence it had been drawn. He then put his Army into Winter-quarters. C. Trebonius, with sour Legions, was ordered into the Country of the Belgians; and C. Fabius, with the like Number was placed among the Eduans. For thus he thought Gam most likely to be kept in Subjection; if the Belgians, the most renormed for their Valour, and the Eduans, the most considerable for their Authority, were awed by the Presence of two Armies.

XLVI. AFTER this he returned into Italy, where he understood, that the two Legions he had sent, in conformity to the Decree of the Senate, to be employed in the Parthian War, had been delivered by the Consul Marcellus to Pon.pey, and were by him still detained in Italy. Although by this it was abundantly evident, that they were preparing to take up Arms against him; he yet resolved to suffer every Thing, while any Hope remained of adjusting their Differences by the Methods of Peace, rather than those of Violence and War.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

CIVIL WAR.

BOOK I.

THE ARGUMENT.

Different Opinions in the Senate in relation to Cæsar's Letter. III. The Origin and Causes of the Opposition fried against him. IV. The Senate's severe Decree, and Flight of Case's Friends. V. War against Cæsar resolved on. VI. Cæsar harangues vio rospe. VII. Pempey sends Proposals of Peace. VIII. 'Cæfar's A wer. IX. Fompey fonds Proposals a second Time. X. Which not pleasing Cæsar, he prepares for War. XI. Cæsar me kes himself Master of Iguvium and Auximum. XII. Which so alarms his Enemies at Rome, that they hastily quit the City, and retire to Capua. XIII. Cæsar, by his Expedition, obliges many of the Towns in Italy to Submit. XXIII. Pompey, ufter the Reduction of Corfinium by Cæsar, withdraws with his Troops to Brundusium. XXIV. Cæsar beseges him there. XXVI. He escapes by Sea, after which the Town surrenders. XXVIII. Cæsar cannot pursue him for Want of a Fleet. XXIX. Valerius and Curio, Partizans of Cæsar, drive Cotta from Sardinia, and Cato from Sicily. Varus compels Tubero to desist from his Design upon Africa. XXX. Cæsar's Speech to the Senate. XXXI. Which producing no Effect, he sets out for Transalpine Gaul. XXXII. The People of Marseilles shut their Gates against Cæsar. XXXIV. Who commands Brutus and Trebonius to testege the Place. XXXV. Fabius sent before into Spain. XXXIX. Cæsar follows, and comes up with Atranius and Petreius at Lerida. XLI. A Skirmish with almost equal Advantage on both Sides. XLVI. A sudden Storm baving broke down his Bridges, Cæsar is shut up between two Rivers. XLVIII. And reduced to great Straits for want of Provisions. LI. He extricates himself at length, and surprises the Enemy's Foragers. LII. Brutus defeats the People of Mar-seilles in a Sca-fight. LIII. Cæsar obtains the Supe-riority near Lerida. LIV. Many States declare for him. LV. Afranius and Petreius remove towards Celtiberia. LVI. Cæsar pursues then. with his Cavalry. LVII. Then drawing out the Legions, continues to urge them in their Retreat. LXIV. He cuts off their Provisions. LXVI. Afranius and Petreius's Men talk with Cæsar's about a Surrender. LXVII. Petreius interrupts the Conference. LXVIII. And obliges



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Generals. LXX. Who finding both their Provisions and Forage intercepted, resolve to return to Levida. LXXI. Cæsar sollows and greatly molests them in carch. LXXIII. At length Water, Far ge, and every Thing failing them, hey are forced to sur for Peace, and accept of Cæsar' Terms.

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SUPPLEMENT

OF

DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS,

TO

CÆSAR's First Book of the CIVIL WAR.

I THINK it needless to say any Thing here, in opposition to those who pretend, that the following Commentaries concerning the Civil War, were not penned
by Lafar himself. We have not only the express Testimony of Suetonius to the contrary, but the very Stile
sufficiently declares, that Cæsar alone could be the Author of the Work. There is Room however to suspect,
from the abrupt Manner in which the Subject is introduced, that the Beginning of this sirst Book is wanting:
For History takes Notice of several previous Facts, of
which no mention is made here. I have therefore collected out of Plutarch, Appian, and Dion, as much as
was necessary to connect this and the former Commentary, and fancy it will not be disagreeable to the Reader,
to offer it here by way of Preface.

GAUL being wholly reduced, Cæsar, upon his Arrival in Lombardy, thought proper for many Reasons to send Deputies to Rome. to demand the Consulship, and a Prolongation of his Command. Pompey, who though averse to Cæsar's Interest, had not yet openly declared against him, neither surthered nor opposed this Request.

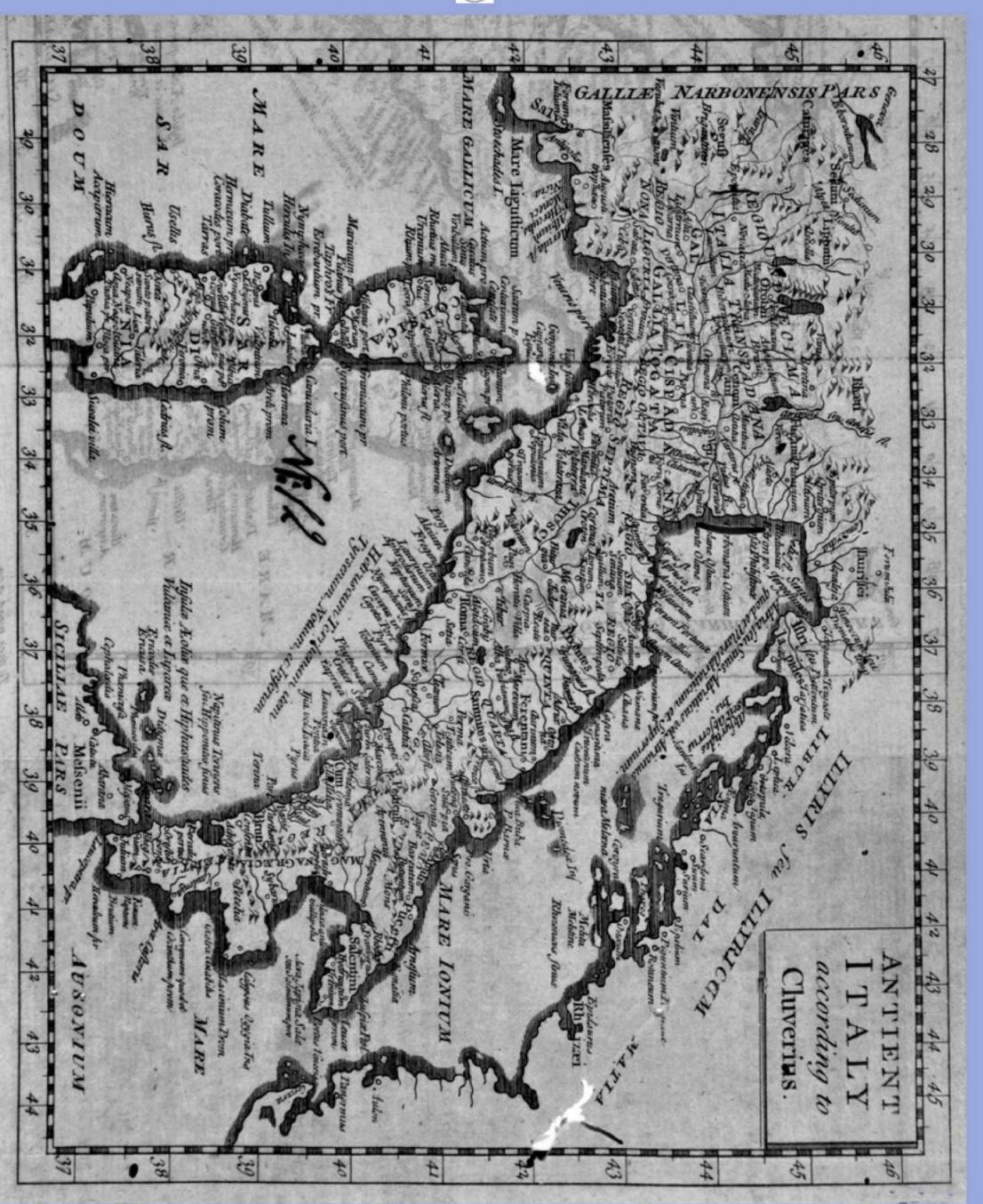
But

But the Confuls Marcellus and Lentulus, who had already joined the Party of his Enemies, resolved by every Me-thod in their Power to frustrate the Design. Marcellus icrupled not to add other Injuries to that of which we ipeak - Fo Cafar had lately pl.nted a Colony at No vocomuni in Cifalpine Gaul; and Marcellus, not satisfied with stripping the Inhabitants of the Privilege of Roman Citizens, feized one of their chie Magistrates at Rome, ordered him to be scourged, and then dismissed him to carry his Complaints to Cafar An Ignominy from which all free Citizens were exp essly exempted by the While Affairs were in this Train, C. Curio, Tribune of the People, came to Cæsar in Gaul. This Nobleman, after many Attempts in behalf of the Commonwealth, and to promote Cæsar's Interest; finding at length all his Endeavours without I ffect, fled from Rome to avoid the Malice of his Enemies, and informed Cæsar of all that was transacting against him. Cæsar received him with great Marks of Respect, as well on account of his Rank in the Commonwealth, as the many Services he had done himself and the State; and thanked him for the fignal Zeal he had shown in his Cause. But Curio advised him, since his Enemies were now openly preparing for War, to draw his Army together without Delay, and rescue the Commonwealth from the Tyranny of an aspiring Faction. Cajar, though fully Tatisfied of the Truth of Curio's Report, resolved to sacrifice all other Considerations to the publick Tranquillity, that no Man might justly charge him with being the Author of a Civil War. He therefore only petitioned by his Friends, that the Government of Cifalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with the Command of two Legions, might be continued to him: In all which his principal Aim was, by the Equity of his Demands, to induce his Enemies to grant Peace to the Commonwealth. These Offers appeared so reasonable, that even Pompey himfelf knew not hove to oppose them. But the Consuls still continuing inflexible, Cafar wrote a Letter to the Senate; wherein, after briefly enumerating his Explcies and Services, he requested them not to deprive him of the Benefit of the People's Favour, who had permitted him to sue for the Consulship in his Absence. He protested his Readiness, if such was the Resolution of the Senate and People of Rome, to difinifs his Army, provided



vided Pompey did the same: But could by no means refolve, so long as he continued in Command and Authority, to divest himself of Troops, and lay himself open to the Injuries of his I nemies. Curio was commisfluned to carry this Letter; who travelling with inci dible Dispatch; reached Kome in three Days (a Distance of an hundred and fixty Miles,) before the Beginning of January, and ere the Confuls could get any Thing determined relating to C. far's Command. Curio, upon his Arrival, refused to part with the Letter, resolving not to deliver it but in fill Senate, and when the Tribunes of the People were present: For he was apprehensive, should he do otherwise, that the Consuls would suppress it.

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CF THE

CIVIL WAR.

BOOK I.

I. CESAR's Letter being delivered to the Confuls, the Tribunes with much Difficulty procured it a Reading in the Senate, but could by no means prevail to have his Demands brought under Deliberation. The Consuls proposed to debate upon the State of the Republick. "Lentulus promised to stand by the Senate and People, if they would deliver their Sentiments with Freedom and Courage: But if they regarded " Cæsar, and affected to court his Friendship, as had been the Practice for some Time post, he knew, he co told them, what he had to do, and was determined to disclaim their Authority; not doubting but he would find a ready Admittance to the Favour and "Protection of Cafar." Scipio spoke much to the same Purpose: "That Pompey was firmly bent not to abandon the Republick, if he found the Senators ready to support him: But if they cooled, or were remiss in their Reselves, it would be in vain for them to expect his Aid, if they faw cause afterwards to apply for it." This Speech of Scipio, as the Senate was held in the City, and Pompey resided in the Suburbs, was confidered as coming from Pompey's own Mouth. Some were for following milder Counfels, of which Number was M. Marcellus, who gave it as his Opinion: S 2

"That it was not proper to enter upon the present "Deliberation, till Troops were raised over all Italy and an Army got ready, under whose Protection the 66 Senate might proceed with Freedom and Safety in their Debates. Callidius was for sending Pompey to "his Government, to take away all Occasion of Discord; because Casar had reason to fear, as two of " his Legions had been taken from him, that Pompey retained them in the Neighbourhood of Rome, with a view to employ them against him." M. Rufus nearly agreed in opinion with Callidius. But they were all feverely reprimanded by the Conful Lentulus, who expressly refused to put Callidius's Notion to the Vote. Marcellur awed by the Consul's Reprin and, retracted what he had faid. Thus the Clamours of Len. ulus, the Dread of an Army at the Gates of Rome, and the Menaces of Pompey's Friends, forced the greater Part of the Senate, though with the atmost Reluctance and Di. into a Compliance with Scipio's Motion: "That Ga ir should " be ordered to disband his Army before a cert Day " then fixed; and that, in case of Disobedience, he " should be declared an Enemy to the Republick." M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, Tribunes of the People, opposed their Negative to this Decree. Immediately a Debate arose upon the Validity of their Interposition. Llany fevere Speeches were made against them; and the more warm and passionate any one appeared, the more was he applauded by Cæfar's Enemies.

II. In the Evening the Senate rose; and Pompey fending for all those of his Party, commended the forward; confirmed them in their Resolutions; reproved and animated the more moderate. Multitudes of Veterans, who had formerly ferved under him, flocked to him from all Parts, allured by the Expectation of Rewards and Dignities. A great Number of Officers belonging to the two Legions lately returned by Cafar. had likewise Orders to attend him. Rome was filled with Troops. Curio affembled the Tribunes to furport the Decree of the People. On the other hand, all the Friends of the Confuls, all the Partizans of Pompey, and of such as bore any ancient Grudge to Casfar, repaired to the Senate: By whose Concourse and Votes the weaker Sort were terrified, the Irrefolute confirmed, and the greater

Mind freely. L. Pifo the Censor, and L. Roscius the Prætor, offered to go and acquaint Cæsar with the State of Affairs, demanding only six Days for that Purpose. Some were for sending Deputies to him, to inform him of the Senate's Disposition.

III. Bur all these Proposals were rejected, because the Consul, Scipio, and Cato, declared against them. Cato was incited by the Remembrance of an old Quarrel, and the Disappointment he had sustained in standing Candidate for the Præ' orship with Cæsar. Lentulus was oppressed with Deb and flattered himself with the Command of Arm's, the Government of Provinces, and the Largesses of the Kings for whom he should procure the Title r Allies and Friends of the Roman People. He was besides wont to boast among those of his , that he doubted not of becoming a second Sylla. . whom the whole Authority of the Commonwer . should center. Scipio entertained the same Hope of Commands and Governments, which he expected to share with his Son-in-law Pompey: Add to this his Dread of a Profecution; his Vanity and Self-conceit; and the Flatteries and Applauses of his Friends, who at that Time bore a considerable Sway in the Commonwealth and Courts of Justice. Pampey himself, instigated by Cæsar's Enemies, and not able to endure an Equal in Dignity, was now entirely alienated from him, and had joined with their common Adversaries, most of whom Cafar had contracted during his Affinity with Pompey. Beside, the fraudulent Step he had taken, in detaining for the Purposes of his own Ambition, the two Legions destined to serve in Asia and Syria, determined him to use all his Endeavours to bring on a Civil War.

IV. Thus nothing but Tumult and Violence was to be seen in the publick Debates. Cæsar's Friends had no Time given them to inform him of what passed. Even the Tribunes themselves were not exempt from Danger, nor durst they have Recourse to that Right of Intercession, which Sylla had left them as the last Bulwark of Liberty: Insomuch that the seventh Day after entering upon their Ossice, they saw themselves obliged to provide for their Sasety: Whereas in former Times, the

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most turbulent and seditious Tribunes never began to apprehend themselves in Danger, till towards the eighth Month of their Administration. Recourse was had to that rigid and ultimate Decree, which was never used but in the greatest Extremities, when the City was threatened with Ruin and Conflagration: " That the " Confuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes of the People, and the Proconfuls that were near Rame, should take care that the Commonwealth received no Detri-"ment." This Decree passed the seventh of January; so that during the five first Days in which it was permitted the Senate to affemble, after Lentulus's Entrance upon the Consulship (for two Days ar always appropriated to the holding of the Comitia) the m it severe and rigorous Resolutions were taken, both in relation to Cæsar's Government, and the Tribunes of the Peo, le, Men of eminent Worth and Dignity. The Tribun. imr ediately quitted the City, and fled to Casar, who Ravenna, waiting an Answer to his late Demar. Equity he hoped would dispose all Parties to c. Thoughts of Peace.

V. THE following Days the Senate affembled without the City, where Pompey confirmed every Thing he had before intimated by the Mouth of Scipio. He applauded the Resolution and Courage of the Senators, acquainted them with the State of his Forces, that he had ten Legions already in Arms, and was besides well informed, that Cafar's Troops were by no means satisfied with their General, nay, had even refused to support and follow him. It was then proposed in the Senate, that Troops should be raised over all Italy; that Faustus Sylla should be sent Proprætor into Mauritania; that Pompey should be supplied with Money out of the publick Treafury; and that King Juba should be declared Friend and Ally of the People of Rome: but Marcellus opposed the last of these; and Philippus, Tribune of the People, would not agree to the Proprætorship of Sylla. The other Motions were approved by the Senate. The Affair of the Provinces was next decided; two of which were Confular, the rest Prætorian. Syria fell to the, Share of Scipio; and Gaul fell to L. Pomitius. pus and Marcellus were fet afide, through the private Views of the prevailing Farty. The reft of the Provinwaited not to have their Nomination confirmed by the Bople, as had been the Custom in former Years; but after taking the usual Oath, departed for their several Commands in a military Habit. The Consuls left the City, a Thing unheard of till that Time; and Lictors were seen walking before private Men in the Forum and Capitol, contrary to the express Practice of former Ages. Troops were levied over all Italy; Arms enjoined; Money demanded of the Colonies and free Towns, and even taken from the very Temples: in fine, neither divine nor human Rights were regarded.

VI. CASAR having intelligence of these Proceedings, addressed himself to is Troops: "He took Notice of " the many Injuries he had received on all Occasions " from is Er nies, who had alienated Pompey from "him, to him with an Envy and Jealoufy of "his Re station, though he had done every Thing in ower to promote his Glory, and favour his Ad-" vancement to the highest Dignities. He complained " of the new Precedent introduced into the Common-" wealth, in checking and hindering by Arms the Op-"" position of the Tribunes, which of late Years had " been restored to its wonted Force. That Sylla, who " had almost annihilated the Tribuneship, had yet left " it the Liberty of Opposition; whereas Pompey, who " valued himself upon the Re-establishment of that "Office, deprived it now of a Privilege it had always " enjoyed. That the Decree enjoining the Magistrates " to provide for the Safety of the Commonwealth, which " implied an Order to the Roman People to repair to "Arms, was never wont to be used but on occasion of "dangerous Laws, feditious Meafures purfued by the "Tribunes, or a general Secession of the People, when " the possessed themselves of the Temples and Places of 66 Strength: Crimes, which in former Ages had been " expiated by the Fate of Saturninus and the Gracchi. "That at present nothing of this Kind had been attempted, nor fo much as thought of; no Law promulged, no Endeavours used to seduce the People, no Appearance of Revolt or Difaffection. He therefore conjured them to defend against the Malice of his Enemies, the Honour and Reputation of a Gene-SI

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" ral, under whom they had ferved nine Years with so much Advantage to the Commonwealth, gained so many Battles, and subdued all Gaul and Germany." The Soldiers of the thirteenth Legion, who were present, and whom he had sent for in the Beginning of the Troubles, (the rest not being yet arrived,) cried out, that they were determined to maintain the Honour of their General, and to revenge the Wrongs done to the Tribunes.

VII. BEING affured of the Good-will of the Soldiers, he marched with that Legion to Rimini, where he was met by the Tribunes of the Peop!, who had fled to him for Protection. He ordered the Legions to quit their Winter-quarters, and follow i. 'n with all Expedition. While he was at Rimini, , oung L. Cafar, whose Father was one of his Lieutenants, came to him; and after acquainting him with the Occasor of his Journey, added, that he had a private Messag to him from Pempey, " who was defirous of clearing his "if to " Cæsar, that he might not interpret those Actions as se deligned to affront him, which had no other Aim but " the Good of the Commonwealth: That it had been "his constant Maxim, to prefer the Interest of the Re-" publick to any private Engagement: That it was "worthy of Cæsar, to sacrifice his Passion and Resent-" ment to the same noble Motive; and not prejudice " the Commonwealth, by pushing too far his Revenge " against his private Enemies." He added something more to the same Purpose, mingled with Excuses for Pempey. The Prætor Roscius joined likewise in the Negotiation, declaring he was commissioned so to do.

VIII. THOUGH all this tended little to redress the Injuries of which Cæsar complained: yet considering these as proper Persons by whom to transmit his Thoughts; he begged of them, that as they had not scrupled to bring Pompey's Demands to him, they would likewise carry back his Proposals to Pompey; that, if possible, so small a Labour might put an End to mighty Differences, and deliver all Italy from the Fear of a Civil War. He told them: "That the Interest of the Commonwealth had always been dearer to him than Life; but he could not help grieving at the Maiice of his Enemies;

"Enemies; who had frustrated the good Intentions of the Roman People in his Favour, by cutting off fix " Months from his Command, and obliging him to se return to Rome to sue for the Consulship, though a "Law had been made dispensing with his personal Attendance: That he had yet, for the Sake of the Commonwealth, patiently submitted to this Assault upon his Honour: That even his Proposal of disbanding the Armies on both Sides, which he had made by a Letter to the Senate, had been rejected: That new Levies were making over all Italy: That two Legions, which had been taken from him under Pretence of the Parthian War, whe still retained in the Service of his Enemies ... at the whole State was in Arms. What could if this aim at but his Destruction? That nevert releis he was ready to agree to any Proe pesal, an expose himself to any Danger for the Sake of . is Country. Let Pompey go to his Government: " let Ill the Armies be disbanded: let every Body roughout Italy lay down their Arms: let every "Thing that participates of Terror and Force be re-" moved: let the Elections of Magistrates be made with perfect Freedom; and let the Republick be ad-" ministred by the Authority of the Senate and People. "And the better to fettle all these Articles, and cor-" roborate them with the Sanction of an Oath, let either " Pompey himself draw nearer, or suffer Cafar to approach him; as all their Differences may be most " easily terminated by a Conference."

IX. Roscius and L. Cæsar, having received this Answer, departed for Capua, where they found Pompey and the Consuls, and laid before them Cæsar's Proposals. After deliberating upon the Affair, they sent a Reply in Writing by the same Messengers, the Purport of which was: "That Cæsar should quit Rimini, resturn to Gaul, and disband his Army; which Conditions performed, Pompey would go into Spain. In the Mean-time, till Cæsar gave Security for the Performance of what he had promised, neither Pompey or nor the Consuls would discontinue the Levies."

X. It was by no means a fair Proposal, that Cassar should be obliged to quit Rimini, and return to Gaul; while

while Pampey held Provinces and Legions that were none of his: that he should dismiss his Army; whilst the other was levying Troops: and that only a general Promise of going into Spain should be given, without fixing a Day for his Departure; by which Evasion, was he to be found in Italy, even at the Expiration of Casar's Consulthip, he could not yet be charged with Breach of I aich. His sorbearing too to appoint a Time for a Conserence, and declining to appreach nearer, gave little Reason to hope for a Peace. He therefore sent Automy to Arretium with sive Cohorts; remained himself at Rimini with two, where he resolved to levy Troops; and seizing Pisaurum, Fanum, and Incona, lest a Cohort in each for a Garrison.

XI. MEAN-TIME being informed, that Thermus the Prætor had entered Iguvium with five Cohor. and was endeavouring to fortify the Town; as he knew h Inhabitants to be well inclined to his Interest, he der hed Gurio thither with three Cohorts, drawn from Pisaur and Rimini. Upon this Thermus, who could not confide in the Townsmen, retired with his Cohorts, and quitted the Place: but his Troops abandoning him in their March, returned severally to their own Homes. was received into the Place with great Demonstrations of Joy: which being reported to Cafar, as he found he had the Good-will of the Colonies and free Towns, he drew the Cohorts of the thirteenth Legion out of Garrison, and marched to Auximum, which Attius held with a Body of Troops, and whence he had dispatched Senators to levy Forces over all Picenum. Cafar's Arrival being known, the chief Citizens of Auximum went in a Body to Attius Varus, and told him: " That it did not being to them to determine on which fide Justice lay; 66 but that neither they, nor the other municipal Towns could endure to see their Gates that against Casar, " who by his great Actions had deferved to well of the " Commonwealth: That therefore he would do well se to confult his own Safety and Reputation." Attius moved by this Speech, drew off his Garrison and fled. But tome of Cocar's first Ranks pyrfuing him, obliged Long to Rop; and a Battle enfining, he was deferted by Li. Men. Some of the Troops returned Flome; the reft went over to Copier, and brought along with them L. Pasins,

Pupius, first Centurion of the Legion, who had formerly held the same Rank in Pompey's Army. Casar commended Attius's Soldiers; dismissed Pupius; returned Thanks to the Inhabitants of Auximum; and promised to retain always a grateful Remembrance of their Attachment.

XII. THESE Things being reported at Rome, the Consternation was so great over the whole City, that when the Conful Lentulus came to the Treasury to deliver out the Money to Pompey, in consequence of the Decree of the Senate, he scarce waited the opening of the inner Door, bu' precipitately left the Place, upon a false Rumour that Læsar was approaching, and some of his Cavalry alrea y in View. He was foon followed by his Colleague Martellus, and the greater Part of the Magistrates Pompsy had left the Town the Day before, and was upon his Way to Apulia, where he had quart ed the Legions he had received from Cæsar. The L ies were discontinued within the City, and no Place appeared secure on this side Capua. Here at last they took Courage and rallied, and began to renew their Levies in the Colonies round about, which had been fent thither by the Julian Law. Lentulus summoned into the Forum the Gladiators whom Cæsar had ordered to be trained up there, gave them their Liberty, furnished them with Horses, and commanded them to follow him. But being afterwards admonished by his Friends that this Step was univerfally condemned, he dispersed them into the neighbouring Towns of Campania, to keep garrison there.

XIII. CÆSAR Mean-while leaving Auximum, traveried the whole Country of Picenum; where he was joyfully received in all Parts by the Inhabitants, who furnished his Army with every thing necessary. Even Cingulam itf If, a Town founded by Labienus, and built at his own Expence, fent Deputies to him with an Offer ef their Submittion and Services. He demanded a certain Number of Soldiers, which were fent immediately. Mean-time the twelfth Legion joined him; and with these two he marched to Asculum, a Town of Picenum. Here Lentulus Spinther commanded with ten Cohorts; who hearing of Casar's Approach, quitted the Place

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with his Troops, who almost all deserted him upon the March. Being left with only a few, he fell in with Vibullius Rufus, whom Pompey had sent into Picenum, to encourage his Followers in those Parts. Vibullius understanding from him the State of Affairs in Picenum, difinished Lentulus, and took the Soldiers under his Command. He likewise drew together from the neighbouring Provinces as many as he could meet with of Pompey's Levies; among the rest Ulcilles Hirus, who was flying with fix Cohorts from Camerinum, where they had been quartered. Out of all these he formed thirteen Cohorts, with which he posted by great Journeys to Corfinium, where Domitius Aher. barbus commanded; whom he informed that Cæsar wa. approaching with two Legions. Domitius had already ot together with great Expedition twenty Cohorts from L'ba, the Country of the Marsi, Peligni, and the neighboung Povinces.

AIV. CÆSAR having made himself Master of Asca, and obliged Lentulus to retire, ordered the Soldiers who had deserted him to be sought after, and new Levies to be made. He remained only one Day there, to settle what related to Provisions, and then pursued his March to Corfinium. Upon his Arrival there, he sound five Cohorts, whom Domitius had detached from the Garrison, employed in breaking down a Bridge about three Miles distant from the Town. But Cæsar's advanced Parties attacking them, they quickly abandoned the Bridge, and retired to Corfinium. Cæsar having passed with his Legions, halted before the Town, and encamped under the Walls.

Reverse Well acquainted with the Country, to carry Letters into Apulia to Pambey, wherein he earneftly requested him to come to his Aid. He told him, "That it would be easy, in that close Country, to shut up "Gasfar between two Armies, and cut off his Provitions: That unless this Course was followed, he himself, with above thirty Cohorts, and a great Number of Senators and Roman Knights, would be exposed to imminent Danger." Mean-while having encourse? This Men, he disposed Engines along the Walls,

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Walls, appointed every one his particular Post, and the more to animate them, promised each Soldier sour Acres of Land out of his own Estate, and in proportion to every Centurion and Volunteer.

XVI. MEAN-TIME Cafar was informed that the People of Sulmera, a Town feven Miles distant from Corfinium, defired to put themselves under his Protection, but were restrained by Q. Lucretius a Senator, and Attius a Pelignian, who held them in Subjection with a Garrison of seven Cohorts. He therefore dispatched M. Antony thither, with five Cohorts of the seventh Legion, whose Ensigns were no fooner descried from the Walls of Sulmona, than the Gates were thrown open, and the whole People in a Body, both Soldiers and Townsmen, came out to a mgratulate Antony on his Arrival. Lucreendeavoured to escape over the Wall: but L'this being taken, and brought to Antony, requested that de might be fent to Cafar. Antony returned the ne Day, bringing along with him the Cohorts and Attius. Cafar joined these Cohorts to his Army, and tet Attius at Liberty.

XVII. CESAR refolved to employ the three first Days in strongly sortifying his Camp, in procuring Corn from the neighbouring Towns, and waiting the Arrival of the rest of his Forces. During this Space the eighth Legion joined him, with two-and-twenty Cohorts of new Levies from Gaul, and about three hundred Horse from the King of Norieum. This obliged him to form a second Camp on the other Side of the Town, under the Command of Curio. The remaining Days were spent in drawing a Line with Redoubts round the Place, which Work was nearly completed when the Meilengers that had been sent to Pompey returned.

XVIII. Domittius perusing the Dispatches, thought proper to dissemble the Contents, and declared in Council, that Pompey would speedily come to their Assistance. Mean-time her exhorted them to behave with Courage, and provide every Thing necessary for a vigorous Defence. He conferred however privately with a few of his most intimate Friends, and in concert with them determined upon Flight. But as his Looks and Speech

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were found to difagree; as he behaved not with his usual Composure and Firmness; and was observed, contrary to Custom, to be much in secret Conference with his Friends; avoiding publick Appearances, and Councils of War: It was not possible for the Truth to remain any longer conceased. For Pompey had wrote back; "That he could not put all to hazard for his Sake; that he had neither advised nor consented to his she for endeavour to extricate himself as well as he could, and come and join him with all his Forces." But as Casar had invested and carried his Lines round the Place, this Retreat was now become impracticable.

XIX. Domitius's Defign being discovered, the Soldiers, who were at Corfinium, began to a Temble in the Evening, and by Means of their Tribunes, Intuions, and other Officers, made known their Thoughts 10 one another: " That they were besieged by Cæsar, wis had " already in a Manner completed his Works: The " their General Domitius, in whose Promises of Assist-" ance they had placed their chief Hope, abandoning " all Concern for their Safety, was contriving to cscape " privately by Flight: That it was therefore incumbent upon them to look also to their own Preserva-"tion." The Marsi at first opposed this Resolution, and possessed themselves of the strongest Part of the Town; nay, the Dispute was so warm, that it almost came to be decided by the Sword. But shortly after, being made acquainted with Domitius's intended Flight, of which before they had no Knowledge; they all in a Body furrounded Demitius, secured his Person, and sent Deputies to Casar: "That they were ready to open " their Gates, receive his Orders, and deliver up Do-" mitius alive."

XX. Though Cæsar was fully sensible of how great Importance it was to get possession of the Town immediately, and join the Garrison to his own Army; lest by Largesses, Promises of speedy Relief, or salse Reports, any Change should be produced; as in Var great Revolutions often arise from very trisling Causes: yet searing that if he introduced his Soldiers in the Dark, they would take that Opportunity to plunder the Town, he

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fent back the Deputies with Thanks for their Proffer, refolving to have the Walls and Gates watched with great Care. To that End he disposed his Men along the Works, not at certain Distances as usual, but in one continued Rank, so as to touch each other, and completely invest the Town. He ordered the Military Tribunes, and Officers of the Cavalry, to patrol about the Works, and not only be on their guard against Sallies, but even take care to prevent the Escape of particular Persons. And indeed so alert and vigilant were the Soldiers, that not a Man closed his Eyes that Night; each expecting the Event with Impatience, and carrying his Thoughts from one Thing to another; what would be the Fate of the Corfinians, what of Domitius, what of Lentulus and the other iliustrious Persons in the Place: in fine, what was like to be the Islue of so complicated a Scene.

XXI. ABOUT the fourth Watch of the Night, Letulus Spinther called from the Wall to the Guard, and desired to be conducted to Cæsar. His Request being granted, he came out of the Town, attended by some of Domitius's Soldiers, who never left him till they had conducted him into Cafar's Presence. " He begged him to spare his Life, and pardon the "Injuries he had done him, in confideration of their " former Friendship. He owned the many Obliga-"tions he had laid him under, in procuring him an Ad-" mission into the College of Pricits, obtaining for him " the Government of Spain after the Expiration of the " Prætorship, and supporting him in the Demand of " the Confulship." Cafar interrupted him by saving, That he was not come out of the Bounds of his Pro-" vince with an Intent to injure any Body; but to repel the Injuries done him by his Enemies; to revenge " the Wrongs of the Tribunes; and to restore to the " Reman People, who were oppressed by a small Faction of the Nobles, their Liberty and Privileges." Lentulus encouraged by this Speech, asked leave to return into the Town, "where he said, the Assurances he " had obtained o his own Safety, would contribute not a little to the Consolation of others, some of " whom were so terrified, that they were ready to take " desperate

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desperate Resolutions." Leave being granted, he de-

XXII. As foon as it was Light, Cafar ordered before him all the Senators, Senators Sons, Military Tribunes, and Roman Knights. There were of Senatorian Rank, L. Demitius, P. Lentulus Spinther, L. Vibullius Rufus, Sextus Quintilius Varus Questor, L. Rubrius; also Domitius's Son, and many young Men of Quality, with a great Number of Roman Knights, and some Decurions, or Senators of the neighbouring municipal Towns, who had been fent for by Domitius. As foon as they appeared, he gave Orders to secure them from the Insults of the Soldiery; and addressing them in a few Words, remonstrated: "That they had made a very ill Requita! " for the many fignal Services received at his Hands:" after which he fet them at Liberty. He likewize restored to Domitius fix Millions of Senerces, which that General had brought with him to Corfinium, and depofited in the Hands of the two Treasurers of the Towr, who furrendered it to Cæfar. As this was publick Money, affigned by Pampey to pay the Forces with, Cafar might justly have seized it; but he was willing to shew himself generous, as well as merciful. He ordered Domitius's Soldiers to take the ufual Oath to him, decamped that very Day, made the ordinary March; and after staying in all feven Days before Confinium, arrived in Apulia, through the Territories of the Marrucini, Frentuni, and Larinates.

XXIII. Pompey having Intelligence of what passed at Consistent, retreated from Luceria to Canusium, and thence to Brundusium. He ordered all the new Levies to join him, armed the Shepherds and Slaves, surnished them with Herses, and formed a Body of about three hundred Cavalry. Mean-while the Prætor L. Manlius, stying from Alba with six Cohorts; and the Prætor Rutius Lupus, from Tarracina with three; saw Cæsar's Cavalry at a Distance, commanded by Bivius Curius: upon which the Soldiers immediately abandoned the two Prætors, and joined the Troops under the Conduct of Curius. Several other Parties, slying different Ways, still in, some with the Foot, others with the Horse.

Cn. Magius of Cremena, Pompey's chief Engineer, being taken on his Way to Brundusium, was brought to Caesar, who sent him back to Pompey with this Message: "That as he had not yet obtained an Interview, his Design was to come to Brundusium, there to confer with him in relation to the common Sasety, because they foon would be able to dispatch in a personal Treaty, what, if managed by the Intervention of others could not be hindered from running into a tedious Negotiation."

XXIV. HAVING dismissed him with these Instructions, he arrived before Brundusium with fix Legions, three of which were composed of veteran Soldiers, and the rest of new Levies drawn together upon his March: for as to Domitius's Troops, he had fent them directly from Corfinium to Sicily. He found the Confuls were gone to Dyn buchium with great Part of the Army, and that Pompey remained in Brundusium with twenty Cohorts. Nor was it certainly known, whether he continued there with Defign to keep Possession of Brundusium, that he might be Master of the whole Adriatick Sea, the extreme Parce of Italy, and the Country of Greece, in order to make War on both Sides the Gulph; or for Want of Shipping to transport his Men. Fearing therefore that it was still his Intention to keep footing in Italy, he resolved to deprive him of the Advantages he might reap from the Port of Brundusium. The Works he contrived for this Purpose were as follows. He carried on a Mole on either Side the Mouth of the Haven where the Entrance was narrowest, and the Water shallow. But as this Work could not be carried quite across the Port, by reason of the great Depth of the Sea, he prepared double Floats of Timber, thirty. Foot square, which were each secured by four Anchors from the four Corners, to enable them to relift the Fury of the Waves. These extending all the Way between the two Moles, were covered over with Earth and Fafcines, that the Soldiers might pass and repass with Ease, and have firm Footing to defend them. The Front and Sides were armed with a Parapet of Hurdles; and every fourth Flort had a Tower of two Stories, the better to guard the Work from Fire, and the Shocks of Vollels.

XXV. AGAINST these Preparations Pompey made use of several large Ships which he found in the Port of Brundusium: and having fitted them with Towers of three Stories, which he filled with a great Number of Engines and Darts, let them loose upon Cæsar's Floats, to break through the Staccado, and interrupt the Works. Thus daily Skirmishes happened with Darts, Arrows, and Slings at a Distance. Amidst these Hostilities, Cæsar's Thoughts were still bent upon Peace: and though he could not but wonder that Magius, whom he had fent with Proposals to Pompey, was not yet returned with an Answer; and even saw his Designs and Undertakings retarded by his frequent Offers of this Kind; he nevertheless still persevered in these peaceable Resolutions. Accordingly he dispatched Caninius L'ebilies, one of his Lieutenants, a Relation and intimate Priendof Scribonius Libo, to confer with him on this Subject. He charged him, to exhort that Nobleman to think seriously of Peace, and if possible procure an Interview between him and Pompey. Could this be effected, he shewed there was the greatest Ground to believe, that Peace would foon be concluded on reasonable Terms; the Honour and Reputation of which would in a Manner wholly redound to Liba, if by his Mediation both Parties should be prevailed with to lay down their Arms. Libo, after conferring with Caninius, waited on Pompey. Soon after he returned with this Answer; that the Confuls were absent, without whom Pompey had no Power to: treat of an Accommodation. Thus Cafar having often tried in vain to bring about a Peace, thought it now Time to drop that Defign, and bend all his Thoughts to War.

XXVI. CASAR having spent nine Days about his Works, had now half finished the Staccado, when the Ships employed in the first Embarkation, being sent back by the Confuls from Dyrrhachium, returned Brundusium. Pompey, either alarmed at Casar's Works, or because from the first he had determined to relinquish Italy, no sooner saw the Transports arrive, than he prepared to carry over the rest of his Forces. And the better to secure himself agains Cas r, and prevent his Troops from breaking into the fown during the Embarkation, he walled up the Gates; barricaded sie

Streets :

Streets; or cut Ditches across them, filled with pointed Stakes, and covered with Hurdles and Earth. The two Streets which led to the Port, and which he lest open for the Passage of his Men, were fostified with a double Palisado of very strong well sharpened Stakes. These Preparations being made, he ordered the Soldiers to embark with great Silence, having placed on the Walls and Towers some select Archers and Slingers, who were to wait till all the Troops had got aboard, and then retire, upon a Signal given, to some small Ships that waited them at a convenient Distance.

XXVII. THE People of Brundusium, provoked by the Affronts they had received from Pompey, and the Inful's of his Soldiers, wished well to Cafar's Cause: and having Notice of Pompey's intended Departure; while the Schliers were busied with the Care of embarking, tound Means to fignify it from the Tops of their Houses. Casar, upon this Intelligence, ordered fcaling Ladders to be prepared, and the Soldiers to repair to their Arms, that he might not lose any Opportunity of acting. Pompey weighed Anchor a little before Night, and gave the Signal for recalling the Soldiers that were upon the Walls, who repaired with all Expedition to the Ships prepared for them. Mean-time the scaling Ladders are applied to the Walls, and Casar's Troops enter the Town. But being informed by the Brundusans of the Snares and Ditches provided for them by the Enemy, they were obliged to take a great Circuit, which gave Pompey Time enough to put to Sea. Two Transports only, impeded by Cæsar's Mole, were taken with the Troops on board.

XXVIII. Though Cæsar was fully sensible, that to finish the War at a Blow, he must pass the Sea immediately, and endeavour to come up with Pompey, before we could draw his transmarine Forces together; yet he dreaded the Delay and Length of Time that such a Project might require: because Pompey having carried with him all the Ships on that Coast, rendered the present Execution of the Design impracticable. He must therefore wait the Arrival of Ships from Picenum, Sicily, and the remoter Coasts of Gaul; which was a tedious Rusiness, and, at that Season of the Year, subject to T 2

Consequence, to suffer a veteran Army, and the two Spains, one of which was wholly devoted to Pompey, to strengthen themselves in his Rival's Interest; to let them grow powerful by Levies of Horse and Foot; and leave Gaul and Italy open to their Attacks in his Absence. He determined, therefore, to lay aside, for the present, the Design of pursuing Pompey, and turn all his Thoughts towards Spain. He ordered the Magistrates of the municipal Towns to assemble all the Vessels they could, and sent them to Brundusium. He sent Valerius, one of his Lieutenants, into Sardinia, with one Legion; and the Proprætor Curio into Sicily with three: ordering him, as soon as he had mattered Sicily, to pass over with his Army into Africa.

XXIX. M. COTTA commanded in Sard ina; M. Cato in Sicily; and Africa had fallen by Lot to Tubero. The Inhabitants of Cagliari, hearing of Valerius's Commission, of their own Accord, before he had left Italy, drove Cotta out of their City; who terrified by the unanimous Opposition he met with from the Province, fled into Africa. In Sicily, Cato applied himself with great Diligence to the refitting of old Ships, and building of new. He sent his Lieutenants to raise Forces in Lucania and the Country of the Brutians, and ordered the States of Sicily to furnish him with a certain Number of Horse and Foot. When these Preparations were almost completed, being informed of Curio's Arrival, he called his chief Officers together, and complained, " that he was betrayed and abandoned by · Pompey, who without any previous Preparation had " involved the Commonwealth in an unnecessary War; 46 and upon being questioned by himself and others " in the Senate, had affured them, that he was abun-"dantly able to fustain it." Having thus declared his. Mind, he quitted the Province, which by this Means submitted without Trouble to Curio, as Sardinia had before done to Valerius. Tubero arriving in Africa, found Atrius Facus in possession of that Province; who after the Lofs of his Cohorts at Auximum, as we have shewn above, had fled into those Parts, and, with the Consent. of the Natives, taken upon him the Command. Here he had found Means to levy two Legions, by his Know! ledge

Governor some Years before, after the Expiration of his Prætorship. Tubero coming before Utica with his Fleet, was forbid the Harbour and Town; nor could he even obtain Leave for his Son to land, though he had a Fit of Sickness upon him, but was obliged to weigh Anchor and be gone.

XXX. THESE Affairs dispatched, Casfar, that his Troops might enjoy some Repose, cantoned them in The nearest Towns, and set out himself for Rome. There he affembled the Senate, and after complaining of the Injuries of his Enemies, told them, "That he " had never affected extraordinary Honours, but waited 16 p: tiently the Time prescribed by the Laws, to solicit " for a second Consulship, to which every Roman Citizen Right to aspire: That the People, with the " Concurrence of their Tribunes, (in spite of the "Attempts of his Enemies, and the vigorous Oppolition of Cato, who endeavoured, according to Cultom, to spin out the Time in speaking,) had permitted him to stand Candidate though absent, and that even in " the Consulship of Pampey: who, if he disapproved of " the Decree, why did he let it pass? but if he allowed it, why now oppose the Execution? He set before " them his Moderation, in voluntarily proposing that 66 both Parties should lay down their Arms, by which he must have been himself divested of his Government and Command. He displayed the Malice of his "Enemies, who fought to impose Terms upon him, to which they would not submit themselves; and chose rather to involve the State in a Civil War, than 66 part with their Armies and Provinces. He enlarged " upon the Injury they had done him, in taking away two of his Legions, and their Cruelty and Infolence, " in violating the Authority of the Tribunes. tpoke of his many Offers of Peace, his frequent "Defire of an Interview, and the continual Refutals "he had received. For all these Reasons, he requested and conjured them to undertake the Administration " of the Republick, jointly with him. But if they " declined it through Fear, he had no Intention to " force to great a Burden upon them, and would take

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the whole Charge alone. That in the Mean-time it would be proper to fend a Deputation to Pompey, to treat of an Accommodation: Nor was he frighted at the Difficulty Pompey had started some Time before in the Senate; that to rend Deputies was to acknowledge the Superiority of him to whom they were sent, and a Sign of Timidity in the Sender. That this was a little low Way of thinking; and that, in the same Manner as he had endeavoured at a Superiority in Action, he would also strive to be Superior in Justice and Equity."

XXXI. THE Senate liked the Proposal of a Deputation to Pompey: but the great Difficulty was, to find Deputies; every one, out of fear, refusing to charge himself with that Commission. For Pompey, a his Departure from Rome, had declared in the Senate: That he would esteem those who stayed behind, as no less guilty than those in Cæsar's Camp." Thus three Days were spent in Debates and Excuses. The Tribune L. Metellus had likewise been suborned by Cæsar's Enemies to traverse this Design, and hinder whatever he should propose. Which Cæsar coming to understand, and that he only wasted his Time to no Purpose; he set out from Rome, without effecting what he had intended, and arrived in Further Gaul.

XXXII. HERE he was informed, that Pompey had fent into Spain Vibullius Rufus; the same who a few Days before had been made Prisoner at Corfinium, and fet at liberty by Cafar: that Domitius was gone to take possession of Murseilles, with seven Gallies, which he had fitted out at Igilium and Cosanum, and manned with his Slaves, Freedmen, and Labourers: that the Deputies of the above-mentioned State, young Men of the first Quality, (whom Pompey, at his Departure from Rome, had exhorted not to fuffer the Memory of his past Services to their Country to be blotted out by those lately received from Casar,) had been sent before, to prepare the Way for his Reception. In consequence of their Remonstrances, the Inhabitants of Marseilles thut their Gates against Casar, and summoned to their Adiffance the Albici, a barbarous People, who had long pecia

been under their Protection, and inhabited the adjoining Mountains. They brought Provisions from the neighbouring Country and Castles, appointed Work-shops for the making of Arms, resitted their Navy, and repaired their Walls and Gates.

XXXIII. CESAR sending for fifteen of the principal Man of the City, exhorted them not to be the first to begi the War; but to be swayed rather by the Authority of all Italy, than the Will of one particular Person. He forgot not such other Considerations as seemed most likely to bring them to Reason. The Deputies returning into the Town, brought back this Answe from their Senate: "That they saw the Romans "divided into two Parties, and it did not belong to "them to decide such a Quarrel: That at the Head of these Parties were Pompey and Casar, both Patrons of their City; the one having added to it the Country of the Volcae Arecomici and Helvians; the other, after " the Reduction of Gaul, confiderably augmented its "Territories and Revenues: That as they were there-" fore equally indebted to both, it became them not to " aid the one against the other; but to remain neuter, " and grant neither an Admittance into their City or " Port."

XXXIV. WHILST these Things were in agitation, Domitius arrived at Marseilles with his Fleet; and being received into the Town, was appointed Governor, and charged with the whole Administration of the War. By his Order, they sent out their Fleet to cruise round the Coasts; seized and brought in all the Merchant Vessels they could find; and made use of the Nails, Rigging, and Timber of such as were unsit for Service, to repair the rest. They deposited in publick Granaries all the Corn that was to be found in the City, and fecured whatever elfe they thought might be ferviceable to them in case of a Siege. Cajar provoked at these Preparations, brought three Legions before the Town; began to crect Towers and Galleries; and gave Orders for building twelve Gallies at Arles: which being theished, launched, and brought to Marfeilles, within thirty Days from the cutting of the Wood they were composed of, he put them under the Command of D. T 4.

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Brutus; and having directed the Manner of the Siege, left the Care of it to C. Trebonius his Lieutenant.

XXXV. During these Orders and Preparations, he sent C. Fabius before him into Spain, with three Legions that had wintered about Narbonne; charging him to secure with all Diligence the Passage of Pyrenæan Mountains, which was at that Time guar led by a Party of Afranius's Army. His other Legons, whose Quarters were more remote, had Orders to follow as fast as they could. Fabius, according to his Instructions, having made great Dispatch, forced the Passes of the Pyrenees; and by long Marches came up with Afranius's Army.

XXXVI. Pompey had then three Lieuter.arts in Spain; Afranius, Petreius, and Varro. The first of these was at the Head of three Legions, and governed the nearer Spain. The other two had each two Legions, and commanded, the one from the Castilian Forest to the Anas; the other from the Anas, quite through Lustania, and the Territories of the Vettones. These three Lieutenants, upon the Arrival of Vibullius Rufus, whom Pompey had fent into Spain, as we have feen above, consulted together, and agreed; that Petreius should join Afranius with his two Legions; and that Varro should stay and secure Further Spain. These Resolutions being taken, Petreius levied Horse and Foot in Lusitania; and Afranius in Celtiberia, Cantabria, and the barbarous Nations bordering upon the Ocean, When the Levies were completed, Petreius speedily joined Afranius through the Territories of the Vettones; and both resolved to make Lerida the Seat of the War, because the Country lay convenient for their Purpose,

XXXVII. We have already observed that Afranius had three Legions, and Petreius two. Besides these, there were about eighty Cohorts, some light, some heavy-armed; and sive thousand Horse, raised in both Provinces. Casar had sent his Legions before him into Spain, with six thousand auxiliary Poot, and three thousand Horse, who had served under him in all his former Wars; and he was surnished with the like Number from Gaul, all chosen Troops. For heaving

that Pompey was coming with his whole Force through Mauritania into Spain, he fent circular Letters to all the Gallick States, inviting by Name those of the most known and approved Valour, and in particular a select Body of Mountaineers from Aquitain, where it borders upon the Roman Province. At the same Time he borrowed Money from the military Tribunes and Cenurions, which he distributed among the Soldiers. I his Policy was attended with two great Advantages; it bound the Officers to him by the Obligation of Interest, and the Soldiers by the Tie of Gratitude.

XXXVIII. FABIUS, by Letters and Messengers, endeavoured to found the Disposition of the neighbouring States. He had laid two Bridges over the Sicoris, to ir Miles distant from each other, for the Convenience of foraging, having consumed all the Pasture on this Side the River. Pompey's Generals did the same, with much the like View, which occasioned frequent Skirmishes between the Horse. Two of Fabius's Legions, which was the ordinary Guard of the Foragers, paffing one Day according to Custom, and the Cavalry and Carriages following; the Bridge broke down on a Sudden, by the Violence of the Winds and Floods, and separated them from the rest of the Army. Afranius and Petreius perceiving it, by the Fascines and Hurdles that came down with the Stream; detached immediately four Legions, with all their Cavalry, over the Bridge that lay between the Town and their Camp; and marched to attack. Fabius's Legions. Upon this, L. Plancus, who commanded the Escort, finding himself hard pressed, seized a Rising-ground; and forming his Men in two Divisions, posted them Back to Back, that he might not be surrounded by the Enemy's Horse. By this Dispo-sition, though inferior in Number, he was enabled to fustain the furious Charge of their Legions and Cavalry. During the Course of the Battle, the Ensigns of two Legions were perceived at a Distance, which Fabius had sent by the further Bridge to sustain his Party, suspecting what might happen, and that Pomper's Generals would feize the Opportunity offered them by Fortune, to fall upon our Men. Their Arrival put an End to the Engagement, and both Parties returned to their respective Camps.

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XXXIX. Two Days after, Cæsar arrived in the Camp with nine hundred Horse, which he had kept for 2 Body-guard. He began by re-establishing in the Night the Bridge which had been broken down, and was not yet quite repaired. Next Day he took a View of the Country, and leaving fix Cohorts to guard the Bridge, the Camp, and the Baggage, marched with all his For ces in three Lines to Lerida, and stopped near Afranius's Camp, where he remained some Time und r Arms, and offered him Battle on an even Ground. Afranius drew out his Troops, and formed them before his Camp half way down the Hill. Cafar finding that he declined an Engagement, resolved to encamp within four hundred Paces of the Foot of the Mountain; and to hinder his Troops from being alarmed or interrupted in their Works, by sudden Incursions from the Enomy; ordered them not to throw up a Rampart, which must have appeared and betrayed them at a Distance; but to cut a Ditch in Front, fifteen Foot broad. The first and fecond Lines continued in Order of Battle, as had been refolved from the Beginning; and the Third carried on the Work behind them unperceived. Thus the Whole was completed before Afranius had the least Suspicion of his Design to encamp there.

XL. In the Evening Cafar retreated with his Legions behind the Ditch, and palled the whole Night under Arms. Next Day he carried the Intrenchment quite round his Camp: And because Materials for a Rampart must have been fetched from a great Distance, he contented himself for the present with a naked Ditch, as the Day before; allotting a Legion to each Side of the Camp; and keeping the rest of the Troops under Arms, to cover those that worked. Afranius and Petreius, to alarm our Men, and disturb the Works, advanced with their Troops to the Foot of the Mountain, and threatened to give Battle. But Cafar trusting to the three Legions under Arms, and the Defence of his Ditch. still persisted in his Design. At last, after a short Stay, and without daring to come forward into the Plain, they retreated again to their Camp. The third Day, Cafar added a Rampart to his Camp, and brought into it the fix Cohorts, with the Baggage which he had left in his former Camp. XLI. BETWEEN

XLI. BETWEEN the City of Lerida, and the Hill where Petreius and Afranius were encamped, was a Plain of about three hundred Paces; in the Midst of which was a Rising-ground, which Cæsar wanted to take possession of; because, by that Means, he could cut off the Enemy's Communication with the Town and Bridge,

render the Magazines they had in the Town useless. In his Hope, he drew out three Legions; and having form d them in Order of Battle, commanded the first Ranks of one of them to run before, and gain the Place. Afranius perceiving his Design, dispatched the Cohorts that were upon guard before the Camp, a nearer Way to the same Eminence. The Contest was sharply maintained on both Sides: But Afranius's Party, who sirst got possession of the Post, obliged our Men to give ground; and being reinforced by fresh Supplies, put them at last to rout, and forced them to sly for Shelter to the Legions.

XLII. THE Manner of fighting of Afranius's Soldiers was, to come forward brifkly against an Enemy, and boldly take possession of some Post; neither taking care to keep their Ranks, nor holding it necessary to fight in a close compact Body. If they found themselves hard pushed, they thought it no Dishonour to retire and quit their Post; following in this the Custom of the Lusitanians, and other barbarous Nations; as it almost always happens, that Soldiers give into the Manners of the Country where they have long been used to make War. This Manner of fighting however, as it was new and unexpected, disordered our Men, who seeing the Enemy come forward, without regard to their Ranks, were apprehensive of being surrounded; and yet did not think themselves at liberty to break their Ranks, or abandon their Enfigns, or quit their Post, without some very urgent Cause. The first Ranks therefore being put into Disorder, the Legion in that Wing gave ground, and retired to a neighbouring Hill.

XLIII. CESAR, contrary to his Expectation, finding the Consternation like to spread through the whole
many, encouraged his Men, and led the ninth Legion
to their Assistance. He soon put a Stop to the vigorous
and insulting Pursuit of the Enemy, obliged them to
turn

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turn their Backs, and pushed them to the very Walls of Lerida. But the Soldiers of the ninth Legion, elated with Success, and eager to repair the Loss we had fustained, followed the Runaways with fo much Heat, that they were drawn into a Place of Disadvantage, and found themselves directly under the Hill where the Town Hood: Whence when they endeavoured to retire, Enemy again facing about, charged vigoroufly from the higher Ground. The Hill was rough, and steep on each Side, extending only so far in Breadth, as was sufficient for drawing up three Cohorts: But they could neither be reinforced in Flank, nor fustained by the Cavalry. The Descent from the Town was indeed something easier, for about four hundred Paces; which furnished our Men with the Means of extricating themselves from the Danger into which their Rashness had brought them. Here they bravely maintained the Fight, though with great Difadvantage to themselves, as well on account of the Narrowness of the Place, as because being posted at the Foot of the Hill, none of the Enemy's Darts fell in vain. Still however they supported themselves by their Courage and Patience, and were not disheartened by the many Wounds they received. The Enemy's Forces increased every Moment, fresh Cohorts being fent from the Camp through the Town, who succeeded in the Place of those that were fatigued. Casar was likewife obliged to detach small Parties to maintain the Battle, and bring off fuch as were wounded.

XLIV. THE Fight had now lasted five Hours without Intermission, when our Men, oppressed by the Multitude of the Enemy, and having spent all their Darts,
attacked the Mountain Sword-in-hand; and overthrowing such as opposed them, obliged the rest to betake
themselves to Flight. The Purtuit was continued to
the very Walls of Lerida, and some out of Fear took
shelter in the Town; which gave our Men an Opportunity of making good their Retreat. At the same Time
the Cavalry, though posted disadvantageously in a Bottom, sound Means by their Valour to gain the Summit
of the Mountain; and riding between both Armies, hindered the Enemy from harassing our Rear. Thus the
Engagement was attended with various Turns of Fertune. Casar lost about seventy Men in the first En

counter

of the Hajtati of the fourteenth Legion, who had raised himself by his Valour to that Rank, through all the inferior Orders. Upwards of six hundred were wounded. On Afranius's Side was slain T. Caecilias, first Centurion of a Legion; also four Centurions of inserior Degree, above two hundred private Men.

ALV. YET fuch were the Circumstances of this Day's Action, that both Sides laid claim to the Victory: The Afranians, because though allowed to be inferior in Number, they had long sustained our Attack, kept posession of the Eminence which occasioned the Dispute, and obliged our Men at first to give ground: Casar's Troops, because they had maintained a Fight of five Hou; with a Handful of Men, and in a very disadvantageous Post; because they had attacked the Mountain Sword-in-hand; because they had driven their Adversaries from the higher Ground, and compelled them to take shelter in the Town. Mean-time Afranius sortified the Hillock which had been the Subject of Dispute, with a great Number of Works, and posted there a large Body of Troops.

XLVI. Two Days after, a very unfortunate Accident happened. For so great a Storm arose, that the Water was never known to be higher in those Parts; and the Snow came down in fuch Quantities from all the Mountains round about, that the Kiver overflowed its Banks, and in one Day broke down both the Bridges Fabius had huilt over it. Cæsar's Army was reduced to great Extremities on this Occasion. For his Camp, as we have before observed, was between the Sicoris and Cinga, two Rivers that were neither of them fordable, and necessarily that him up within a Space of no more than thirty Miles. By this Means, neither could the States that had declared for him supply him with Provisions, nor the Troops that had been fent beyond the Rivers to forage return, nor the large Convoys he expected from Gaul and Italy get to his Camp. Add to all this, that it being near the Time of Harvest, Corn was -tremely scarce: And the more, as before Cafar's Arrival, Afranius had carried great Quantities of it to Lerida; and the reit had been confumed by Ciejar's Troops.

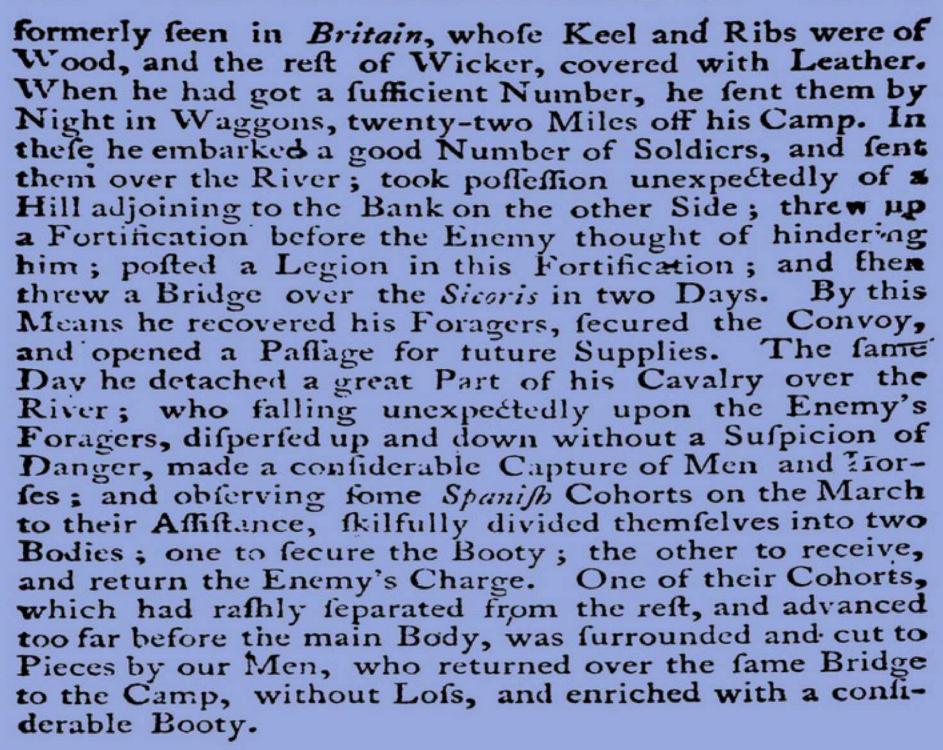
The Cattle, which was the next Resource in the present Scarcity, had been removed to Places of Security, on the breaking out of the War. The Parties sent out to forage and bring in Corn, were perpetually haraffed by the Spanish Infantry, who being well acquainted with the Country, purfued them every where. The Rivers themselves did not impede them, because they were customed to pass them on blown-up Skins, which hey always brought with them int the Field. Afraniu., on the contrary, abounded in all Things. He had large Magazines of Corn already laid up, was continually receiving fresh Supplies from the Province, and had Plenty of Forage. The Bridge of Lerida furnished all these Conveniencies without Danger, and opened a free Communication with the Country beyond the River, from which C.efar was wholly excluded.

Endeavoured to re-establish his Bridges, but could not get the better of the Obstacles occasioned by the Swelling of the River, and the Enemy's Forces stationed on the opposite Bank. They found it the easier to prevent his Design, as the River was deep and rapid, and they could discharge their Darts all along the Bank, on that particular Spot where our Men were at work: Whereas it was extremely difficult on our Side to struggle with the Force of the Stream, and at the same Time guard ourselves against the Assaults of the Enemy.

ALVIII. MEAN-WHILE Afranius was informed, that a large Convoy, which was on its Way to join Caefar, had been obliged to halt at the River-fide. It confifted of Archers from Rovergue, Gaulish Horse, with many Carts and much Baggage, according to the Custom of the Gauls, and about fix thousand Men of all Sorts, with their Domesticks and Slaves; but without Discipline or Commander, every one following his own Choice, and all marching in perfect Security, as if they had nothing more to apprehend than in former Times. There were likewise many young Gentlemen of Quality, Senators' Sons, and Roman Knights, with the Deputies of the States of Gaul, and some of Caefar's Liedmants; who were all stopped short by the River. Afranius set out in the Night with three Legious, and all his Cavalry

Cavalry: and sending the Horse before, attacked them, when they least expected it. The Gaulish Squadrons forming with great Expedition, began the Fight. While the Contest was upon equal Terms, the Gauls, though few in Number, bore up against the vast Multitude of the Enemy; but seeing the Legions advance, and having lost some of their Men, they retreated to the neighboring Mountains. This Delay saved the Convoy; for curing the Skirmish, the rest of the Troops gained the higher Ground. We lost that Day about two hundred Archers, a few Troopers, and some Servants and Baggage.

- XLIX. ALL this ferved to enhance the Price of Provisions, a Calamity inseparable from present Scarcity and the Prospect of suture Want. Corn was already at fifty Denarii a Bushel, the Soldiers began to lose their Strength, and the Evil increased every Moment. Nay, so great was the Change produced in a few Days, and such the Alteration of Fortune, that while our Men were in the utmost Want of all Kind of Necessaries, the Enemy had plenty of every Thing, and were accounted victorious. Casar left nothing untried to remove the present Scarcity: He dismissed all the useless Mouths, and applied to the States that had declared for him, defiring them to send him Cattle where they wanted Corn.
- L. These Things were greatly exaggerated by Afranius, Petreius, and their Friends, in the Letters they fent upon this Occasion to Rome. Nor was Fame backward in adding to the Account; infomuch that the War appeared to be almost at an End. These Couriers and Letters having reached Rome, there was a great Concourse of People at Afranius's House, many Congratulations passed, and Multitudes of the Nobility slocked out of Italy to Pompey; some to carry the first Accounts of this grateful News; others that they might not be so late as to subject them to the Reproach of having waited for the Event of Things.
- LI. Affairs being in this Extremity, and ill the Pailes guarded by Afranius's Parties, without a Possibility of repairing the Bridges; Cafar ordered the Soldiers to build some light Boats, in instation of those he had formally



LII. WHILST these Things passed at Lerida, the People of Marseilles, by the Advice of L. Domitius, equipped seventeen Gallies, eleven of which were covered. To these they added a Multitude of smaller Vessels, that they might strike a Terror into our Fleet by their very Number; and manned them with Archers, and the Mountaineers we have already mentioned, whom they encouraged to perform their Part by great Rewards and Promises. Domitius defired some of these Ships, and filled them with the Shepherds and Labourers he had brought thither with him. Thus furnished and equipped, they failed with great Confidence in quest of our Fleet, which was commanded by Decimus Brutus, and rid at Anchor at an Island over-against Murseilles. Brutus was much inferior to the Enemy in Number of Ships; but Cafar had manned them with his best Sol diers, chosen out of all the Legions, and headed by Centurions of distinguished Bravery, who had petitioned him.

him for this Service. These had provided themselves with Hooks and Grappling-irons, and a great Number of Darts, Javelins, and offensive Weapons of all Sorts. Thus prepared, upon Notice of the Enemy's Arrival, they stood out to Sea, and attacked their Fleet. The Conflict was sharp and vigorous. For the Mountaineers, a hardy Race, habituated to Arms, and trained up in War, scarce yielded to the Romans in Bravery; and having but just parted from Marseilles, still retained a lively Sense of the Promises so lately made them. The Shepherds too, animated by the Hopes of Liberty, and fighting under the Eye of their Master, did Wonders to merit his Approbation. The Townsmen themselves, confiding in the Nimbleness of their Ships, and the Skill of their Pilots, eluded the Shock of our Vessels. and baffled all their Attempts. As they had abundance of Sea-room, they extended their Line of Battle, in order to surround our Fleet, or attack our Ships singly with a Number of theirs, or in running along-fide, fweep away a Range of Oars. If they were compelled to come to a closer Engagement, setting aside the Skill and Address of their Pilots, they relied wholly on the Bravery of their Mountaineers. Our Men were but indifferently provided with Rowers and Pilots, who had been hastily taken out of some Merchants Ships, and knew not so much as the Names of the Tackle. They were incommoded too by the Weight and Lumpishness of their Vessels, which being built in haste of unseasoned Timber, were not so ready at tacking about. But when an Opportunity offered of coming to close fight, they would boldly get between two of the Enemy's Ships; and grappling them with their Hooks, charge them on each Side, board them, and cut to Pieces the Mountaineers and Shepherds that defended them. In this Manner they funk Part of their Vessels, took some with all-the Men on board, and drove the rest into the Haven. In this Engagement the Enemy had nine Galleys funk or taken.

LIII. THE Report of this Battle reaching Lerida, and Cæsar having finished his Bridge over the Sicoris, Affairs soon began to put on a new Face. The Enemy dreading the Courage of our Horse, durst not disperse about the Country as formerly; but either foraged in the Neigh-

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Neighbourhood of the Camp, that they might the sooner make good their Retreat; or by a long Circuit, endeavoured to avoid our Parties: and upon receiving any Check, or even descrying our Cavalry at a Distance, they would throw down their Trusses, and sly. At last, they were reduced to omit foraging several Days together, and resolved to pursue it only by Night, contrary to the general Custom of War.

LIV. In the Mean-time the Ofcenses and Calagurritani, jointly fent Deputies to Cafar, with an Offer of their Submission and Services. The Terraconenses, Jacitani, and Aufetani, and not many Days after, the Illurgaveneries, who inhabit along the Banks of the Iberus, followed their Example. He only required them to supply him with Corn, to which they readily agreed, and having got together a great Number of Carriagehorses, brought it to his Camp. A Cohort of the Iliur. gavenerses, hearing of the Resolution taken by their State, deferted from the Enemy, and came over to Caefar's Camp. The Change was fudden and great: for the Bridge being finished, Provisions secured, the Rumour of Pompey's March through Mauritania extinguished, and five considerable States having declared in his Favour; a great Number of distant Provinces renounced their Engagements with Afranius, and entered into new ones with Cafar.

LV. THESE Things having struck a Terror into the Enemy; that he might not be always obliged to fend his Cavalry to far about to forage, the Bridge lying above leven Miles from his Camp, he bethought himself of draining the River, by turning some of its Water into Canals thirty Foot deep, to as to make it fordable. The Work being almost completed; Petreius and Afranius grew extremely apprehensive of being entirely cut off from their Provisions and Forage, because Cafar was very ftrong in Cavalry. They therefore thought proper to quit a Post that was no longer tenable, and to carry the War into Celtiberia. What contributed still further to confirm them in this Resolution was, that of the two contrary Parties, concerned in the late War; those the had declared for Sertorius, still trembled at the Name or the Conqueror, and dreaded his Power though ab. ient : continued to love him for the many Services he had done them: but Cæsar's Name was hardly known among these Barbarians. Here they expected considerable Reinsorcements of Horse and Foot; and doubted not, by taking the Advantage of Places, to be able to protract the War till Winter. In order to execute this Plan, they collected all the Boats to be found on the Iberus, and ordered them to be brought to Octogesa, a City on that River, about twenty Miles from their Camp. Here they commanded a Bridge of Boats to be built; and having sent two Legions over the Sicoris, fortified their Camp with a Rampart of twelve Foot.

LVI. CESAR having Notice of this by his Scouts, laboured Day and Night at his Drains with the utmost Diligence; and had already so far diminished the Water of the Sicoris, that the Cavalry could, with some Difficulty, pals over: but it took the Infantry as high as the Shoulders, who had therefore both the Depth of the River, and the Rapidity of the Stream to struggle with. Mean-while it was known, that the Bridge over the Berus was almost finished, and Cafar's Ford in great Forwardness. This was a fresh Motive to the Enemy to quicken their March: wherefore leaving two auxiliary Cohorts for a Garrison at Lerida, they crossed the Sicoris with all their Forces, and joined the two Legions they had fent over before. Cafar had now no other Remedy left but to harafs and fatigue them with his Cavalry: for if he went with his whole Army over his Bridge, he lengthened his March prodigiously, and gave Afranius Time enough to get to the Iberus. Accordingly the Horse having forded the River, came up with Petreius and Afranius's Rear, who had decamped about Midnight; and making a Motion to furround them, began to stop and retard their March.

LVII. At Day-break we discovered from the Hills near the Camp, that the Enemy's Rear was greatly har rassed by our Cavalry. Sometimes they obliged them to halt, and disordered their Ranks: at other Times the Estemy facing about, charged with all their Cohorts at nee, and forced our Men to give ground; who wheeling again as soon as they began to march, failed not to

renew the Attack. At this Sight the legionary Soldiers running up and down the Camp, complained that the Enemy would escape out of their Hands, and the War necessarily be prolonged. They addressed themselves to the Centurions and military Tribunes, and defired them to beg of Cæsar not to spare them; that they feared neither Danger nor Fatigue, and were ready to pass the River as the Horse had done. Casar moved by their Alacrity and Intreaties, though he faw some Danger in exposing his Army to the Rapidity of a deep River, judged it yet proper to attempt and make Trial of the Passage. Having therefore withdrawn from every Company fuch as were weak of Body, or of less Courage than the rest; he left them in the Camp with a Legion and all the Baggage. The rest of the Army happily passed the River, by the Assistance of a double Line of Cavalry, placed above and below them. Some of the Infantry were carried away by the Violence of the Current, but they were picked up and saved by the Horse below them; fo that not one Man was loft. Having passed the River without Loss, he drew up his Army in Order of Battle, and began to purfue the Enemy in three Lines: and fuch was the Ardor of the Soldiers, that. notwithstanding the Army was obliged to make a Circuit of fix Miles, notwithstanding the Time necessarily lost in crossing the River, they got up at the ninth Hour of the Day to the Enemy, who had set out at Midnight.

LVIII. WHEN Afranius and Petreius perceived them at some Distance, being with Reason intimidated, they suspended their March, halted on an Eminence, and sormed in Order of Battle. Cæsar would not hazard an Action with his Troops thus satigued, and halted likewise in the Plain. On this, the Enemy resumed their March, and he the Pursuit; which obliged them to encamp earlier than they designed. Hard by was a Range of Mountains, and about five Miles farther, the Ways were difficult and narrow. The Enemy retired among these Mountains, to avoid the Pursuit of the Cavalry; and having placed Parties in all the Passes, to stop Cæsar's Army, hoped by this Means to continue their March to the Ibrous, without Fear or Danger. This was their great Affair, and what before all Things they should

have endeavoured to effect; but being fatigued by a long March, and their continual Skirmishes with Uz-far's Cavalry, they deferred it till next Day. Cafar likewise encamped on a Hill that lay near him.

LIX. ABOUT Midnight the Cavalry having surprised fome of the Enemy, who had adventured a little too far from their Camp in quest of Water; Cefar was informed by them, that Pompey's Lieutenants were decamping without Noise. Immediately he ordered the Alarm to be founded, and gave his Army the Signal to march. The Enemy, finding they should be purfued, kept Itill; being afraid of a nocturnal Flight, wherein they would have had greatly the Difadvantage, on account of their heavy Baggage, which they had with them, and the Superiority of Cafar's Cavairy. Next Day Petreius went privately out with a Party of Horse, to take a View of the Country. Cæfar likewise detached a Squadron for the same Purpose, under the Command of Decidius Sava. Both made the like Report in their feveral Camps; that for five Miles together, the Country was level and open, but after that rough and mountainous; and that whoever should first get possesfion of the Defiles, might eafily prevent the other Army from approaching them.

LX. Upon this a Council of War was held by Petreius and Afranius, to deliberate about the Time of beginning their March. The greater Number were for fetting out by Night, in hopes of reaching the Dehles before Casar could have Notice of their Departure. Others argued against the Possibility of decamping privately, by the Alarm given in Casar's Camp the Night before: "That the Enemy's Cavalry were continually patrol-" ling in the Night, and had befet all the Ways and Passes: That a nocturnal Engagement was to be avoided, because in a Civil War, the Soldiers were more apt to listen to their Fears, than the Obligations of the military Oath: That Shame, and the Presence " of the Centurions and Tribunes, the great Instrue ments of Obedience and military Duty, could have 66 their proper Effect only in the Light, which rendered it of infinite Importance to wait the Approach of ". Day: That in case of a Disaster, yet the Bulk of the " Army

"Army would escape, and be able to possess them"felves of the Post in question." This Opinion prevailed in the Council, and they resolved to set out the
next Morning by Break of Day.

LXI. CÆSAR having taken a View of the Country, decamped as foon as it was light, taking a confiderable Circuit, and observing no particular Route: for the direct Way to the Iberus and Octogeja, lay in the Rear of the Enemy's Camp. He was therefore obliged to march through Valleys and Precipices, and over steep Rocks, which the Soldiers could not climb, but by disencumboring themselves of their Arms, and returning them afterwards to one another. But not a Man murmured at these Difficulties, in hopes of seeing a speedy End of all their Labours, if they could but gain the Iberus before the Enemy, and intercept their Provisions. March we pursued at first an opposite Course, and seemed to turn our Backs upon the Enemy, Afranius's Soldiers, who observed us from their Camp, came forth with joyful Looks, and infulted us on our supposed Flight, imagining the Want of Provisions obliged us to return to Lerida. Their Generals applauded themselves upon their Resolution of not decamping, and were confirmed in the Notion of our Retreat, as they saw we had neither Horses nor Carriages, whence they concluded the Scarcity must be exceeding great. But when they saw us, aiter some Time, turn to the Right, and that our advanced Guard had already gained the Ground beyond their Camp, there was not a Man fo tardy or indolent, as not to perceive the Necessity of decamping and opposing our March. Immediately they ran to Arms, and leaving a few Cohorts to guard the Camp, fallied in a Body, pursuing their Way directly to the Iberus.

LXII. All depended upon Dispatch, and getting the sirst possession of the Desiles and Mountains. Our Troops were retarded by the Dissiculties of the Way, and Afranius's by the continual Attacks of Casar's Cavalry. But such was the Situation of the Afranius, that even supposing them to gain the Hills first, they could only secure their own Retreat, without a Possibility of preserving their Baggage, and the Cohorts left to guard the Camp; because Casar's Army getting be-

tween, cut them off from all Communication with their own Men. Casar arrived first at the Place in question; and having found a Plain beyond the Rocks, formed his Men in Order of Battle against the Enemy. Afranius, who now saw our Army in his Front, at the same Time that his Rear was continually haraffed by the Cavalry, halted on an Eminence, from whence he detached four Spanish Cohorts, to take possession of the highest Mountain thereaboucs; ordering them to make all the Difpatch they could to seize it, that he might get thither himself with the rest of his Forces, and changing his Route, march them over the Hills to Octogesa. Spaniards wheeling obliquely to take possession of the Place, were perceived by Cæfar's Cavalry; who charged them furiously, broke them at the first Onset, surrounded, and cut them in pieces in fight of both Armies.

LXIII. CESAR had now an Opportunity of giving the Enemy an effectual Blow; whose Army, in the prefent Consternation it was under, would, he was sensible, make but a faint Resistance; more especially as it was furrounded on all Sides by the Cavalry, and would be obliged to fight on equal Ground. He was pressed on all hands to give the Signal. The Lieutenants, Centurions, and Military Tribunes, got round him, urging him not to delay the Engagement: "That the Soldiers " were all eager for a Battle; whereas, on the contrary, " the Afranians had given many Marks of Fear: That " they had neither dared to support their own Detach-" ment, nor offered to descend from the Hill, nor been " able to withstand the very first Charge of our Ca-" valry: That they had brought their Enfigns all into " one Place, where they crowded confusedly round " them, without observing Ranks or Order: That if he " was afraid to attack them on the Eminence, he would " soon have an Opportunity of more equal Ground, 44 as Afranius would be obliged to remove for want of " Water."

LXIV. CESAR was in hopes of terminating the Affair without Bloodshed, or a Battle; because he had intercepted the Enemy's Provisions. Why therefore, even supposing the Event to be prosperous, should he unnesessarily lose any of his Men? Why should he expose to U 4

Wounds Soldiers who had deferved so well of him? Why, in fine, should he tempt Fortune. Especially as it redounded no less to the Honour of a good General, to gain the Victory by his Conduct, than by the Force of his Arms. He was also touched with Compassion for Afranius's Soldiers; who, after all, were Fellow-citizens, and whom he must have slaughtered, when he could equally fucceed without touching their Lives. This Resolution was not at all relished by the Army; who, in their Discontent, openly declared, that since Casar did not lay hold of so favourable an Opportunity, nor let them fight when they had a mind, they would not fight when he had a mind. But nothing could shake him. Nay, he even retreated a little, to give Afranius and Petreius Liberty to regain their Camp, which they did. He then posted Troops on the Mountains to guard the Defiles, and came and encamped as near the Enemy as possible.

LXV. THE Day after, Pombey's Lieutenants disturbed at finding their Provisions cut off, and all the Ways to the Iberus intercepted, consulted what was proper to be done. They had it still in their Power to return to Lerida, or march to Tarraco. But while they were debating this Matter, Notice was brought them, that our Cavalry had fallen upon their Parties sent out in quest of Water. Upon this Intelligence, they formed several Posts of Horse and Foot, intermixed with legionary Cohorts; and began to throw up a Rampart from the Camp to the Place where they watered, that the Soldiers might pass and repass under cover, without Fear, and without a Guard. Afranius and Petreius divided this Work between them, and went to give Directions about it in person.

LXVI. In their Absence, their Soldiers sound frequent Opportunities of conversing with our Men, and sought out every one his Fellow-citizen and Acquaintance. They began by thanking them for having spared them the Day before, owning they were indebted to them for their Lives. Afterwards they asked them, if they might trust to Casar's Honour; testifying much Grief at being obliged to fight with their Countrymer and Relations, with whom they were united by the strictest

At last they stipulated even for their Generals, whom they would not feem to betray; and promised, if the Lives of Petreius and Afranius were granted them, to change Sides. At the tame Time they fent fome of their principal Officers to negotiate with Gafar; and these Preliminaries to an Accommodation being settled, the Soldiers of both Armies went into one another's Tents, so that the two Camps were now in a Manner one. .. A great Number of Centurions and military Tribunes came to pay their court to Cafar; and beg his Protection. The Spanish Chiefs, who had been summoned to attend Afranius, and were detained in the Camp as Hostages, followed their Example. Every Man fought out his Acquaintance and Friend, who might recommend and procure him a favourable Reception from Cæsar. Things were carried to such a length, that Afranius's Son, a young Gentleman, treated with Cæsar by the Mediation of Sulpicius, to desire he would give his Word for his Life, and that of his Father. The Joy was general, they mutually congratulated each other; the one, in that they had escaped so imminent a Danger; and the other, in that they had brought to a happy Conclusion so important an Enterprise, without striking a Blow. Cæsar, in the Judgment of all, was upon the Point of amply reaping the Fruits of his wonted Clemency, and every Body applauded his late Conduct.

LXVII. AFRANIUS having Notice of what passed, quitted the Work he was engaged in, and returned to the Camp; prepared, as it would feem, to bear with an equal Mind whatever should happen. But Petreius was not wanting to himself. He armed his Slaves; and joining them to a prætorian Cohort of Target-bearers, and some Spanish Horse, his Dependents, whom he always kept about him to guard his Person; he instantly flew to the Rampart, broke off the Conferences of the Soldiers, drove our Men from the Camp, and put all of them he could find to the Sword. The rest flocked together: where, alarmed at the Danger to which they faw themselves exposed, they wrapped their Clokes round their left Arms, drew their Swords; and trusting to the Nearness of their Camp, defended themselves against the Spanish Target-bearers and Cavalry, till they had

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LXVIII. AFTER this he went through the whole Camp, begging his Troops with Tears, to have pity on him, and Pompey their General; and that they would not deliver them both up to the cruel Vengeance of their Enemies. Every one upon this flocks to the Headquarters. There Petreius proposes to the Army to bind themselves by a new Oath, not to abandon nor betray their Commanders, ner to act separately, but all in concert, for the common Good. He himfelf took this Oath first, and then exacted it of Afranius, afterwards of the military Tribunes and Centurions, and lastly of all the Companies Man by Man. At the same Time an Order was issued, that all who had any of Cæsar's Soldiers in their Tents should signify it, that they might be put to Death in the Sight of the whole Army. But the Majority detesting this bloody Order, carefully hid those who were under their Protection, and procured them Means to escape in the Night. However the Terror they had been thrown into by their Generals, the Severity shewn in punishing, and the new Oath they had been obliged to take, defeated, for the present, all Hopes of a Surrender, changed the Soldiers Minds, and reduced the War to its former State.

LXIX. CÆSAR ordered diligent Search to be made after such of the Enemy's Soldiers as had come to his Camp during the Time of Conference, and carefully sent them back. Some military Tribunes and Centurions voluntarily chose to stay with him; whom he afterwards treated with great Distinction, promoting the Centurions to higher Ranks, and honouring the Reman Knights with the Office of Military Tribune.

LXX. THE Afranian Troops were destitute of Torage, and could not water without much Dissiculty. The legionary Soldiers had indeed some Provisions, because they had been ordered to bring two-and-twenty Days Corn with them from Lerida: but the Spanish Infantry and Auxiliaries had none; for they neither had Opportunities of supplying themselves, nor were their Bodies inured to carry heavy Burdens. Accordingly

they

Extremity, of the two Expedients proposed, that of returning to Lerida appeared the safest, as they had still some Provisions in that City, and might there concert what surther Measures to pursue. Tarraco was at a greater Distance, and they would of course be exposed to more Accidents by the Way. This Resolution being taken, they decamped. Casar sent the Cavalry before, to harass and retard them in their March; and sollowed himself with the rest of the Army. The Cavalry gave the Enemy no Respite, being continually engaged with their Rear.

LXXI. THE Manner of fighting was thus. . Some light-armed Cohorts formed the Rear-guard, which in a Plain, halted from Time to Time, and made head against our Cavalry. When they fell in with an Eminence, the very Nature of the Ground furnished them with the Means of defending themselves; because those who were first could cover them behind. But when a Valley or Descent came in the Way, the Van could give no Affistance to the Rear, and our Cavalry annoyed them with their Darts from the higher Ground, which put them in imminent Danger. In this Case the Legions were obliged to halt, and endravoured to drive back the Cavalry a good Way, after which they ran down the Valley precipitately, until they came to the opposite Eminence. For their Cavalry, of which they had a confiderable Number, was so terrified by their ill Success in former Skirmishes, that, far from being of any Service, they were forced to place it in the Center to secure it; and if any of them chanced to straggle from the main Body, they were immediately taken by Cæjar's Horie.

LXXII. During these continual Skirmishes, in which the Enemy were often obliged to halt, in order to disengage their Rear, it is easy to perceive that their March could not be very expeditious. This was in fact the Case; so that after advancing four Miles, finding themselves great incommoded by the Cavalry, they halted on an Eminence, and drew a Line before them, as it were to encamp; but did not unload their Boats of Barden. When they saw that Caster had

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Cavalry to forage; suddenly, towards Noon, they resumed their March briskly, hoping to be rid of the Cavalry which had so much incommoded them. But Casar set out immediately with his Legions, leaving a sew Cohorts to guard the Baggage, and sent Orders to his Cavalry to return with all Diligence. The Cavalry returned accordingly; and having overtaken the Enemy before the Close of Day, attacked their Rear so vigorously, that they were almost routed; a great Number of Soldiers, and even some Centurions being slain. Casar's whole Army came up, and threatened them with an immediate Attack.

LXXIII. As they could then neither choose a proper Place for a Camp, nor continue their March, they were forced to halt where they were, far from any Water. and on very difadvantageous Ground. Cafar did not offer to attack them, for the Reasons mentioned before: he would not even permit any Tents to be pitched that Day, that he might be the readier to purfue with all his Forces, should they attempt to escape either by Night or by Day. The Afranians perceiving the Disadvantage of their Situation, employed the whole Night in throwing up Intrenchments, and disposed their Camp directly fronting ours. The same they did the following Day, from Sun-rise till the Evening. But the farther they extended their Camp, and produced their Lines, in order to better their Position, the farther they went from Water; and to avoid one Inconvenience, fell into another. The first Night no-body went out of the Camp for Water, and the next Day the whole Army was obliged to do it in Order of Battle, so that they could not Forage that Day. Cafar wanted to humble them by these Missortunes, and reduce them by Want and Necessity rather than Force. He began however to draw Lines round their Camp, the better to check their sudden Sallies and Eruptions, to which ke forefaw they would be obliged to have recourse at rast. Want, and the Defire of marching with less Difficulty, foon constrained them to kill all the Beasts of Burden.

LXXIV. Two Days were spent in forming and executing these Resolutions: on the third Casar had considerably

confiderably advanced his Works. Afranius and Petreius, sensible of the Consequences, drew all the Forces out of the Camp, and formed them in Order of Battle. Cafar presently called in his Workmen, assembled his Cavalry, and put his Army in a Condition to receive them: for he was aware of the Hurt his Reputation might sustain, if, contrary to the Opinion of the Troops, and the earnest Expectations of all, he should still seem to decline an Engagement. However, for the Reasons already mentioned, he resolved to keep only upon the Defensive; and the rather, because the Distance between the two Camps was so small, that should he even put his Adversaries to rout, he could not flatter himself with the Hopes of a complete Victory. In fact, from Camp to Camp was not above two thousand Foot: the Armies were posted on each Side of this Space, which was left void for the mutual Charge and Affault of the Soldiers. On Supposition therefore of a Battle, the Nearness of their Camp furnished an easy Retreat to the Vanquished. For this Reason he resolved to wait the Enemy's Charge, and not enter the first into Action.

LXXV. AFRANIUS'S Troops were ranged in two Lines, confisting of five Legions; and the Cohorts wont to be stationed in the Wings formed a Body of Reserve. Casar's Army was upon three Lines; in the first of which were posted four Cohorts, detached out of each of the five Legions; in the second three; and in the third the like Number, all from their respective Legions; the Archers and Slingers were disposed in the Midst, and the Cavalry on the two Wings. The Armies being drawn up in this Manner, each General kept firm to his Resolution: Casar, not to engage, unless forced to it: and Afranius, to prevent the Progress of our Works. In this Posture they continued till Sun-set, when both Armies returned to their several Camps. The Lext Day, Casfar prepared to finish his Lines; and Pompey's Lieutenants, as their last Resource, endeacoured to find a fordable Place in the Sicoris. Cafar penetrating their Design, sent his light-armed Germans, with Part of his Cavalry over the River; andported many good Bodies of Troops along the Banks, a imall Diffance from one another.

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LXXVI. AT last, having no Hope left, and being in want of every Thing, Wood, Water, Forage, Corn, they demanded an Interview: and that it might be, if possible, in some Place out of the Sight of the Soldiers. Cæsur denied the last Part of their Request, but offered to grant them a publick Interview: whereupon Afranius, having given his Son for a Hostage, went to the Place appointed by Cajar; where, in the Presence of both Armies, he addressed him to this Effect: That it was no just Matter of Blame, either in him or his Soldiers, to have preserved their Fidelity to their General Pompey; but that they had now sufficiently acquitted themselves of their Duty, and suffered enough in his Caufe, by the Want of all Kind of Necessaries: That like wild Beasts caught in a Toil, they were deprived of the most common Enjoyments; " having their Bodies oppressed by Want, and their 44 Minds overwhelmed with Ignominy: That they therefore acknowledged themselves vanquished, and 66 befought and conjured him, not to make a rigorous " Use of his Victory, but to spare the Lives of his " unhappy Countrymen." This Speech was delivered with all possible Marks of Humility and Submission.

IXXVII. CESAR replied: "That he, of all Mankind, had least Reason to complain, or implore " Compassion: That all the rest had fully done their Duty: himself, in forbearing to attack him, with all the Advantages of Time and Place, that the Way to an Accommodation might be the more open: his " his Army, in returning untouched the Men that " were in their Power, after Injuries received, and the Manacre of their Comrades: in fine, even his own "Troops, in endeavouring to conclude a Peace, whereon they thought their Safety depended. Thus all Orders " had fliewn an Inclination to treat, while Afranius " and Petreius alone opposed an Accomi. dation; refuting both Interview and Truce, and bar roufly " murdering those, whom the Faith of a Conference " had entited to their Camp: That it had therefore - happened to them, as trequently happens to Men of 66 Oblinacy and Arrogance; and they were forced to " have recourse to those Conditions, and earnestly " folicit the vary fame Terms, which not long before

they had despised. However, he would not take advantage of their present Submission, or the favourable Circumstances in which he found himself, to demand any Thing tending to the Increase of his own Power; but only that they would dishand those "Troops which they had now for fo many Years kept " on foot against him. For with what other View had fix Legions been fent into Souin; a seventh levied there; so many powerful Navies equipped; so many " able and experienced Officers tent over. There " mighty Preparations could not be meant against Spain, or to supply the Wants of the Province, which " having enjoyed a long Run of Peace, had no Occa-" fion for fuch extraordinary Forces. Their real Aim was to pave the Way to his Destruction; to esfect which, a new Species of Power had been introduced " into the Commonwealth; and the same Man appointed to command in Italy at the Gates of Rome, and hold for fo many Years, though abient, the Government of the two most potent Provinces of the Republick. For this Reason the Magistrates were stript of their " Prerogatives, and not suffered to take possession of "their Provinces, at the Expiration of the Prætor-" ship or Consulship, as had always been the Custom; but particular Governors were fent, by the Choice " and Management of a Faction. For this Reason " even the Excuse of old Age was disallowed; and those " who had merited a Discharge by their past Services, " were compelled to take Arms again, to complete the " Number of their Troops. In fine, for this Reason " he alone had been denied that Justice, which was " never refused to any General before him; that after " having fuccefsfully ferved the Commonwealth, he " should be allowed to return Home, and disband his " own Army, with force Marks of Honour, or at least " without Ignominy. All which, nevertheless, he had "hitherte Lorne, and still resolved to bear with Patience: " nor was it now his Delign to take from them their " Doleiers, and enlift them, as it would be eafy for "him . do; but to prevent their employing them " against him. Therefore, as he had already intimated, they must resolve to quit Spain, and disband their . Forces: in which case he would injure no Man. "This was his final Refolution, and the only Condi-46 tion of Peace they were to expect."

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LXXVIII. THESE Conditions were very agreeable to Afranius's Soldiers; who, instead of being punished, as they feared, were in some Sort rewarded by the Difcharge procured them. They plainly shewed their Satisfaction. For, while the Place and Time of their Difmillion were deb. ting, they fignified by their Gestures and Cries from the Rampart, where they stood, that they defired to be disbanded immediately: because no sufficient Security could be given for the Performance of what was put off till another Time. After some Discussion of that Article by Cafar and Afranius, it was regulated, that those who had Houses or Possessions in Spain, should be discharged on the Spot; and the rest near the Var, a River between Gaul and Italy. Cafar on his Side declared, that he would hurt no-body, nor force any one to take on in his Service.

LXXIX. CÆSAR undertook to find them in Corn until they got to the Var. He even promised to restore to them all they had lost in the War, that could be known again; himself indemnifying his own Soldiers, who hereby lost Part of their Booty. By this Conduct he acquired their Confidence to fuch a Degree, that he was Arbiter of all the Disputes they had, either among themselves, or with their Commanders. The Soldiers being ready to mutiny about their Pay, because Petreius and Afranius affirmed it was not yet Due, the Matter was referred to Cæsar, who determined it to the Satisfaction of both Parties. About a third of the Army was difbanded during the two Days they continued here; after which the rest set out for the Var in this Order: Two of Cæfur's Legions marched at the Head, the others in the Rear, and the vanquished Troops in the Middle. 2. Fufius Calenus, one of Cæsar's Lieutenants, presided over the March. In this Manner they continued their Route to the Var, where the Remainder f the Troops were disbanded.

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C. JULIUS. CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

CIVIL WAR

BOOK II.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Trebonius continues the Siege of Marseilles. III. Nasidius arrives with a Fleet to the Relief of the Town. IV. The Inhabitants repair their Fleet, and join it to that of Nasidius. V. A Sea Fight between Brutus and the People of Marseilles. VI. In which the latter are defeated. VIII. Trebonius raises a prodigious Tower ugainst the Town. IX. Likewise a Musculus of uncommon Size. X. By which a Tower belonging to the Enemy is overthreaun. XI. Upon this the Besieged demand a Truce. XIII. Which they afterwards break, and in a sudden Sally, burn Trebonius's Works. XIV. Trebonius, with wonderful Expedition, raises a new and amazing Terrass. XV. Upon which the Besteged again treat of a Surrender. XVI. Mean-while M. Varro in Farther Spain prepares to oppose Cæsar. XVII. Casiar jummons a general Assembly of the States at Corduba. XVIII. Varro, deserted by bis Troops, gees over to Cæsar. XIX. Cæsar having reduced Spain, arrives before Marfeilles. XX. The Mar-seillians surrender. L. Domitius escapes by Sea. XXI. About the same Time C. Curio sets out for Africa. XXII. Where, at first, he wars successfully against Varus. XXXIV. But afterwards, Varus, baving received Supplies-from King Juba, he rashly ventures a a Battle; where, after some Advantages in the Be-ginning, by Means of his Cavalry, he is at last cut off with his whole Army.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's COMMENTARIES

OF THE

CIVIL WAR.

BOOK II.

HILE these Things passed in Spain, Trebenius, Cæsar's Lieutenant, who had been lest to carry on the Siege of Marseilles, raised Terrasses for two different Attacks, and approached with his Towers and Galleries. One of the Attacks was on the Side of the Port; the other towards the Mouth of the Rhone, which empties itself into the Sea bordering upon Spain and Gaul. For Marseilles is washed by the Sea on three Sides, and can be approached by Land only on the sourth; of which that Park where the Catadel stands, being very strong by Nature, because of a deep Valley that runs before it, requires a long and dissicult Siege. For the completing of the Works, Trebonius drew together, from all Part of the Province, a great Number of Workman and easts of Carriage; ordered Wood and Osiers to be brought; and having prepared all Things necessary, raised a Cerrais eighty Foot high.

II. But so well was the Town provided with all Requisites of War, and so great was the Multitude of Machines to annoy the Besiegers, that no Mantles were sufficient to withstand their Violence. For they had X 2 wooden

wooden Bars twelve Foot in Length, armed at the Point with Iron, which were shot with such Force from their Balistæ, that they pierced four Rows of Hurdles, and entered a confiderable Way into the Ground. To refist the Violence of these Batteries, the Besiegers made use of Galleries, whose Roc's consisted of Pieces of Wood of about a Foot in Thic ness, strongly compacted together. Under this Cover, th: Materials necessary for raising the Terrass were conveyed: And a Tortoise fixty Foot long, composed of strong Berms, and armed with every Thing necessary to defend it against Fire and Stones, went before to level the Ground. But in spite of all Endeavours; the Greatness of the Works, the Height of the Wall and Towers, and the Multitude of Machines made use of by the Besieged, greatly retarded the Approaches. Besides, the Mountaineers made frequent Sallies, and set fire to the Towers and Mount: Which though our Men eafily fuftained, driving them back with great Loss into the Town, yet failed not very much to incommode the Works.

III. In the mean-time L. Nasidius, sent by Pompey to the Assistance of Domitius and the Massisians, with a Fleet of sixteen Ships, some of which were strengthened with Beaks of Brass; passed the Staits of Sicily unknown to Curio, landed at Messana, and raised so great a Terror in the Place, that being abandoned by the Senate and principal Inhabitants, he found Means to carry off one of their Gallies: And joining it to his own Fleet, steered directly for Marseilles; having dispatched a Frigate before, to apprize Domitius and the Inhabitants of his coming, and press them to hazard a second Engagement with Brutus, when they should be reinforced by his Fleet.

IV. THE Massilians, after their late Defeat, had drawn as many old Ships out of the Doc... as they had lost in the Engagement; and repaired and with wondrous Expedition. They were likewise well provided with Rowers and Pilots; and 'ad prepared a Number of Fishing-barks, which they filled with Archers and Engines, and strengthened with Roofs, to shelter the Rowers from the Enemy's Darts. The Fleet being equipped in this Manner; the Massilians, animated by

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the Prayers and Tears of their old Men, Matrons, and Virgins, to exert themselves in Defence of their Country in so pressing a Conjuncture; embarked with no less Confidence and Assurance, than they had done before their late Defeat. For such is the Weakness of the human Mind, that Things dark, hilden, and unknown, always produce in us a greater De gree of Confidence or Terror; as happened in the preser: Case: For the Arrival of Nasidius had filled all Mon with an uncommon Share of Hope and Eagerness. The Wind springing up fair, they set Sail, and rendezvoused at Tauroenta, a Castle belonging to the Town, where Nasidius lay with his Fleet. Here they put their Ships in Order, armed themselves with Courage for a second Encounter, and entering readily into all the Measures proposed by Nasidius, left to him the Command of the left Wing, and stationed themselves upon the right.

V. BRUTUS sailed to meet them with his Fleet considerably increased; for besides the Ships which Casar had caused to be built at Arles, he had also joined to it fix more taken from the Massilians, which he had resitted and rigged fince the late Action. Wherefore exhorting his Men to despise an Enemy, who had not been able to resist them when entire and unvanquished, he advanced against them full of Resolution and Confidence. It was easy to discern from Trebonius's Camp, and the Eminences around it, what passed in the Town. All the Youth that were left, the old Men, the Women, Children, and even the Guards upon the Walls, extending their Hands to Heaven, or repairing to the Temples, and prostrating themselves at the Altars, besought the Gods to grant them Victory. Nor was there a Man among them who did not believe, that their Safety depended wholly on the Issue of that Day's Action. For the Choice of meir Youth, and the most considerable Men of their City, were all on board the Fleet: Infomuch, th t in case of any Disaster, they had no Resource left: But Yould they obtain the Victory, they were in hopes of preserving their City, either by their own Forces, or the Reinforcements they expected from without.

VI. ACCORDINGLY in the Engagement, they behaved with the most determined Courage. The Re-X 3 membrance

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brance of what their Wives and Children had represented to them at their Departure served to exalt their Bravery, in a full Persuasion, that this was the last Opportunity they should have of exerting themselves in Defence of their Country; and that if they fell in the Engagement, their Fellow-citizens could not long furvive tuem, as their late must be the same upon the taking of the Town. Our Ships being at some Distance from each other, both gave the Enemy's Pilots an Opportunity of shewing their Address in working their Vesfels, and flying to the Affiftance of their Friends, when they were laid hold on by our grappling Hooks. And indeed, when it came to a close Fight, they seconded the Mountaineers with wonderful Resolution, and in Bravery seemed to yield but little to our Men. At the same Time, a great Quantity of Darts poured incessantly from their smaller Frigates, wounded a great many of our Rowers, and fuch of the Soldiers as were without Shelter. Two of their Gallies fell upon that of Brutus, which was eafily diftinguished by its Flag: But though they attacked him on both Sides, he extricated himself with such Agility and Address, as in a short Time to get a little before; which made them run foul of each other fo violently, that they were both confiderably shattered; one in particular had its Beak broken, and was in a manner totally crushed; which being observed by those of our Fleet that lay nearest, they suddenly fell upon and funk them, before they could recover out of their Diforder.

VII. In this Encounter, the Ships under Nasidit's were of no manner of Service to the Massilians, but quickly retired out of the Fight. For as they were neither animated by the Sight of their Country, nor the Intreaties of their Relations, they were not very forward to expose their Lives to Hazard, but escaped without Hurt from the Combat. The national had five Ships sunk, and sour taken. One escape to the Coast of Hither Spain with those of Nasidius. Of the rest that remained, one was immediately impatched to Marseilles, to carry thither the News of the Descat. As soon as it drew near the Town, all the Inhabitants stocked out, to know what had passed; and being informed of it, appeared no less dejected, than if the City

had been taken by Storm. However, they still continued their Preparations for the Defence of the Place with as much Diligence as ever.

VIII. THE Legionaries who had the Charge of the Works on the Right perceived, that a Tower of Brick, built at a little Distance from the Walls, would be of great Service to shelter them fron the frequent Sallies of the Enemy. At first they mad it very low and small, to guard against sudden Incursions. Hither they retired in case of Danger: Here they desended themselves against the most obstinate Attacks of the Enemy; nay, even asfaulted them in their Turn, repulsed and pursued them. This Tower was of a square Form, thirty Foot every Way, allowing for the Thickness of the Walls, which might be about five Foot. Afterwards, (being instructed by Experience, which is the best of Teachers,) they plainly perceived, that the higher it was carried, the more serviceable it would prove. The Manner of effecting it was thus: When the Work was raised to the Height of one Story, they laid a Floor over it, the Extremities of whose Beams were concealed in the Thickness of the Wall; that they might not, by appearing on the Outside, be liable to be set on fire. Thence they continued the Wall directly upwards, as far as their Galleries and Mantles would allow. Here they laid two Beams cross-wife, whose Extremities almost reached the Angles of the Wall, for supporting the Floor, which was to serve as a Roof to the whole. Over these Beams they laid the Joists of the Roof, and boarded them with Planks. The Roof was so contrived as to project a little beyond the Wall, in order to suspend from it what might be necessary to shelter the Workmen, while employed in completing the Story. This Floor was p.ved with Tiles and Clay, to render it proof against Fire; and had besides a Covering of strong Mattrettes, to break the Force I Stones and Darte. At the same Time they Espeni I from the Beams of the Roof, that projected beyond to Wall, Curtains made of strong Cables, wove to the Depr of four Feet, and which went round the three Sides of the Tower that were exposed to the Engines of the Enemy; having xp rienced on former (.ccasions that this Kind of Cover was impenetrable to any Dart or Engine whatever. When this Part of the X 4 Tower

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Tower was finished, roosed, and sheltered from the Enemy's Blows, they removed their Mantles to another; and by means of Engines elevated the Roos entire from the first Story, as far as the Curtains would allow. There, secure from all Insure, they laboured at the Wall; elevating the Roos a second Time, and thereby enabling themselves both to continue the Work, and lay the interjacent Floors. In his Manner they proceeded from Story to Story, mounting them one upon another, till without Danger or Wounds, they had completed the Number of six; leaving Loop-holes in convenient Places, for the Engines to play through.

IX. WHEN by Means of this Tower, they thought they had fufficiently provided for the Security of the Works around it; they resolved to build a Gallery fixty Foot long, of Wood two Feet in Thickness, to extend from the Brick Tower to the Tower of the Enemy, and the very Walls of the Town. The Form of the Gallery was this: First, two Beams of equal Length were laid upon the Ground, at the Distance of four Feet from one another; and in these were fixed little Pillars five Foot high, joined at the Top by Beams designed to support the Roof of the Gallery. Over these were laid Rafters two Foot square, fastened strongly with Nails and Plates of Iron. The upper Part of the Roof was composed of square Laths, four Inches thick, which were placed at a finall Distance one from another, to bear the Tiles that were to be laid upon them. Thus was the whole finished with a sloping Roof, which being partly composed of Tiles and Mortar, was proof against Fire; and had besides a Covering of Hides, to hinder the Mortar from being washed away by Spouts of Water. Over all we threw strong Mattresses, to skreen the Hides from Fire and Stones. This Work was finished close by the Brick Tower, under Cover of four Mandes; and immediately carried forward upon Rollers, in the Manner Ships are I unched, till it unexpectedly reached the very Tower of the Enemy.

X. THE Massilians assonished at so threatening and unlooked-for a Machine, pushed forward with Levers the largest Stones they could find, and tumbled them from the Top of the Wall upon the Gallery. But the Strength

Strength of the Wood relisted the Violence of the Blows, so that they fell to the Ground without doing any Hurt. Observing this, they changed their Delign, and poured down upon us burning Barrels of Pitch and Tallow. But these likewise rolled along the Roof without Damage, and falling upon the Ground, were afterwards thrust away with Forks and long Poles. Mean-while our Soldiers, under Protection of the Gallery, were endeavouring with their Levers to undermine the Enemy's Tower. 'The Gallery itself was defended by the Tower of Brick, whence our Engines played without Intermission; insomuch that the Enemy, driven from their Tower and Walls, were at last obliged to abandon their Defence. By Degrees the Tower being undermined, Part of it fell down, and the rest was so thaken that it could not stand long.

XI. Upon this the Enemy, alarmed at so unexpected a Misfortune, discouraged by the Downfal of the Tower, awed by such a Testimony of the Wrath of the Gods, and dreading the Plunder and Devastation of their City; came forth in the Habit of Suppliants; and with outftretched Hands, befought the Compassion of the Army and Generals. At this new and unexpected Sight, all Acts of Hostility ceased; and the Soldiers laying aside their Ardor for the Fight, were eager to hear and get acquainted with the Proposals of the Enemy: Who arriving in Presence of the Army and Generals, threw themselves at their Feet, requesting them to suspend all further Operations, till Cajar's Arrival. They told them: "That as the Works were now completed, and the Tower destroyed, they were sensible the City " could no longer hold out; and therefore meant not to defend it: That in the mean-time, no Prejudice could arise to the Besiegers from this Respite; because, if they refused to submit upon Casar's coming, 66 he would have it in his Power to treat them as he pleased." They added, "That if the whole Tower should be brought down, it would be impossible to " hinder the Soldiers from yielding to the Defire of " Plunder, by breaking into and pillaging the Town." This, and much more of the same Nature (for the Maffilians are a learned People) they urged in a very moving and pathetick Strain.

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AII. THE Generals moved by these Remonstrances, drew off the Soldiers from the Works, discontinued the Attack, and contented themselves with posting Guards in convenient Places. Compassion occasioned a Kind of Truce till Cassar's Arrival; so that on neither Side were any Acts of Hostility committed, but every Thing was quiet and secure, as if the Siege had been at an End. For Cassar had carneilly recommended it to Trebonius by Letter, to prevent, if possible, the City's being taken by Storm; lest the Soldiers, irritated by their Revolt, and the Resistance they had found, should put all the Youth to the Sword, as they threatened to do. Nay, they were even then hardly restrained from breaking into the Town, and loudly murmured against Trebonius, for delaying a Conquest, which they looked upon as certain.

XIII. Bur the Massilians, a Nation without Faith. aimed at nothing farther in all this, than to find a Time and Opportunity to deceive us, and put in Practice the treacherous Purpose they had formed. For after some Days, our Men suspecting no Danger, but relying upon the good Faith of the Enemy; while some were retired to their Tents, others laid down to rest in the Trenches, overpowered by the long Fatigue they had undergone; and all the Arms laid up and removed out of Sight; fuddenly they fallied from the Town: and the Wind being high, and favourable to their Design, set fire to the Works. The Flame in a Moment spread itself on all Sides, infomuch that the Battery, the Mantles, the Tortoise, the Tower, the Machines, and the Gallery were entirely destroyed, before it was possible to difcover whence the Difaster arose. The Suddenness of the Accident made our Men immediately run to their Arms, where every one took what came first to hand, Some fallied out upon the Enemy, but were checked by the Arrows and Darts poured upon them from the Town; infomuch that the Massilians, sheltered by their Walls, burnt without any Difficulty the Tower of Brick and the Gallery. Thus the Labour of many Months was destroyed in an Instant, by the Treach by of an Enemy, and the Violence of the Wind. Next Day they made the fame Attempt, favoured by the fame Wind, and with vet greater Assurance, against the Tower and Terrals of the other Attack. They approached them boldly

boldly, and threw plenty of Fire upon them: but our Men, grown wife by their late Misfortune, had made all necessary Preparations for their Defence; so that after losing many Men, they were obliged to retreat into the City, without effecting their Purpose.

XIV. TREBONIUS immediately resolved to repair his Lofs, in which he found himfelf warmly seconded by the Zeal of the Soldiers. They faw the Works which had cost so much Labour and Toil destroyed by the Perfidy of a People, who made no Scruple of violating the most facred Engagements: they faw that their Credulity had been abused, and that they were become the Jest of their Enemies, which grieved and provoked them at the fame Time. But it was still dissicult to determine, whence they might be supplied with Wood, to repair all these Works. There was none in the Neighbourhood of Marseilles, the Trees having been all cut down for a great way round. They refolved therefore to raise a Terrafs of a new Kind, and fuch as History no where mentions before that Time. They raised two Walls of Brick, each fix Foot thick, and distant from one another nearly the Breadth of the former Mount. Over these they laid a Floor; and to render it firm, besides its being supported on either side, placed Pillars underneath between the Walls, to bear it up where it was weakest or had a greater Stress of Weight to support. There were moreover Cross-beams, which rested upon Niches in the Wall; and to render the feveral Floors proof against Fire, Hurdles were laid over them, which were afterwards covered with Clay. The Soldiers thus sheltered over head by the Roof, on the Right and Left by Walls, and before by a Breaft-work, brought the necessary Materials without Danger; and by the Eagerness with which they laboured, soon completed the Whole; leaving Ouvertures in convenient Flaces, to fally out upon occasion.

Time, what they imagined must have cost us the Labour of many Days; that there was now no Hope left, either of deceiving us, or fallying out upon us with Success; that all the Approaches to the City by Land, night in like Manner be shut up by a Wall and Towers,

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Works, our Walls over-topping and commanding theirs, that they could neither discharge their Javelins, nor make any Use of their Engines, in which their principal Hope lay; and that they were now reduced to the Necessity of fighting us upon equal Terms, though conscious of their great Inferiority in point of Valour: they were forced to have recourse again to the same Conditions of Truce they had so ill bserved before.

XVI. M. VARRO in Farther Spain, having early Notice of what passed in Italy, and beginning to distrust the Success of Pompey's Affairs, spoke in a very friendly Manner of Cæsar. He said: "That he was indeed under particular Obligations to Pompey, who had made him his. Lieutenant-general; but at the same Time was no less indebted to Casar: That he was not igorant of the Duty of a Lieutenant, employed by his General in an Office of Trust; but that he likewise knew his own Strength, and the Attachment of the whole Province to Cæsar." After this Manner he talked in all Companies, nor declared expressly for either But when he afterwards understood, that Cæsar was detained by the Siege of Marseilles; that the Armies of Petreius and Afranius had joined, and daily grew Arronger by the Arrival of new Succours; that there was Room to hope for every Thing; that the hither Province had unanimously declared in their Favour; that Cæsar himself was reduced to great straits at Lerida: of all which Afranius wrote largely, magnifying his own Advantages; he began to alter with Fortune. He raised Troops over the whole Province; added thirty auxiliary Cohorts to the two Legions he had already under his Command; formed great Magazines of Corn to supply Marseilles, and the Armies under Afranius and Petreius; ordered the Gaditani to furnish him with ten Ships of War; caused a considerable Number to be built at Hispalis; sent all the Money and Ornaments he found in the Temple of Hercules to Cales; left there a Garrifon of fix Cohorts, under the Command of Caius Gallonius, a Roman Knight, the Friend of Domitius, who had sent him thither to look after an Inheritance of his; conveyed all the Arms, publick and private, to Gallonius's House; spoke every where disadvantageously of Cæfar;

Casar; declared several Times from his Tribunal, that Cafar had been worsted, and that many of his Soldiers had gone over to Afranius, as he was well affured by undoubted Testimonies: by all which, having struck 2 Terror into the Roman Citizens of that Province, he obliged them to promise him one hundred and minety thousand Sesterces, twenty thousand Weight of Silver, and one hundred and twenty thousand Bushels of The States well affected to Cafar he loaded with heavy Contributions; confiscated the Effects of fuch as had spoken against the Commonwealth; quartered Soldiers upon them; haraffed them with arbitrary Judgments; and in fine obliged the whole Province to take an Oath of Fidelity to himself and Pompey. Hearing of what had passed in Hither Spain, he presared for War. His Design was, to shut himself up with his two Legions in Cales, where all the Provisions and Shipping lay; because he very well understood, that the whole Province was in Cæsar's Interest: for he judged it would be easy in that Island, with the Ships and Provisions he had, to draw out the War into length.

XVII. CÆSAR, though called upon by many and necessary Affairs to return to Italy, resolved however not to leave Spain, till he had entirely quelled the War in that Province: for he knew that Hither Spain had many Obligations to Pompey, and that most of the In habitants were strongly in his Interest. Having therefore detached two Legions into Farther Spain, under the Command of Q. Cassius, Tribune of the People, he himfelf advanced by great Journeys at the Head of fix hundred Horse. He sent Orders before to the Magistrates, and the principal Men of every State, to meet him by a certain Day at Cordova. All obeyed: every State sent its Deputies: nor was there a fingle Roman Citizen of any Consideration, who did not repair thither on this The very Senate of Cordova, of their own proper Motion, shut their Gates against Varro, stationed Guards and Sentinels along the Walls, and detained two Cohorts called Calonica, which chanced to march that way, that they might serve to protect the Town. At the same time those of Carmona, the most considerable State in the Province, drove out of their City three Cohorts.

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Cohorts, which Varre had left to garrison the Citadel, and shut their Gates against them.

XVIII. This determined Varro to make all possible Difpatch, that he might reach Cales as foon as possible, lest his March should be intercepted; so great and apparent was the Affection of the Province to Cafar. When he was advanced a little way, he received Letters from Cales, which informed him, "That as foon as "Cæsar's Edict was known, the principal Men of Cales, with the Tribunes of the Cohorts he had left in Gar-. rison, had conspired to drive Gallonius from the City, and preserve the Town and Island for Cafar: that this Project being formed, they had warned Gallonius to retire of his own accord, while he yet might with Safety; threatening, if he did not, to come to some immediate Resolution against him: that Gallonius; terrified by so general a Revolt, had accordingly left " Cales." Upon this Intelligence, one of the two Legions known by the Name of Vernacula, took up their Ensigns in Varro's Presence, quitted the Camp, and marched directly to Hispalis, where they fat down in the Market-place and Cloisters, without committing the least Act of Violence: which so wrought upon the Roman Citizens refiding in the Town, that every one was Jesirous of accommodating them in their Houses. Varro aftonished at these Proceedings, turned back with design to reach Italica, but was informed that the Gates were At last, finding himself surrounded on all Sides, and the Ways every where befet; he wrote to Cæsar; that he was ready to refign the Legion under his Command, to whomsoever he should order to receive it. Cafar fent Sextus Cafar to take the Command; and Varro having resigned the Legion accordingly, came to him at Cordova. After giving him an Account of the State of the Province, he faithfully refigned all the publick Money he had in his Hands, and informed him of the Quantity of Corn and Shipping he had prepared.

XIX. CASAR affembling the States at Cordova, returned Thanks severally to all who had declared in his Favour: to the Roman Citizens, for having made themselves Masters of the Town in his Name: to the Spa-

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niards, for driving out Pompey's Garrisons: to the People of Cales, for having frustrated the Designs of his Enemies, and asserted their own Liberty: to the military Tribunes and Centurions fent thither to guard the Place, for having confirmed them in their Resolutions by their Example. He remitted the Tribute imposed by Varro upon the Roman Citizens; restored their Estates to those who had been deprived of them for speaking their Thoughts freely; distributed Rewards to a great many both in publick and private; and gave all room to hope for like Favours in the Islus: After a Stay of two Days at Cordova, he went to Cales; where he restored to the Temple of Hercules all the Treatures and Ornaments which had been carried off, and lodged in private Houses. He committed the Government of the Province to Q. Cassius, assigned him four Legions for that Purpose; and embarking for Tarraco on board the Fleet which Varre had obliged the Gaditani to furnish, arrived there in a few Days. There he found Deputies from almost all the States of the Province: and having, in like manner as at Coracva, both publickly and privately rewarded fome States; he left Tarraco, came by Land to Narbonne, and thence to Marfeilles. There he was informed of the Law touching the Dictatorthip, and that M. Lepidus the Prætor had named him to that Office.

XX. THE Mufficians overwhelmed with a Profusion of Calamities; reduced to the utmost Distress by Famine; worsted in two different Engagements by Sea; weakened by continual Sailies; assaulted by a heavy Pestilence, occasioned by the Length of the Siege, and their constant change of Diet; (for they were obliged to feed upon old Meal and musty Barley, which had been long treasured up in their Magazines against an Accident of this Kind:) their Tower being overthrown; a great Part of their Walls undermined; and no Prospect of Relief from Armies or the Provinces, which were now all reduced under Cæsar's Power: they resolved to surrender in good earnest. But some Days before, Domitius, who was apprized of their Intentions, having prepared three Ships (two of which he affigned to his Followers, and embarked in perion on board the Third) took occasion during a Storm to make his Escape. Some of Brutus's Gallies, which he had ordered to keep constantly cruising

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to give chace. That in which Domitius was escaped under favour of the Tempest; but the two others, alarmed at seeing our Gallies so near them, re-entered the Port. Casar spared the Town, more in regard to its Antiquity and Reputation, than any real Merit it could plead. He obliged the Citizens however to deliver up their Arms, Machines, and Ships of War, whether in the Port or Arsenal: to surrender all the Money in their Treasury: and to receive a Garrison of two Legions. Then sending the rest of the Army into Italy, he himself set out for Rome.

XXI. ABOUT the same Time, C. Curio sailed from Sicily into Africa, with two of the four Legions, which had been put under his Command by Cæfar, and five hundred Horse; having conceived the highest Contempt of the Troops headed by P. Attius Varus. After two Days and three Nights failing, he landed at a Place called Aquilaria. This Place is about twenty-two Miles distant from Clupea, and has a very convenient Harbour for Ships in the Summer-time, sheltered on each Side by a Promontory. L. Cafar the Son waited for him at Clupea with ten Gallies, which P. Attius had taken in the War against the Pirates, and repaired at Utica, for the Service of the present War. But terrified at the Number of Ships Curic brought with him, he stood in for the Coast; where running his Galley on shore, he left her, and went by Land to Adrumetum. C. Considius Longus commanded in that Town with one Legion: and here also the rest of the Fleet repaired after Cæsar's Flight. M. Rufus the Quæstor pursuing them with twelve Gallies, which Curio had brought with him from Africa to guard the Transports; when he saw Cæsar's own Galley upon the Strand, he towed her off, and returned with the Fleet to Curio.

XXII. Curso ordered him to fail directly for Utica, and followed himself with the Land-army. After a March of two Days, he arrived at the River Bagradas, where he left C. Caninius Rebitus with the Legions, and advanced before with the Cavalry, to take a View of the Cornelian Camp, which was judged to be a Situation extremely advantageous. It is a high Rock, jutting out

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into the Sea, steep and rough on both Sides, but with an easier Descent where it fronts Utica. It lies little more than a Mile from Utica in a direct Line: but as thefe is a Fountain about half way, which runs towards the Sea, and overflowing the Plain, forms a Morafs, to avoid this, in marching to Utica, it is necessary to take a Compass of fix. Miles. When he had taken a View of this Post, he went next and examined Varus's Camp, which was under the Walls of the Town, towards the Gate named the Gate of IVar. The Situation of it was extremely advantageous; for on the one Side it was covered by the City of Utica itself, and on the other by a Kind of Theatre which stood without the Walls, the Works round which took up so much Room, that they rendered the Approach to the Camp extremely difficult. At the same Time he saw all the Ways crowded with People, who out of fear of being pillaged, were carrying their most valuable Effects into the City. He detached the Cavalry against them to disperse them, and likewise have an Opportunity of making some Booty. Upon which Varus ordered fix hundred Numidian Horse to advance to their Assistance, which he farther strengthened with four hundred Foot, sent by Juba a few Days before, to reinforce the Garrison of Utica. This King inherited from his Father an Affection for Pompey, and besides personally hated Curio, who, during his Tribuneship, had published a Law to deprive him of his Kingdom. The Numidian Cavalry foon came to Blows with ours; but were not able to stand their first Charge, retreating to their Camp with the Loss of an hundred and twenty Men. Mean-time, upon the Arrival of Curio's Fleet, he ordered Proclamation to be made among the Merchant Ships which were at Utica, to the Number of two Hundred, that he would treat them as Enemies, if they did not immediately repair to the Cornelian Camp. Upon this Proclamation they instantly weighed Anchor, and leaving Utica, sailed whither they vere ordered; by which Means the Army was plentifully supplied with every Thing they stood in need of.

XXIII. THESE Things dispatched, Curio repaired to his Camp at Bagrada, where with the joint Acclamations of the whole Army, he was saluted by the Name of Imperator. Next Day he led his Army towards Utica,

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and encamped not far from the Town. But before he had finished his Intrenchments, he was informed by some Parties of Horse, who were upon the Scout, that a powerful Body of Horse and Foot had been sent by the King to Utica: at the same Time a great Cloud of Dust began to appear, and soon after the Enemy's Van was in Curio, astonished at a Motion so unexpected, sent the Cavalry before to sustain their first Charge, and keep them in play: he, mean-while, drawing off the Legions from the Works with all possible Expedition, formed them in Order of Battle. The Horse engaged according to Orders; and with fuch Success, that before the Legions could be duly drawn up, the whole Reinforcement sent by the King, who marched without Order or Apprehension of Danger, falling into Confusion, at last betook themselves to slight. The Cavalry, wheeling nimbly along the Shore, escaped with little Loss into the Town: but great Numbers of the Infantry were cut to pieces.

XXIV. NEXT Night two Centurions of the Nation of the Marsi, with twenty-two private Soldiers, deserted from Curio, and went over to Attius Varus. These, either believing the Thing themselves, or desirous to carry grateful Tidings to Varus, (for we easily believe what we wish, and readily hope that others will fall into our Way of thinking,) assured him, that the whole Army was extremely averse to Curio, and would infallibly revolt, if he would but advance, and come to a Conference with them. Accordingly Varus drew out his Legions next Day. Curio did the same: and the two Armies stood sacing one another in Order of Battle, with a small Valley between them.

AXV. SEXTUS QUINTILIUS VARUS, who, as we have related above, had been made Prisoner at Corfinium, was now in the Enemy's Army: for Cæsar having granted him his Liberty, he had retired into Africa. Curio had brought over with him from Sicily the very same Legions who had revolted some Time before to Cæsar at the Siege of Corsinium: so that excepting a few Centurions who had been changed, the Officers and Companies were the same as had formerly served with this very Quintilius. He made use of this Handle to debauch the Army of Curio, "and began with putting the Soldiers in mind

of their former Oath to Domitius, and to himself, that General's Quæstor; he exhorted them not to carry "Arms against the old Companions of their Fortune, who had shared with them in all the Hazards of that Siege; nor fight in defence of that Party, who " treated them ignominiously, and as Deserters." these Considerations he added Offers of a liberal Recompense, if they would follow his Fortune and that of Attius. But his Speech made no Impression upon Curio's Troops, so that both Armies retired to their respective Camps.

XXVI. But an uncommon Panick foon spread itself over Curio's Camp, which the various Discourses of the Soldiers ferved only to increase. For every one had his Opinion, and added the Suggestions of his own Fear to that which he heard from others. These Reports spreading from one to many, and receiving Additions in every new Relation, there appeared to be several Authors of the same Notions: "That in a Civil War it was " lawful for every Soldier to choose what Side he pleas-" ed: That the same Legions who a little before had " fought on the Side of the Enemy, might without "Scruple return again to the same Cause, since Cæsar's " conferring Favours upon his Enemies, ought not to render them unmindful of prior and greater Obligac tions: That even the municipal Towns were divided " in their Affection, and fided some with one Party, " some with another." These Discourses proceeded not from the Marsi and Peligni alone, but ran like a Torrent through the whole Camp. However, some of the Soldiers blamed their Companions for this so great Freedom of Talk; and others, who affected to appear more diligent than the rest, enlarged in their Accounts of it to the Officers.

XXVII. For these Reasons Curio, summoning a Council of War, began to deliberate about the proper Remedies for this Evil. Some were for attacking at all Hazards the Camp of Varus, in order to find Employment for the Soldiers, whose Idleness they considered as the Cause of all the present Alarms. Besides, it was better, they said, to trust to Valour, and try the Fortune of a Battle, than see themselves abandoned by their Men, and

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delivered up to the Barbarity of the Enemy. Others were for retiring during the Night to the Cornelian Camp, where they would have more Time to cure the Infatuation of the Soldiers; and whence, in case of a Disaster, they could with more Safety and Ease make good their Retreat Into Sicily, by Means of the great Number of Ships they were there provided with. Curio relished neither of these Motions: the one, he thought, argued Cowardice; the other, a rash Boldness: to retreat, would have all the Appearance of a shameful Flight; to attack, they must resolve to fight in a Place of Disadvan-"With what Hope, said he, can we attack a " Camp fortified by Nature and Art? And what Adwantage can we draw from an Attempt, whence we " shall be obliged to retire with Loss? Does not Success always secure to a General the Affection of his "Troops, whereas ill Fortune is evermore followed with Contempt? And what would a Decampment " imply but an ignominious Flight, an absolute De-" spair of all Things, and an unavoidable Alienation of " the whole Army? That we ought not to let the Mo-" dest think we distrust them, nor the Insolent that we " fear them; because the Knowledge of our Fear only 46 augments the Presumption of the one; and an Apprehension of being suspected abates the Zeal of the . other. But if what is reported of the Discontent of the Army be true, which I am yet unwilling to be-66 lieve, at least to the Degree some pretend; we ought " for that Reason rather to hide and dissemble our "Fears, than by an unreasonable Discovery of them to " add Strength to the Evil: That as in some Cases it was necessary to conceal the Wounds of the Body, " that the Enemy might not conceive Hope from our " Misfortunes; so also ought we to hide the Indisposi-" tion of an Army: That by retreating in the Night, " as some proposed, they would only furnish a fairer " Occasion to the ill-affected to execute their Purpose: " for Fear and Shame are powerful Restraints by Day, " but Night entirely divests them of their Force: That " he was neither so rash, as to attack a Camp without 66 Hopes of Success; nor so blinded by Fear, as to be " at a los what Measures to pursue: That he thought " it his Duty to examine Things to the Bottom; and " as he had called them together to deliberate upon the er prefent

or present State of Affairs, doubted not, with their Asfistance, to take such Measures as would be attended
with Success."

XXVIII. HE then dismissed the Council: and assembling the Soldiers, put them in mind of what Advantage their Steadiness and Zeal had been to Casar at Corfinium, and how serviceable towards the Conquest of the greatest Part of Italy. " It was you, said he, that " gave the Example, and all the municipal Towns foon " followed: their Submittion to Cafar was your Work: " and therefore it is not without Reason, that he is so particularly attached to you, and that Pompey hates "you fincerely. It was you that obliged him to quit "Italy, without being forced to it by the Lois of a "Battle. Cæsar, who ranks me in the Number of his " dearest Friends, has committed my Safety to your "Care, with Sicily and Africa, without which it would be impossible to defend either Rome or Italy. You are " now in the Presence of those who exhort you to aban-"don us: and indeed what could be more defirable to "them, than at the same Time to ensnare us, and fix " upon you the Stain of an infamous Crime? What. " worse Opinion could an enraged Enemy testify of you, " than to suppose you capable of betraying those, who " own themselves indebted to you for all; and of throw-"ing yourselves into the Power of a Party who consi-" der you as the Authors of all their Misfortunes? Are "you Strangers to Cæsar's Explaits in Spain? Two "Armies defeated? Two Generals overcome? Two " Provinces brought under Subjection? And all this " in the Space of forty Days, after Cæsar came within " fight of the Enemy. Is it likely that those, who " with Forces unbroken could not stand their Ground, " will be able to resist, now they are vanquished? And " will you, who followed Cafar before Fortune de-" clared in his Favour, now return to the Vanquished, when Fortune has already decided the Quarrel, and you are upon the Point of obtaining the Reward of your Services? They charge you with having abandoned and betrayed them, contrary to the Faith of " Oaths. But is it indeed true that you abandoned Do-" mitius? Or did not he rather meanly abandon you, at 46 a Time when you were ready to suffer every Thing for

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46 his Sake? Did he not, unknown to you, resolve to " feek his Safety in Flight? And were you not, after being thus basely betrayed by him, indebted to Ca-" far's Goodness for your Preservation? How could your Oath bind you to one, who after throwing away " the Enfigns of his Authority, and divesting himself of his Office, surrendered himself a private Man and a "Captive into the Power of another? The new Engagement you were then brought under alone subsists at present, and ought quite to obliterate that, which 66 the Surrender of your General, and his Loss of Liberty, have made void. But though I doubt not of your being satisfied with Casar, you may perhaps have taken Offence at me. And, indeed, I have no " thought of mentioning any Services I may have done vou: which, as yet, come far short of my Intentions, and your Expectations: but you are not ignorant, 66 that the Rewards of military Service come not till after the Conclusion of the War; and I believe you "Ittle doubt what the Issue of this will be. Nor need "I on this Occasion decline taking Notice of the Diligence I have used, the Progress already made, and the ee good Fortune that has hitherto attended me. Are vou diffatisfied that I have landed my Army safe in " Africa, without the Loss of a single Ship? That I " dispersed the Enemy's Fleet at the first Onset? That within the Space of two Days I have twice defeated their Cavalry? That I forced two hundred of their Merchantmen to quit the Port of Utica and join me? and that I have reduced them to a Situation where it is " impossible for them to receive any Supplies either by ce Land or Sea? Can you think of abandoning a Cause conducted by fuch Leaders, and attended with fuch 66 Success; to follow the Fortune of those who so ignoe miniously delivered up Corfinium, relinquished Italy, furrendered Spain, and have already sustained confi-"derable Losses in the African War? I never pre-" tended to more than being a Follower of Cæsar: it was you that honoured me with the Title of Impira-" tor; which I am this Moment ready to resign, if you think me unworthy of the Favour. Restore me my former Name, that it may not be faid I was honoured to be covered afterwards with the greater Igno-" miny."

XXIX. THERE

XXIX. THESE Remonstrances made such an Impression upon the Soldiers, that they frequently interrupted him while he was speaking, and appeared deeply touched at his suspecting their Fidelity. As he retired, they all gathered round him, exhorting him not to be discouraged, or scruple to hazard a Battle, and make Trial of their Fidelity and Bravery. This Behaviour of the Troops wrought so great a Change in the Minds of the Officers, that Curio, with the joint Concurrence of them all, resolved to give Bartle the first Opportunity that offered. Accordingly drawing out his Men next Day, in the same Place he had done for some time past, he ranged them in Order of Battle. Attius Varus did the same; that if an Opportunity offered, either of corrupting the Soldiers, or fighting to advantage, he might be in readiness to lay hold of it.

XXX. BETWEEN the two Armies lay a Valley, as we have observed above; not indeed considerable for its Breadth, but steep and difficult of Ascent. Both Sides waited till the other should pass it, that they might engage to more Advantage. Curio observing that all the Horse on Varus's right Wing, together with the lightarmed Foot, had ventured down into this Valley; detached his Cavalry against them, with two Cohorts of Marrucinians; whose first Shock the Enemy were not able to sustain, but returned full speed to their own Men, leaving the light-armed Foot behind, who were furrounded and cut to Pieces in fight of Varus's Army; which fronting that Way, was Witness to the Flight of the one, and Slaughter of the other. Upon this Rebilus, one of Cæsar's Lieutenants, whom Curio had brought with him from Sicily, on account of his confummate Knowledge in the Art of War; " Why, fays he, do you delay " seizing the favourable Moment? You see the Enemy " struck with Terror." Curio made no Answer, only defired his Soldiers to remember what they had promited the Day before; and marching the first, commanded them to follow him. The Valley was folloep and difficult, that the first Ranks could not ascend, but with the Assistance of those that came after. But the Attinian Army was fo dispirited with Fear, and the Flight and Slaughter of their Troops, that they never thought of making Resistance; fancying themselves already sur-: ounded

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rounded by our Cavalry: so that before we could arrive within Reach of Dart, the whole Army of Varus sled, and retreated to their Camp.

XXXI. In this Flight, one Fabius Pelignus, a Centurion of the lowest Rank in Curio's Army, as he was pursuing the Fugitives, called with a loud Voice to Varus, as if he had been one of his own Men, who wanted to admonish him of something. Varus, hearing himself named several Times, turned and stood still, demanding who he was, and what he wanted. Fabius aimed a Blow at his Breast with his Sword, and would certainly have killed him, had not Varus warded it off with his Shield. Fabius himself was soon after furrounded and flain. Mean-while the Multitude of Fugitives so closed up the Gates of the Camp, and pressed upon one another in such a Manner, that more were crowded to Death, than fell either in the Battle or Pursuit. Nay, the Camp itself was very near being taken; because great Numbers, instead of stopping there to defend it, made directly for the Town. But both the Nature of the Ground, and the Fortifications themselves, prevented the Assault; and the rather, as Curio's Soldiers being armed only for Battle, had brought with them none of the necessary Tools to force a Camp. Curio brought back his Army without the Loss of a Man, Fabius excepted: of the Enemy about fix hundred were killed, and a thousand wounded. After Curio had drawn off his Men, all the wounded quitted the Camp, and retired into the City, as did a great many others, who, overcome by Fear, sheltered themselves there also under the same Pretence. Varus-observing this, and that an universal Dread had seized the Army; left only a Trumpet in the Camp, with a few Tents for Shew; and about Midnight, filently entered the Town with all his Forces.

and draw a Line of Circumvallation round it. There was in the Town a Multitude of Men unfit for the Fatigues of War, through a long Enjoyment of Peace. The Inhabitants themselves were strongly attached to Casar, for ancient Favours received from him. The Senate was composed of People greatly differing in their Tempers,

Tempers, and the Losses already sustained spread Terror through all Ranks. A Surrender was publickly talked of; and all concurred in soliciting Varus not to ruin them by his Obstinacy and Perverseness. While these Things were in agitation, Messengers sent by King Juba arrived, who informed them of the Approach of his Army, and exhorted them to defend the City; which contributed not a little to consirm their wavering Minds.

XXXIII. Curio received the same News; but for some Time would not believe it, so greatly did he conside in his good Fortune. Besides, Cæsar's Success in Spain was already known in Africa; whence he concluded it improbable that Juba would attempt any Thing against him. But when he was for certain informed of his being within twenty-five Miles of Utica with his whole Army, he retired from before the Town to the Cornelian Camp, laid in great Quantities of Corn and Wood, began to fortify himself, and sent directly to Sicily for the Cavalry, and the two Legions he had left there. The Camp itself was very advantageous for protracting the War; being strong both by Nature and Art, near the Sea, and abounding in Water and Salt, great Quantities of which had been carried thither from the neighbouring Salt-pits. Neither ran he any Hazard of being straitened for Wood and Corn, as the Country abounded in Trees and Grain. He resolved therefore. with the Consent of the whole Army, to wait here the Arrival of the rest of the Troops, and make Preparation for continuing the War.

XXXIV. This Resolution being taken, and meeting with a general Approbation; some of the Townsmen, who he had deserted to Curio, informed him, that the War in which Juba was engaged with the Leptitani, having obliged him to return into his own Kingdom, he had only sent his Lieutenant Sabura, with a small Body of Forces, to the Assistance of the Uticans. Upon this Intelligence, to which he too hastily gave Credit, he changed his Design and resolved to give Battle. The Fire of Youth, his Courage, good Success, and Self-considence, contributed greatly to consist him in this Resolution. Urged by these Considerations, about

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the Beginning of the Night, he fent all his Cavalry towards the Enemy's Camp, which was upon the River Bagradas, and where Sabura, of whom we have spoken before, commanded in chief. But the King sollowed with all his Forces, and was not above six Miles behind him. The Cavalry which Curio had detached, marched all Night, and coming unexpectedly upon the Enemy, attacked them before they were ready to receive the Charge: for the Numidians, according to the Custom of that barbarous Country, were encamped without Order or Rule. Falling upon them, therefore, in this Consustant of the Consustant of the Sleep, they slew great Numbers, and obliged the rest to sty in the utmost Construction: after which they returned to Curio, with the Prisoners they had taken.

XXXV. CURIO had fet out with all his Forces about the fourth Watch of the Night, leaving only five Cohorts to guard his Camp. After a March of fix Miles he was met by his Cavalry, who informed him of all that had passed. He asked the Prisoners, Who commanded at Bagradas? they answered, Sabura. Upon this, without making any farther Enquiries, for fear of being detained too long, he turned to the Troops next to him, and said: "Do you not sec, Fellow-soldiers, that the Report of the Prisoners corresponds exactly with the Intelligence given by the Deferters? Juba is not with the Army. It must consist of but a few Troops, " fince they were not able to withstand the Charge of a " small Body of Forse. Haste, therefore, in the Pursuit " of Glory, Booty, and Victory." What the Cavalry had done was indeed confiderable, because they were but few in Number in Comparison of the Numidians: but as Vanity always makes us believe our Merit to be greater than it is, they themselves boasted immoderately of the Action, and endeavoured to enhance the Value of it. They made a mighty Parade of the Booty. The Prisoners too, as well Infantry as Cavalry, marched in Procession before them. And indeed the whole Army imagined, that to delay the Battle was no other than to delay the Victory: so that the Ardor of the Troops perfectly seconded Curio's Hopes. He therefore hastened his March, ordering the Horse to follow, that he might as foon as possible come up with the frighted Enemy. But

But as they were fatigued with their late March, they found themselves unable to keep pace with the Army; but stopped, some in one Place, some in another: which, however, retarded not Curio's Hopes.

Action in the Night, detached to his Affistance two thousand Spanish and Gallick Horse, of his ordinary Guard, with that Part of the Infantry in which he put the greatest Considence. Himself followed leisurely with the rest of the Troops, and about forty Elephants; suspecting that Curio, who had sent the Cavalry before, could not be far off with his Army. Sabura drew up his Horse and Foot, ordering them to give Ground upon the Enemy's Attack; and, as through Fear, counterfeit a Flight. Mean-while he told them, that he would give the Signal of Battle when he saw proper, and direct their Motions as the Case might require.

XXXVII. CURIO flattered with new Hopes, and imagining by the Enemy's Motions, that they were preparing for Flight, made his Troops come down from the Mountain into the Plain; and advancing still farther, though his Army was already very much fatigued, having marched upwards of fixteen Miles, halted at last to give the Men breath. That Moment Sabura founded the Charge, led on his Men in Order of Battle, and went from Rank to Rank to animate the Troops: but he fuffered only the Cavalry to come to Blows, keeping the. Infantry at a Distance within Sight. Curio was not wanting on his Side, but exhorted his Men to place all their Hopes in their Valour. And indeed neither the Infantry, though fatigued with their March; nor the Cavalry, though few in Number, and spent with Toil, shewed any Want of Valour, or Backwardness to fight: though the last, in particular, did no exceed two Hundred; the rest having stopt by the Way. These, wherever they attacked the Enemy, obliged them to give Ground: but they could neither pursue far, nor drive their Horses on with Impetuosity. On the other Hand, the Numidian Cavalry began to furround our Men, and charge them in the Rear. When the Cohorts advanced against them, they fell back, and by the Quickness of their Retreat, eluded the Charge; but immediately returning,

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returning, they got behind our Men, and cut them off from the rest of the Army. Thus it was equally dangerous for them to maintain their Ranks, or advance to Battle. The Enemy's Forces increased continually, by the Reinforcements sent from the King: ours, on the contrary, were disabled by Fatigue. Neither could our wounded Men retire, or be sent to any Place of Sasety, the whole Army being invested by the Enemy's Horse. These despairing of Sasety; as is usual for Men in the last Moments of Life, either lamented their own Fate, or recommended their Relations to their Fellow-Soldiers, if any should be so fortunate as to escape that Danger. The whole Army was filled with Coinsternation and Grief.

XXXVIII. CURIO perceiving the general Alarm, and that neither his Exhortations nor Prayers were regarded, ordered the Troops to retire with the Standards to the nearest Mountains, as the only Resource in the present Exigence. But the Cavalry detached by Sabura had already seized them. All Hope being now lost, some were flain endeavouring to fly: others threw themselves upon the Ground, partly in Despair, partly unable to make any Efforts for their own Safety. At this Moment Cn. Domitius, who commanded the Horse, addressing Curio, intreated him to regain his Camp with the few Cavalry that remained, promising not to abandon him. " Can I, fays Curio, look Cafar " in the Face, after having lost an Army he had committed to my Charge?" So faying, he continued fighting till he was flain. Very few of the Cavalry escaped, those only excepted who had stopt to refresh their Horses: for perceiving at a Distance the Rout of the whole Army, they returned to their Camp. All the Infantry were flain to a Man.

XXXIX. WHEN this Difaster was known, M. Rufus, the Quæstor, whom Curio had left to guard the Camp, intreated his Men not to lose Courage. They begged and requested him to reconduct them into Sicily; which he promised: and ordered the Masters of the Transports to have their Ships in readiness at Night along the Shore. But Fear had so universally seized the Minds of the Soldiers, that some cried out Juba was arrived

arrived with his Troops; some that Varus approached with the Legions, the Dust of whose March they pretended to difcern; and others, that the Enemy's Fleet would be upon them in an Instant; though there was not the least Ground for these Reports. The Consternation thus becoming general, each Man thought only of his own Safety. Those who were already embarked failed immediately: and their Flight drew after it that of the Transports; so that only a very few small Frigates obeyed the Summons, and came to the general Rendezvous. The Disorder was so great upon the Shore, eyery one striving who should first embark, that many Boats sunk under the Crowd, and others were afraid to come near the Land.

XL. Thus only a few Soldiers and aged Men, who either through Interest or Compassion were received on board, or had Strength enough to swim to the Transports, got safe to Sicily. The rest deputing their Centurions to Varus by Night, surrendered to him. Juba coming up next Day, claimed them as his Property, put the greater Number to the Sword, and sent a few of the most considerable, whom he had selected for that Purpose, into Numidia. Varus complained of this Violation of his Faith; but durst not make any Resistance. The King made his Entrance into the City on Horieback, followed by a great Number of Senators, among whom was Servius Sulpicius, and Licinius Damasippus. Here he stayed a few Days, to give what Orders he thought necessary: and then returned with all his Forces into his own Kingdom.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

CIVIL WAR.

BOOK III.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Cæsar reverses some Judgments given upon Persons for Bribery at Elections. II. He fets out for Brundulium. III. Pompey's mighty Preparations for War. IV. Cæsar embarks, and arrives at the Promontory of Ceraunium. V1. His Fleet returning to Brundufium, is intercepted by the Enemy. VII. M. Occavius, one of Pompey's Adherents, laving Siege to Salona, is obliged, by a sudden Sally of the Inhabitants, to abandon his Lines. VIII. Cæsar's Embassy to Pompey with Pro-posals of Peace. IX. Cæsar makes himself Master of Oricum. X. Also of Apolionia, and the whole Country round about. X1. Cæsar and Pompey encamp overagainst each other on the Banks of the River Apsus. XII. Cæsar's Transports sailing from Brundusium, put back immediately for fear of the Enemy. XIII. Pom-pey's Fleet reduced to great Straits. XIV. Cenferences fet on fost about a Peace, which come to nothing. XV. Bibulus, Admiral of Pompey's Flect, dies. XVI. Pompey's Answer to Cælar's Proposals of Peace. XVII. The Conferences about a Peace renewed, but without Effect. XVIII. A Commotion in Rome. XXI. Libo, one of Pompey's Followers, blocks up the Port of Brundusium with a Fleet. XXII. But by the Valour and Conduct of Antony is forced to quit his Project. XXIII. Antony and Kalenus transport Cæsar's Troops to Greece with wenderful good Success. XXVII. Pompey, to avoid being fout up between two Armies, retires to Asparagium. XXVIII. Scipio, a Partizan of Pompey, behaves very tyrannically in Asia. XXIX. The Motions of Cæsar's Lieutenants in Thessaly, Ætolia, and Macedonia. XXXIV. Young Pompey Furns Cæsar's Fleet in the Port of Or cum. XXXV. Cæsar cuts off Pompey's Communication with Dyrrhachium. XXXVI. And besieges him in his Camp. XXXIX. Many Attempts and Dispositions on both Sides, with verious Turns of Fortune. KL. Cæsar's Troops distressed for want of Corn, make Bread of a certain Rost. XLIII. Pompey repulsed in a Sally. XLVII. Kalenus, one of Caetar's Lieutenants, possesses himself of several Tewns in Achaia. XLVIII. Cæsar offers Pompey Buttle. XLIX. Another Embelly with Proposals of Peace, which are rejected. L. Pompey, destressed for want of Farage, rejelves to break through Cafar's Lines. L1. Koscillus and Ægus, difgujted at jome Check they had

THE ARGUMENT.

Pompey breaks through Cæsar's Lines, after making great Slaughter of his Troops. LXI. Cæsar design. from the Design of inclosing Pompey, and makes a Speech to his Men. I.XII. Cæfar retires to Asparagium, and is followed by Pompey. LXV. Thence to Apollonia. LXVII. And then to Gomphi, a Town of Thessaly; which refusing to open its Gates, is taken by Assault the first Day. LXVIII. Metropolis submits, and their Example is followed by other Theffalian States. LXIX. Pompey arrives in Thesialy, elated with his Success, and consident of Victory. LXX. Cæsar resolves to give battle. His Resintien with respect to his Cavalry. I.XXII. Pompey likewife resolves to give battle, and boasts of an affired Victory. LXXIII. The Disposition of Pompey's Army. I.XXIV. The Disposition of Cæsar's. LXXV. Cæsar's Speech to his Soldiers. LXXVI. The Battle of Pharsalia, in which Cæsar obtains a complete Victory. LXXVII. Cæsar makes himself Master of Pompey's Camp. LXXVIII. Where he finds great Riches. LXXIX. Pompey's Flight. LXXX. Cæsar pursues Pompey's Troops, and obliges them to surrender. LXXXI. The Number of Men killed on each Side. LXXXII. Mean-while Lælius, a Follower of Pompey, blacks up the Port of Brundusium with a Fleet. LXXXIII. And Cassius burns some Ships in Sicily telonging to Cæsar. LXXXIV. Cæsar pursues Pompey. LXXXV. Pompey flying to Pelusium, is murdered there by some of King Ptolemy's Court. LXXXVI. Some Prodigies that happened on the Day of Cæsar's Victory. LXXXVII. Cæsar pursuing Pompey to Alexandria, lears there the News of his Death. LXXXVIII. And is unexpectedly entangled in a new War.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR's COMMENTARIES

OF THE

CIVIL WAR.

BOOK III.

I. C ESAR, as Dictator, holding the Comitia, Julius Cæsar, and P. Servilius, were chosen Confuls: For this was the Year in which he could be elected to that Magistracy, consistent with the Laws. This Affair being dispatched; as Cafar faw publick Credit at a Stand, over all Italy, because nobody paid their Debts; he ordered that Arbiters should be chose, who should make an Estimate of the Possessions of all Debtors, and should convey them in Payment to their Creditors, at the Price they bore before the War. This Regulation he thought best calculated to restore publick Credit, and prevent the Apprehenion of a general Abolition of Debts, which is but too common a Consequence of Wars and civil Diffensions. At the same Time, in consequence of an Address to the People, he re-established the Frætors and Tribunes, who had been deprived upon a Charge of Bribery, at a Time when Pempey awed the City by his Legions. These Decisions were so little conformable to Law, that Sentence was often pronounced by a Party of Judges, different from those who attended the Pleadings. As these had made him an Offer of their Service in the Beginning of the War, he accounted the Obligation the same as if he had actually accepted of their Friendship: But thought it better their Restoration lhould Z 2

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should seem to flow from the People, than appear a mere Act of Bounty in him; that he might neither be charged with Ingratitude to his Followers, nor accused of it vading the Prerogatives of the People.

- II. All this Business, with the Celebration of the Latin Festivals, and the holding the Comitia for Elections, took him up only eleven Days, at the End of which he abdicated the Dictatorship; and immediately set out from Rome, in order to reach Brundusum, where he had ordered twelve Legions, with all the Cavalry, to rendezvous. But he had scarce Ships to carry over twenty thousand legionary Soldiers, and six hundred Horse, which alone hindered him from from putting a speedy End to the War. Besides, the Legions were considerably weakened by their many Losses in the Gallick War, and the long and painful March from Spain: And an unhealthful Autumn in Apulia, and about Brundusum, with the Change of so sine a Climate as that of Gaul and Spain, had brought a general Sickness among the Troops.
- III. POMPEY having had a whole Year to complete his Preparations, undiffurbed by Wars, and free from the Interruption of an Enemy; had collected a mighty Fleet from Asia, the Cyclades, Corcyra, Athens, Pontus, Bithynia, Syria, Cilicia, Phænicia, and Egypt; and had given Orders for the building of Ships in all Parts. He had exacted great Sums from the People of Asia and Syria: from the Kings, Tetrarchs, and Dynasties of those Parts; from the free States of Achaia; and from the Corporations of the Provinces subject to his Com-He had raised nine Legions of Roman Citizens: Five he had brought with him from Italy; one had been fent him from Sicily, confifting wholly of Veterans, and called Gemella, because composed of two; another from Crete and Macedonia, of veteran Soldiers likewise, who having been disbanded by former Generals, had settled in those Parts; and two more from Asia, levied by the Care of Lentulus. Besides all these, he had great Numbers from Thessaly, Bastia, Achaia, and Epirus; whom, together with Antony's Soldiers, he distributed among the Legions by way of Recruits. He expected also two Legions that Metellus Scipio was to bring out of Syria. He had three thousand Archers drawn together from Crete.

Crete, Lacedemon, Pontus, Syria, and other Provinces; fix Cohorts of Slingers; and two of Mercenaries. His Cavalry amounted to seven thousand; six hundred of which came from Galatia, under Dejotarus; five hundred from Cappadocia, under Arisbarzanes; and the like Number had been sent him out of Thrace by Cotus, with his Son Sadalis at their Head. Two hundred were from Macedonia, commanded Rascipolis, an Officer of great Distinction: Five hundred from Alexandria, consisting of Gauls and Germans, left there by A. Gabinius to serve as a Guard to King Ptolemy; and now brought over by young Pompey in his Fleet, together with eight hundred of his own Domesticks. Tarcundarius Caster and Donilaus furnished three hundred Gallogracians: The first of these came himself in person, the latter sent his Son. Two hundred, most of them Archers, were sent from Syria by Comagenus of Antioch, who lay under the greatest Obligations to Pompey. There were likewise a great Number of Dardanians and Bessians, partly Volunteers, partly Mercenaries; with others from Maccdonia, Theffaly, and the adjoining States and Provinces, who altogether made up the Number mentioned above. To subfift this mighty Army, he had taken care to amass vast Quantities of Corn from Thessaly, Asia, Egypt, Crete, Cyrene, and other Countries; resolving to quarter his Troops during the Winter at Dyrrhachium, Apelionia, and the other maritime Towns, to prevent Cæsar's pasfing the Sea; for which Purpose he ordered his Fleet to cruite perpetually about the Coasts Young Pompey commanded the Egyptian Squadron; D. Lælius and C. Triarius the Asiatic; C. Cassin e Syrian; C. Marcellus and C. Coponius the Rhodian; Scribonius Libo and M. Octavius the Liburnian and Achaias: But the chief Autherity was veited in M. Bibulus, who was Admiral of the whole, and gave his Orders accordingly.

IV. CÆSAR, upon his Arrival at Brundustum, harangued his Troops, and told them, "That as they " were now upon the Point of feeing an End of all their 66. Toils and Dangers, they ought not to scruple at " leaving their Servants and Baggage behind them in " Italy, that they might embark with less Confusion, 46 and in greater Numbers; putting all their Hopes in Victory, and the Generofity of their General." The

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whole

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posed, and called out that they were ready to submit to his Orders. Accordingly, having put seven Legions on board, as we have before observed, he set Sail the sourth of fanuary, and arrived the next Day at the Ceraunian Mountains: Where having sound among the Rocks and Shelves, with which that Coast abounds, a tolerable Road; and not daring to go to any Port, as he apprehended they were all in the Enemy's Possession; he landed his Troops at a Place called Pharsalus, whither he brought his Fleet without the Loss of a single Ship.

V. Lucretius Vespillo and Minucius Rufus were at Oricum, with eighteen Asiatic Ships; and Bibulus had an hundred and ten at Corcyra. But the first durst not hazard an Engagement, though Cæsar was escorted by no more than twelve Gallies, only four of which had Decks: And Bibulus had not Time to re-assemble his Sailors and Soldiers, who were dispersed in full Security: For no News of Cæsar's Approach had reached those Parts, till his Fleet was seen from the Continent.

VI. CESAR having landed his Troops, sent the Fleet back the same Night to Brundussum, to bring over his other Legions and Cavalry. Fufius Kalenus, Lieutenant-General, had the Charge of this Expedition, with Orders to use the utmost Dispatch. But setting Sail too late, he lost the Benefit of the Wind, which offered fair all Night, and fell in with the Enemy. For Bibulus hearing at Corcyra of Cæsar's Arrival, forthwith put to Sea, in hopes of intercepting some of the Transports; and meeting the Fleet as it returned empty, took about thirty Ships, which he immediately burnt, with all that were on board; partly to fatisfy his own Vengeance for the Disappointment he had received; partly to deter the rest of the Troops from attempting the Passage. He then stationed his Fleet along the Coast from Salona to Oricum, guarded all Places with extraordinary Care, and even lay himself aboard, notwithstanding the Rigour of the Winter; declining no Danger nor Fatigue, and folcly intent upon intercepting Cafar's Supplies.

VII. AFTER the Departure of the Liburnian Gallies. M. Octavius, with the Squadron under his Command, mand, sailed from Illyricum, and came before Salona Having spirited up the Dalmatians, and other barbarous Nations in those Parts, he drew Isla to revolt from Casar' But finding that the Council of Salena was neither to be moved by Promises nor Threats, he resolved to invest the Town. Salona is built upon a Hill, and advantageoully situated for Desence: But as the Fortifications were very inconsiderable, the Roman Citizens residing there, immediately furrounded the Place with wooden Towers; and finding themselves too few to resist the Attacks of the Enemy, who foon overwhelmed them with Wounds, betook themselves to their last Resuge, by granting Liberty to all Slaves capable of bearing Arms, and cutting off the Womens Hair to make Cords for their Engines. Octavius perceiving their Obstinacy, formed five different Camps round the Town, that they might at once suffer all the Inconveniencies of a Siege. and be exposed to frequent Attacks. The Salonians, determined to endure every Thing, found themselves most pressed for want of Corn; and therefore sent Deputies to Cæsar to solicit a Supply, patiently submitting to all the other Hardships they laboured under. When the Siege had now continued a confiderable Time, and the Octavians began to be off their Guard, the Salonians finding the Opportunity favourable, about Noon, when the Enemy were dispersed, disposed their Wives and Children upon the Walls, that every Thing might have its wonted Appearance; and fallying in a Body with their enfranchised Slaves, attacked the nearest Quarters of Octavius. Having soon forced these, they advanced to the next; thence to a third, a fourth, and so on through the rest; till having iven the Enemy from every Post, and made great Sla ghter of their Men, they at length compelled them, and Octavius their Leader, to betake themselves to their Ships. the Issue of the Siege. As Winter now approached, and the Loss had been very confiderable, Octavius, despairing to reduce the Place, retired to Dyrrhachium, and joined Pompey.

VIII. WE have seen that L. Vibullius Rusus, Pompey's chief Engineer, had fallen twice into Casar's Hands, and been as often set at Liberty; the first Time at Corfinium, the next in Spain. Having been therefore twice Z 4

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to him for his Life, and being also much in Pompey's Esteem, Cafar thought him a proper Person to negotiate between them. His Instructions were Ge That it was now Time for both to defift from their 66 Obstinacy, and lay down their Arms, without exposing themselves any more to the precarious Events 66 of Fortune. That the Losses they had already se sustained ought to serve as Lessons and Cautions, and 66 fill them with just Apprehensions with regard to the se future. That Pompey had been forced to abandon se Italy, had lost Sicily and Sardinia, the two Spains, with about an hundred and thirty Cohorts of Roman « Citizens, who had perished in these Countries. That himself too had been a considerable Sufferer by se the Death of Curio, the Destruction of the African 46 Army, and the Surrender of his Forces at Corcyra. That it was therefore incumbent on them to show 66 some Regard to the sinking State of the Common-66. wealth, having sufficiently experienced by their own Misfortunes, how prevalent Fortune was in War. That the present Moment was the most favourable in this Respect; because, not having yet tried one another's Strength, and confidering them as Equals, there would be more Likelihood of agreeing on Terms: whereas, if one of them once got the Superiority, he would exact every Thing from the other, and give up nothing. That as hitherto they had 66 been unable to settle the Conditions of Peace, they 66 ought to refer them to the Decision of the Senate and 66 People of Rome; and in the Mean-time, to obtain a se free and unbiassed Judgment, both swear to disband their Armies in thr e Days Time. That when they were once diveste, of their national and auxiliary 66 Forces, in which their whole Confidence lay, they would find themselves under a Necessity of submitting to the Decree of the Senate and People. In fine, that to give Pompey a Proof of his Readiness to perform " these Proposals, he would give immediate Orders for the Discharge of all his Forces, both in Garrison se and in the Field,"

IX, VIBULLIUS having received these Instructions, thought it necessary to give Pompey speedy Notice of Casar's Arrival, that he might be provided against that Event,

Event, before he laid open the Commission he was charged with. Accordingly journeying Day and Night, and frequently changing Horses for the greater Expedition, he at length got to Pompey, and informed him that Cæsar was approaching with all his Forces. Pompey was at that Time in Candavia, from whence he was marching through Macedonia, to his Winter-quarters at Apollonia and Dyrrhachium. Concerned at this unexpected News, he hastened his March to Apollonia, to prevent Cæsar's making himself Master of the Sea-coasts. Mean-while Casar having landed his Forces, marched the same Day to Oricum. Upon his Arrival there, L. Torquatus, who commanded in the Town for Pompey, with a Garrison of Parthinians, ordered the Gates to be shut, and the Greeks to repair to their Arms, and man the Walls. But they refusing to fight against the Authority of the People of Rome; and the Inhabitants, of their own Accord, endeavouring to admit Cafar; Torquatus, despairing of Relief, opened the Gates, and furrendered both himsels and the Town to Cæsar, who readily granted him his Life.

X. CÆSAR having made himself Master of Oricum, marched directly to Apollonia. Upon the Report of his Arrival, L. Staberius, who commanded in the Place, ordered Water to be carried into the Castle, fortified it. with great Care, and demanded Hostages of the Townsmen. They refused to comply: declaring they would not shut their Gates against the Consul of the Roman People, nor presume to act in Contradiction to the Judgment of the Senate, and of all Italy. Staberius finding it in vain to resist, privately left the Place; upon which the Apollonians sent Dep ties to Casar, and received him into the Town. The Bullidenses, Amantiani, with the rest of the neighbouring Countries, and al Epirus, followed their Example; acquainting Cafar by their Ambassadors, that they were ready to execute his Commands.

XI. MEAN-WHILE Pompey, having Notice of what passed at Oricum and Apollonia, and being apprehensive for Dyrrhachium, marched Day and Night to reach the Place. At the same Time it was reported that Gesar was not sar off; which meeting with the more Crassis, because

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because of their hasty March, put the whole Army into such Consternation, that many abandoning their Colours in Epirus and the neighbouring States, and others, throwing down their Arms, every Thing had the Appearance of a precipitate Flight. But upon Pompey's halting near Dyrrhachium, and ordering a Camp to be formed; as the Army had not even then recovered its Fright, Labienus advanced before the rest, and swore never to abandon his General, but to share in whatever Lot Fortune should assign him. The other Lieutenants did the same, as likewise the military Tribunes and Centurions, whose Example was followed by the whole Army. Cæsar finding that he was prevented in his Design upon Dyrrhachium, pursued his March more leisurely, and encamped on the River Apfus, in the Territories of the Apollonians, that he might protect the Possessions of a State which had so warmly declared in his Favour. Here he resolved to pass the Winter in Tents, and wait the Arrival of the rest of his Legions out of Italy. Pompey did the like, and having encamped on the other Side of the Apfus, affembled there all his Legions and Auxiliaries.

XII. KALENUS having embarked the Legions and Cavalry at Brundusum, according to the Instructions he had received, put to Sea with his whole Fleet; but had not sailed very far, till he was met by Letters from Casar, informing him, that all the Grecian Coasts were guarded by the Enemy's Fleet. Upon this he recalled his Ships, and returned again into the Harbour. Only one continued its Route, which carried no Soldiers, nor was subject to the Orde of Kalenus, but belonged to a private Commander. This Vessel arriving before Oricum, sell into the Hands of Bibulus, who not sparing the very Children, put all on board to death, both Freemen and Slaves. So much did the Sasety of the whole Army depend upon a single Moment.

Oricimi with his Flect; and as he deprived Cafar of all Supplies by Sea, so was he in like Manner greatly incommoded by Cafar at Land: who having disposed Parties along the Coast, hindered him from gerting water or Wood, or coming near the Shore. This was attended

attended with many Inconveniencies, and threw him into great Straits; infomuch that he was obliged to fetch all his other Necessaries, as well as Wood and Water, from the Island of Corcyra: and once, when foul Wear ther prevented his receiving Refreshments from thence, the Soldiers were necessitated, for want of Water, to collect the Dew which in the Night fell on the Hides that covered their Ships. Yet he bore all these Difficulties with furprifing Firmness, and continued resolute in his Design of not unguarding the Coast. But at last, being reduced to the above-mentioned Extremity, and Libo having joined him, they called from on board to M. Acilius and Statius Murcus, two of Cafar's Lieutenants, one of whom guarded the Walls of Oricum, and the other the Sca-coasts; that they wanted to confer with Cæsar, about Affairs of the greatest Consequence, if they could but have an Opportunity. To gain the more Credit, they let fall some Expressions that seemed to promise Accommodation; and in the Mean-while demanded and obtained a Truce: for Murcus and Acilius believing their Proposals to be serious, knew how extremely grateful they would be to Cæfar, and doubted not but Vibullius had succeeded in his Negotiation.

XIV. CESAR was then at Buthrotum, a Town over-against Corcyra, whither he was gone with one Legion, to reduce some of the more distant States, and supply himself with Corn, which then began to be scarce. Here receiving Letters from Acilius and Murcus, with an Account of Libo and Bibulus's Demands, he left the Legion, and returned to Oricum. Upon his Arrival, he invited them to a Conterer. e. Libo appeared, and made an Apology for Bibulus: 'That being naturally " hasty, and bearing a personal Grudge to Cæsar, con-" tracted during the Time of his Ædileship and "Questorship, he had for that Reason declined the ". Interview; to prevent any Obstructions from his "Presence to the Success of so desirable and advantageous a Defign: That Pompey was, and ever had 66 been inclined to lay down his Arms, and terminate " their Differences by an Accommodation: but as yet 44 had not sent him sufficient Powers to treat, which " however he doubted not foon to receive, as the " Council

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Council had intrusted him with the whole Administration of the War: That if he would therefore mane known his Demands, they would fend them to * Pompey, who would foon come to a Resolution upon their Representations. In the Mean-time the Truce might continue, and both Parties abstain from Acts of Hostility, till an Answer could be obtained:". He added something about the Justice of their Cause, and their Forces both natural and auxiliary; to which Cafar neither at that Time returned any Answer, nor do we now think it of Importance enough to be transmitted to Posterity. · Cæsar's Demands were: . That he might have leave to send Ambassadors to Pompey; and that sthey would either ffipulate for their Return, or 46 undertake themselves to convey them in Safety: That, with Regard to the Truce; such were the present Circumstances of the War, that their Fleet kept back his Supplies and Transports, and his Forces deprived them of Water and Access to the Shore. If they expected any Abatement on his Side, they must likewise abate in guarding the Coast; but if they se still persisted in their former Vigilance, neither would he yield in what depended on him: That of notwithstanding, the Accommodation might go forward, without any Obstruction from this mutual Libo declined receiving Cafar's Ambassadors, or undertaking for their safe Return, and chose to refer the whole Matter to Pompey; yet infiffed on the Truce. Casar perceiving, that the only Aim of the Enemy was, to extricate themlelves out of their present Straits and Danger; and that it was in vain to entertain any Hopes of Peace; turned all his Thoughts to the vigorous Profecution c. the War.

XV. BIBULUS having kept at Sen for many Days, and contracted a dangerous Illness by the Cold and perpetual Fatigue; as he could neither have proper Assistance on board, nor would be prevailed upon to quit his Post; he at last sunk under the Weight of his Distemper. After his Death, nobody succeeded in the Command of the whole Fleet; but each Squadron was governed, independently of the rest, by its particular Commander.

KVI. WHEN the Surprise occasioned by Casar's sudden Arrival was over; Vibullius, in presence of Libo, L. Lucceius, and Theophanes, who were among Pompey's most intimate Counsellors, resolved to deliver the Commission he had received from Casar. But scarce had he begun to speak, when Pompey interrupted him, and ordered him to proceed no farther. "What, says he, is my Life or Country to me, if I shall seem to be beholded to Casar for them? And will it be believed that I am not indebted to him for them, if he, by an Accommodation; restores me to Italy?" Casar was informed of this Speech, after the Conclusion of the War, by those who were present when it was delivered: he still continued however, by other Methods, to try to bring about an Accommodation.

XVII. As the two Camps were only separated by the River Apfus, the Soldiers had frequent Discourse among themselves; and it was settled by mutual Consent, that no Act of Hostility should pass during the Conferences. Cæsar taking Advantage of this Opportunity, fent P. Vatinius, one of his Lieutenants, to forward to the utmost an Accommodation; and to demand frequently with a loud Voice, "Whether it might not be permit-"ted to Citizens, to fend Deputies to their Fellow-"Citizens about Peace: That this had never been "denied even to Fugitives and Robbers, and could " much less be opposed, when the only Design was, to-" prevent the Effusion of civil Blood." This and much more he faid, with a subminive Air, as became one employed to treat for his own and the common. Safety. He was heard with great Silence by both. Parties, and received this An ver from the Enemy. "That A. Varro had declared he would next Day appear at an Interview, whither the Deputies of both Parties " might come in perfect Security, and mutually make " known their Demands." The Hour of meeting was likewise settled; which being come, Multitudes on both Sides flocked to the Place, the greatest Expectations were formed, and the Minds of all feemed intent upon T. Labienus, advancing from the Crowd, beganin a low Voice to confer with Vatinius, as if to settle the Articles of the Treaty. But their Discourse was foon interrupted by a Multitude of Darts that came Poaring

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pouring in on all Sides. Vatinius escaped the Danger by Means of the Soldiers, who protected him with their Shields; but Cornelius Balbus, M. Plotius, L. Tiburtus, Centurions, and some private Men were wounded. Labienus then listed up his Voice, and cried: "Leave off prating of an Accommodation: for you must not expect Peace, till you bring us Cæsar's Head."

XVIII. ABOUT the same Time M. Calius Rufus, Prætor at Reme for foreign Affairs, having undertaken the Cause of the Debtors; on his Entrance into his Office, ordered his Tribunal to be fixed near that of the City Prator, C. Trelenies; and promifed to receive the Compla ets of such as should appeal to him, in regard to the Estimation and Pagments, made in consequence of Cestar's late Regulation. But such was the Equity of the Decree, and the Humanity of Trebonius, who in so nice and critical an Affair, thought it necessary to conduct himself with the utmost Clemency and Moderation, that no Pretence of Appeal could be found. For to plead Poverty, personal Losies, the Hardness of the Times, and the Difficulty of bringing their Effects to fale, is usual enough even with reasonable Minds: but to own themselves indebted, and yet aim at keeping their Possessions entire, would have argued a total Want both of Honelly and Shame. Accordingly not a Man was found who made any fuch Demand. Cælius's whole Severity, therefore, was pointed against those, to whom the Inheritance of the Debtor was adjudged : and having once emoarked in the Affair, that he might not feem to have engaged himfelf to no Purpose in an unjuttifiable Cause, he published a Law, by which he artiswed the Debrors fix Years for the Discharge of their 1) bis, which they were to clear at equal Payments, wallout literali.

Mix. But the Conful Services and the rest of the Magistrates opposing the Law; when he found it had not the Effect he expected, he thought preper to drop that Design; and in the View of inflaming the People, proposed two new Laws; the one, to exempt all the Tenants in Rome from paying Rents; the other, for a general Abolition of Debts. This Bait took with the fultitude; and Calins at their Head, came and attacked

Trebonius on his Tribunal, drove him thence, and wanded some about him. The Conful Servilius reported these Things to the Senate, who interdicted to Lælius the Functions of his Office. In consequence of this Decree, the Consul resused him admittance into the Senate, and drove him out of his Tribunal, when he was going to harangue the People. Overwhelmed with Shame and Resentment, he openly threatened to carry his Complaints to Casar; but privately gave Notice to Milo, who had been banished for the Murder of Clodius, to come into Italy, and join him with the Remains of the Gladiators, which he bought formerly to entertain the People with, in the Shows he gave them. With this View he fent him before to Turinum, to solieit the Shepherds to take Arms, and went himself to Casilinum; where hearing that his Arms and Enfigns had been seized at Capua, his Partizans at Naples, and their Defign of betraying the City discovered: finding all his Projects defeated, the Gates of Capua shut against him, and the Danger increasing every Moment, because the Citizens had taken Arms, and began to confider him as a publick Enemy; he desisted from the Project he had formed, and thought proper to change his Route.

XX. In the Mean-time Milo, having dispatched Letters to all the Colonies and free Towns, intimating that what he did was in virtue of Pompey's Authority, who had fent him his Orders by Bibulus, endeavoured to draw over the Debtors to his Party. But not fucceeding in his Design, he contented himself with setting fome Slaves at Liberty, and with them marched to besiege Cosa, in the Territory of Turinum. 2. Pædius the Prætor, with a Garrison of one L'gion, commanded in the Town; and here Nillo was flain by a Stone from a Machine on the Walls. Caelius giving out that he was gone to Casar, came to Thurium; where endeavouring to debauch the Inhabitants, and corrupt by Promises of Money the Spanish and Gaulish Horse, whom Cajar had sent thither to garrison the Place, they slew him. Thus these dangerous Beginnings, that by reafon of the Multiplicity of Affairs wherewith the Magi-Atates were distracted, and the ticklish Situation of the Times, threatened great Revolutions, and alarmed all Ituly, were brought to a safe and speedy Issue. XXI. LIBO

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XXI. Libo leaving Oricum, with the Fleet under his Command, confifting of fifty Sail, came to Brundufium, and possessed himself of an Island directly facing the Harbour; judging it of more Confequence is tecure a Post, by which our Transports must necessarily past, than guard all the Coasts and Havens on the other Side. his Arrival was unexpected, he furprifed and burnt fome Transports, and carried off a Vessel loaden with Corn. The Consternation was great among our Men; infomuch that having landed some Foot, with a Party of Archers, in the Night, he defeated our Guard of Cavalry; and had so far the Advantage by the Commodiousness of his Post, that he writ Pompey word, he might draw the rest of the Navy on Shore, and order them to be careened; for he alone, with his Squadron, would undertake to cut off Cæsar's Supplies.

XXII. ANTONY was then at Brundusium; who confiding in the Valour of the Troops, ordered some Boats belonging to the Fleet to be armed with Hurdles and Galleries; and having filled them with chosen Troops, disposed them in several Places along the Shore. same Time he sent two three-benched Gallies, which he had caused to be built at Brundusium, to the Mouth of the Harbour, as if with Design to exercise the Rowers. Libo perceiving them advance boldly, and hoping he might be able to intercept them, detached five Quadritemes for that Purpose. At their Approach, our Men rowed towards the Harbour; whither the Enemy, eager of the Purfuit, in confiderately followed them: for now Antony's armed Boats, upon a Signal given, came pouring upon them from all Farts; and on the very first Ontet took a Quadrireme, with all the Soldiers and Sailors on board, and forcee the rest to an ignominious Flight. To add to this Difgrace, the Cavalry, which Antony had posted all along the Coast, hindered the Enemy from watering; which reduced them to fuch Straits, that Lito was forced to quit the Blockade of Brundusium, and retire with his Fleet.

XXIII. SEVERAL Months had now passed, the Winter was almost over; mean-time neither the Ships nor Logicus were yet arrived, which Cassar expected from Billing that fome

Oppos-

Opportunities had been lost, as it was certain the Wind had many Times offered fair, and there was a Necessity of trusting to it at last. The longer the Delay in sending over the Troops, the more vigilant and alert were the Enemy in guarding the Coast, and the greater these Confidence to hinder the Passage; nay, Pompey, in his Letters, frequently reproached them, that as they had not prevented the first Embarkation, they ought at least to take care that no more of the Troops got over; and the Season itself was becoming less favourable, by the Approach of milder Weather, when the Enemy's Fleet would be able to act and extend itself. For these Reasons Cæsar writ tharply to his Lieutenants at Brundusium, charging them not to omit the first Opportunity of failing, as foon as the Wind offered fair; and to steer for the Coast of Apoilonia, which they could approach with less Danger, as it was not so strictly guarded by the Enemy, who were afraid of venturing on a Coast so ill provided with Havens.

XXIV. THE Lieutenants roused and emboldened by these Letters, and encouraged by the Exhortations of the Troops themselves, who profeiled they were ready to face any Danger for Cæsar's Sake, embarked under the Direction of M. Antony, and Fufius Kalenus; and fetting Sail with the Wind at South, passed Apollonia and Dyrrhachium next Day. Being descried from the Continent, C. Caponius, who commanded the Rhodian Squadron at Dyrrhachium, put out to Sea; and the Wind flackening upon our Fleet, it was near falling into the Hands of the Enemy; but a fresh Gale springing up at South, faved us from that Dan Caponius however defisted not from the Pursuit, hoping by the Labour and Perseverance of the Mariners, to surfacent the Violence of the Tempest; and though we had passed Dyrrhachium with a very hard Gale, still continued to follow us. Our Men apprehensive of an Attack, should the Wind again chance to flacken, seized an Advantage Fortune threw in their Way, and put into the Port of Nympharm, about three Miles beyond Liffus. This Poir is theltered from the South-west Wind, but lies open to the South: but they preferred the Hazard they might be exposed to by the Tempest, to that of fighting. that Instant, by an unusual Piece of good Fortune, the Aa Wind,

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Wind, which for two Days had blown from the South, changed to the South-west. This was a sudden and favourable Turn: for the Fleet, so lately in Danger from the Enemy, was sheltered in a safe commodious Port: and that which threatened ours with Destruction, was in its Turn exposed to the utmost Peril. By this unexpetted Change, the Storm, which protected our Fleet, beat so suriously on the Rhodian Gallies, that they were all, to the Number of Sixteen, broke to Pieces against the Shore. Most of the Soldiers and Mariners perished among the Rocks; the rest were taken up by our Men, and sent by Cassar's Orders to their several Homes.

XXV. Two of our Transports, unable to keep up with the rest, were overtaken by the Night; and not knowing where the Fleet had put in, cast Anchor overagainst Lissus. Otacilius Crassus, who commanded in the Place, fent out some Boats and small Vessels to attack them: at the same Time he urged them to a Surrender, promising Quarter to such as would submit. One of these Vessels carried two hundred and twenty new raifed Soldiers; the other less than two hundred Veterans. On this Occasion appeared, how great a Defence against Danger results from Firmness of Mind. The, new Levies, frighted at the Number of their Adversaries, and fatigued with Sea-fickness, surrendered on Promise of their Lives. But when they were brought to Otacilius, regardless of the Oath he had taken, he ordered them all to be cruelly flain in his Presence. The Veterans, on the contrary, though they had both the Storm and a leaky Vessel to struggle with, abated nothing of their wonted Bravery; but having spun out the Time till Night, under Fretence of treating, obliged the Pilot to run the Vessel ashore; where finding an advantageous Post, they continued the Remainder of the Night. At Day-break Otacilius detached against them about four hundred Horse, who guarded that Part of the Coast, and pursued them Sword in Hand: but they defended themselves with great Bravery, and having slain forme of the Enemy, rejoined, without Loss, the rest of the Troops.

XXVI. Upon this the Roman Citizens inhabiting Lissus, to whom Cafar had before made a Grant of the Town.

Town, after fortifying it with great Care, opened their Gtes to Antony, and furnished him with every Thing he stood in need of. Otacilius, dreading the Consequences of this Revolution, quitted the Place, and sted to Pompey. Antony having landed his Troops, which consisted of three veteran Legions, one new raised, and eight hundred Horse, sent most of the Transports back again to Brundusium, to bring over the rest of the Foot and Cavalry; retaining nevertheless some Ships of Gaulish Structure, that if Pompey, imagining Italy destitute of Troops, should attempt to return thither, as was commonly rumoured, Capsar might be able to follow him. At the same Time he gave Capsar speedy Notice of the Number of Forces he had brought over with him, and the Place where he had landed.

XXVII. This Intelligence reached Cæsar and Pompey much about the same Time; for both had seen the Fleet pass Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, and had in consequence directed their March that Way; but neither knew, for some Days, into what Harbour it had put. On the first News of Antony's landing, the two Generals took different Resolutions; Cæfar, to join him as soon as possible; Pompey, to oppose his March, and, if posfible, draw him into an Ambuscade. Both quitted their Camps on the Apsus about the same Time; Pompey, privately during the Night; . Cæsar, publickly by Day. But Cæsar, who had the River to cross, was obliged to fetch a Compass, that he might come at a Ford. Pompey, on the other Hand, having nothing to obstruct his March, advanced by great Jeurney against Antony; and understanding that he was not far off, posted his Troops on an advantageous Ground, ordering them to keep within their Camp, and light no Fires, that his Approach might not be perceived. But Antony being informed of it by the Greeks, would not stir out of his Lines; and fending immediate Notice to Cæsar, was joined by him next Day. On Advice of Cafar's Arrival," Pompey, that he might not be shut up between two Armies, quitted the Place; and coming with all his Forces to Asparagium, a Town belonging to the Dyrrhachians, encamped there on an advantageous Ground.

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XXVIII. ABOUT the same Time Scipio, notwithstanding some Checks he had received near Mount An. qnus, assumed the Title of Emperor; after which he exacted great Sums of Money from the neighbouring States and Princes; obliged the Farmers of the Revenue to pay the two Years' Taxes, which lay in their Hands, and advance a Third by Way of Loan; and fent Orders to the whole Province for levying Cavalry. Having got a sufficient Number together, he quitted the Parthians, his nearest Enemies, who not long before had slain M. Craffus, and held Bibulus invested; and marched out of Syria with his Legions and Cavalry. When he arrived in Afia Minor, he found the whole Country filled with Terror on account of the Parthian War; and the Soldiers themselves declared, that they were ready to march against an Enemy, but would never bear Arms against a Consul, and their Fellow-citizens. To stifle these Discontents, he made considerable Presents to the Troops, quartered them in Pergamus and other rich Towns, and gave up the whole Country to their Dif-Mean-while the Money demanded of the Province was levied with great Rigor; and various Pretences were devised, to serve as a Ground to new Exactions. Slaves and Freemen were subjected to a Capitation-Imposts were laid upon Pillars and Doors of Houses. Corn, Soldiers, Mariners, Arms, Engines, Carriages, in a Word, every Thing that had a Name, furnished a sufficient Handle for extorting Money. Governors were appointed not only over Towns, but over Villages and Castles; and he that acted with the greatest Rigor and Cruelty, was accounted the worthiest Man, and best Citizen. The Province swarmed with Lictors, Overseers, and Collectors, who besides the Sums imposed by publick Authority, exacted Money likewise on their own Account; colouring their iniquitous Demands with a Pretence, that they had been expelled their Country and native Homes, and were in extreme Want of every Thing. Add to all these Calamities, immoderate Utury, an Evil almost inseparable from War: for as great Sums are then exacted, beyond what a Country is able to furnish, they are obliged to apply for a Delay, which at any Price is still accounted a Favour. the Debts of the Province increased confiderably during

thele two Years. Nor were the Roman Citizens the only Sufferers on this Occasion; for certain Sums were demanded of every State and Corporation, as a Loan supon the Senate's Decree; and the Farmers of the Revenue were ordered to advance the next Year's Tribute, in like Manner as when they first entered upon Office. Besides all this, Scipio gave Orders for seizing the Treafures of the Temple of Diana at Ephefus, with all the Statues of that Goddess. But when he came to the Temple attended by many Persons of senatorian Rank, he received Letters from Pompey, defiring him to lay afide all other Concerns, and make what Haste he could to join him, because Casar had passed into Greece with his whole Army. In consequence of this Order he sent back the Senators who had been fummoned to attend him at Ephcfus, made Preparations for passing into Macedonia, and began his March a few Days after. the Ephesian Treasures escaped being plundered.

XXIX. CESAR having joined Antony's Army, and recalled the Legion he had left at Oricum, to guard the Sea-coast, judged it necessary to advance farther into the Country, and possess himself of the more distant Pro-At the same Time Deputies arrived from Theffaly and Ætolia, with Assurances of Submission from all the States in those Parts, provided he would fend Troops to defend them. Accordingly he dispatched L. Cassius Longinus, with a Legion of new Levies, called the Twenty-seventh, and two hundred Harse into Thessaly; and C. Culvisius Sabinus, with five Cohorts, and some Cavalry, into Ætolia; charging them in a particular Manner, as those Provinces Tay the nearest to his Camp, that they would take care to furnish him with Corn. He likewise ordered Cn. Domitius Calvinus, with the eleventh and twelfth Legions, and five hundred Horse, to march into Macedonia: for Menedemus, the principal Man of that Country, having come Ambassador to Cæsar, had affured him of the Affection of the Province.

XXX. Calvisius was well received by the Ætolians; and having driven the Enemies Garrisons from Galydon and Naupactum, possessed himself of the whole Country. Gassius arriving in Thessaly with his Legion, found the State divided into two Factions. Egesarctus, a Man in A a 3

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Years, and of established Credit, favoured Pompey: Petreius, a young Nobleman of the first Rank, exerted his whole Interest in behalf of Cæsar.

XXXI. ABOUT the same Time Domitius arrived ir Macedonia: and whilst Deputies were attending him from all Parts, News came that Scipio approached with his Legions, which spread a great Alarm through the Country; as Fame, for the most Pari, magnifies the first Appearances of Things. Scipio, without stopping any where in Macedonia, advanced by great Marches towards Domitius; but being come within twenty Miles of him, suddenly changed his Route, and turned off to Thessalv, in quest of Cassius Longinus. This was done so expeditionsly, that he was actually arrived with his Troops, when Cassius received the first Notice of his March: for to make the more Dispatch, he had left M. Favonius at the River Haliacmon, which separates Macedonia from Thessaly, with eight Cohorts to guard the Baggage of the Legions, and ordered him to erect a Fort there. At the same Time King Cotus's Cavalry, which had been accustomed to make Inroads into Thessaly, came pouring upon Cassius's Camp; who knowing that Scipio was upon his March, and believing the Cavalry to be his, retired in a Fright to the Mountains that begirt Thessaly, and thence directed his Course towards Ambracia. Scipio preparing to follow him, received Letters from M. Favonius; that Demitius was coming up with his Legions, nor would it be possible for him to maintain the Post he was in, without his Affistance. Scipio, upon this Intelligence, changed his Resolution, gave over the Purfuit of Caffins, and advanced to the Relief of Favonius. As he marched Day and Night without Intermission, he arrived so opportunery, that the Dust of Domitius's Army, and his advanced Parties, were descried at the same Thus Domitius's Care preserved Caffius, and Scipio's Diligence Favonius.

XXXII. Scipio continuing two Days in his Camp upon the Haliacmon, which ran between him and the Army of Domitius, put his Troops in Motion on the Third, and by Day-break forded the River. Early kext Morning he drew up his Troops in Order of Battle at the Head of his Camp. Domitius was not averse to an Engagement;

Engagement; but as between the two Camps there was a Plain of fix Miles, he thought that the fittest Place for a Field of Battle, and drew up his Men at some Distance from Scipio's Camp. Scipio would not stir from his J'ost; yet hardly could Domitius restrain his Men from a lyancing to attack him; though a Rivulet with steep Banks, that ran in the Front of the Enemy's Camp, opposed their Passage. Scipio observing the Keennels and Alacrity of our Troops, and fearing that next Day he should either be forced to fight against his Will, or ignominiously keep within his Camp; after great Expectations raised, by too hastily crossing the River, he saw all his Projects defeated; and decamping in great Silence during the Night, returned to his former Station beyond the Haliacmon, and posted himself on a rising Ground, near the River. A few Days after, he formed an Ambuscade of Cavalry by Night, in a Place where our Men were wont to forage: and when 2. Varus, who commanded the Horse under Domitius, came next Day according to Custom; suddenly the Enemy rose from their lurking Holes: but our Men bravely sustaining the Attack, foon recovered their Ranks, and in their Turn vigorously charged the Enemy. About fourscore fell on this Occasion; the rest betook themselves to slight, and our Men returned to their Camp with the Lois of only two of their Number.

XXXIII. AFTER this Rencounter, Domitius hoping to draw Scipio to a Battle, feigned to decamp for Want of Provisions; and having made the usual Signal for retreating, after a March of three Miles, drew up his Cavalry and Legions in a convenient Plain, shrouded from the Enemy's View. Scipio preparing to follow, sent the Horse and light-armed Infantry before, to explore his Route, and examine the Situation of the Country. When they were advanced a little Way, and their nit Squadrons had come within reach of our Ambuth; beginning to suspect something from the Neighing of the Hories, they wheeled about in order to retreat; which the Troops that followed observing, suddenly halted. Our Men finding that the Ambush was discovered, and knowing it would be in vain to wait for the rest of the Army, fell upon the two Squadrons that were most ad-Aa4 vanced.

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vanced. M. Opimius, General of the Horse to Domitius, was amongst these, but some how sound Means to escape. All the rest were either slain or made Prisoners.

XXXIV. CÆSAR having drawn off his Garrison from the Sea-coast, as we have related above; left three Cohorts at Oricum to defend the Town, and committed to their Charge the Gallies he had brought out of Italy. sicilius, one of his Lieutenants, had the Command of these Troops; who, for the greater Security, caused the Ships to be drawn up into the Harbour behind the Town, and made them fast to the Shore. He likewise funk a Transport in the Mouth of the Haven, behind which another rode at Anchor, on whose Deck a Tower was erected facing the Entrance of the Port, and filled with Troops, to be ready in case of Surprise. Young Pompey, who commanded the Egyptian Fleet, having Notice of this, came to Oricum; weighed up the Vessel that had been sunk in the Mouth of the Harbour; and after an obstinate Resistance, took the other, which had been placed there by Acilius to guard the Haven. He then brought forward his Fleet, on which he had raised Towers to fight with the greater Advantage; and having furrounded the Town on all Sides, attacked it by Land with scaling Ladders, and by Sea from the Towers, fending fresh Men continually in the place of those that were fatigued, and thereby obliging us to yield through Weariness and Wounds. At the same Time he seized an Eminence on the other Side of the Town, which feemed a Hind of natural Mole, and almost formed a Per infula over-against Origin; and by Means of this Neck of Land, carried four final! Gallies upon Rollers into the inner Part of the Haven. Thus the Gallies, that were made fast to the Land, and destitute of Troops, being attacked on all Sides; four were carried off, and the rolf burnt. This Affair dispatched, he left D. Lælius, whom he had taken from the Command of the Asiatic Flort, to prevent the Importation of Provisions from Billie and Amantia; and failing for Liffus, attacked and turns the thirty Transports which Antony had left in that Haven. He endeavoured likewife to take the Town: but the Roman Citizens of that District, aided by the Garrison

Garrison Cæsar had left, defended it so well, that at the End of three Days, he retired without effective his Purpose, having lost some Men in the Attempt.

XXXV. CREAR being informed that Pompey was an Asparagium, marched thither with his Army; and having taken the Capital of the Parthinians by the way, where Pompey had a Garrison; arrived the third Day in Macedonia, and encamped at a small Distance from the Enemy. The next Day he drew out all his Forces, formed them before his Caup, and offered Pompey Battle. Finding that he kept within his Lines, he led back his Troops, and began to think of purfuing other Measures. Accordingly, on the Morrow, by a long Circuit, and through very narrow and difficult Ways, he marched with all his Forces to Dyrrhachium; hoping either to oblige Pompey to follow him thither, or cut off his Communication with the Town, where he had laid up all his Provisions, and Magazines of War: which happened accordingly. For Pompey, at first, not penetrating his Design, because he counterfeited a Route different from what he really intended, imagined he had been obliged to decamp for Want of Provisions: but being afterwards informed of the Truth by his Scouts, he quitted his Camp next Day, in hopes to prevent him, by taking a nearer Way. Cæsar suspecting what might happen, exhorted his Soldiers to bear the Fatigue patiently; and allowing them to repose during only a small Part of the Night, arrived next Morning at Dyrrhachium, where he immediately formed a Camp, just as Pompey's Van began to appear at a Distance.

XXXVI. Pompey thus excluded from Dyrrhachium, and unable to execute his first Design, came to a Resolution of encamping on an Eminence called Petra, where was a tolerable Harbour, sheltered from some Winds. Here he ordered Part of his Fleet to attend him, and Corn and Provisions to be brought him from Asia, and the other Provinces subject to his Command. Casar apprehending the War would run into Length, and despairing of Supplies from Italy, because the Coasts were so strictly guarded by Pompey's Fleet; and his own Gallies, built the Winter before in Sicily, Gaul, and Italy, were not yet arrived; dispatched L. Canuleius,

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one of his Lieutenants, to Epirus for Corn. And because that Country lay at a great Distance from his Camp, he built Granaries in several Places, and wrote to the neighbouring States to carry their Corn thither. He likewise ordered Search to be made for what Corn could be found in Lissus, the Country of the Parthinians, and the other Principalities in those Parts. This amounted to very little; partly occasioned by the Soil, which is rough and mountainous, and obliges the Inhabitants often to import Grain; partly because Pompey foreseeing Casar's Wants, had some Days before ravaged the Country of the Parthinians, plundered their Houses, and by Means of his Cavalry carried off all their Corn.

XXXVII. For these Reasons Casar formed a Project, which the very Nature of the Country suggested All round Pompey's Camp, at a small Distance, were high and steep Hills. Cæfar took possession of those Hills, and built Forts upon them; resolving, as the Nature of the Ground would allow, to draw Lines of Communication from one Fort to another, and inclose Pompey within his Works. His Views herein were; first, to facilitate the Passage of his Convoys, which the Enemy's Cavalry, which was very strong and fine, would no longer cut off; next, to distress this very Cavalry, for want of Forage; and lastly, to lessen the great Reputation and high Idea entertained of Pompey, when it should be reported all over the World, that he had fuffered himfelf to be blockaded, and as it were imprisoned by Cæsar's Works; and durst not hazard a Battle to set himself at Liberty.

Dyrrhachium, where he had all his Magazines and Engines of War, and whence he was supplied with Provisions by Means of his Fleet; nor could he prevent the Progress of Cæsar's Works without fighting, which at that Time he was determined against. He could do nothing therefore but extend himself, by taking in as many Hills, and as large a Circuit of Country as possible, to give his Adversary the more Trouble, and divide his Forces. This he did, by raising twenty-four Forts, which took in a Circumference of nitteen Miles, wherein were arable and pasture Lands, to feed his Horses and Beasts

Boo! III. THE CIVIL WAR.

Beasts of Burden. And as our Men had carried their Circumvallation quite round, by drawing Lines of Communication from Fort to Fort, to prevent the Sallies of the Enemy, and guard against Attacks in their Rear; in like Manner-Pompey's Men had furrounded themtelves with Lines, to hinder us from breaking in upon them, and charging them behind. They even perfected their Works first, because they had more Hands, and a less Circuit to inclose. When Cæsur endeavoured to gain any Place, Pompey, though determined not to oppose him with all his Forces, nor hazard a general Action, failed not however to detach Parties of Archers and Slingers, who wounded great Numbers of our Men, and occasioned such a Dread of their Arrows, that almost all the Soldiers furnished themselves with Coats of Mail, or thick Leather, to guard against that Danger.

XXXIX. BOTH Parties disputed every Post with great Obstinacy: Cafar, that he might inclose Pompey within as narrow a Space as possible; and Pompey, that he might have Liberty to extend himself: which occafioned many sharp Skirmishes. In one of these, Cafar's Ninth Legion having possessed themselves of an Eminence, which they began to fortify, Pompey seized the opposite Mount, with a Resolution to hinder their Works. As the Access on one Side was very easy; he sent first some Archers and Slingers, and afterwards a strong Detachment of light-armed Foot, plying us at the same Time with his military Engines; which obliged our Men to desist, as they found it impossible at once to sustain the Enemy's Charge, and go forward with their Works. Cæsar perceiving that his Men were wounded from all Sides, resolved to quit the Place and retires But as the Descent by which he must retreat was pretty steep, the Pompeians charged him briskly in drawing off, imagining he gave way through Fear. Pompey went so far as to say, "That he consented to be accounted a General of no Merit, if Cæsar's Men got " off without confiderable Loss." Cæfar, concerned about the Retreat of his Men, ordered Hurdles to be fixed on the Ridge of the Hill fronting the Enemy; behind which he dug a moderate Ditch, and rendered the Plac: as inaccessible as he could on all Sides. When this was done, he began to file off the legionary Soldiers, **fupporting**

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supporting them by some light-armed Troops posted on their Flanks, who with Arrows and Stones might repulse the Enemy. Pompey's Troops failed not to pursue them with great Outcries and ficrce Menaces, overturned the Hurdles, and used them as Bridges to get over the Ditch. Which Cafar observing; and searing some Disafter might enfue, should he feem to be driven from a Post, hich he quitted voluntarily; when his Forces were got half down the Hill, encouraging them by Antomy, who had the Command of that Legion, he gave the Signal to face about and fall on the Enemy. Immediately the Soldiers of the Ninth Legion, forming themselves into close Order, launched their Darts; and advancing briskly up the Hill against the Enemy, forced them to give ground, and at last betake themselves to flight: which was not a little incommoded by the Hurdles, Palisades, and Ditch, Casar had thrown up to stop their Pursuit. But our Men, who sought only to secure their Retreat, having killed several of the Enemy, and lost only five of their own Number, retired without the least Disturbance, and inclosing some other Hills within their Lines, completed the Circumvallation.

XL. This Method of making War was new and extraordinary; as well in regard to the Number of Forts, the Extent of the Circumvallation, the Greatness of the Works, and the Manner of Attack and Defence, as on other Accounts. For whoever undertakes to invest another, is for the most Part moved thereto, either by some previous Defeat he has sustained, the Knowledge of his Weakness, to take Advantage of his Diffresses, to profit by a Superiority of Forces; or, in fine, to cut off his Provisions, which is the most ordinary Cause of these Attempts. But Cafur, with an inferior Force, belieged Pompey, whose Troops were entire, in good Order, and abounded in all Things. For Ships arrived every Day from all Parts with Provisions; nor could the Wind blow from any Quarter, that was not favourable to forme of them; whereas Cafar's Army, having confumed all the Corn round about, was reduced to the last Necessities. Nevertheless the Soldiers bore all with singular Patience; remembering, that though reduced to the like Extremity the Year before in Spain, they had yet, by

their Assiduity and Perseverance, put an End to a very formidable War. They called to mind too their Sufferings at Alesia, and their still greater Distresses before Avaricum, by which however they triumphed over mighty Nations. When Barley or Pulse was given them in Read of Corn, they took it cheerfully; and thought themselves regaled when they got any Cattle, which Epirus furnished them with in great Abundance. They Alcovered in the Country a Root called Chara, which they pounded and kneaded with Milk, so as to make a Sort of Bread of it. This furnished a plentiful Supply; and when their Adversaries reproached them with their Want, by Way of Answer to their Insults, they threw these Loaves at them.

XLI. By this Time the Corn began to ripen, and the Hopes of a speedy Supply supported the Soldiers under their present Wants. Nay, they were often heard to say one to another, that they would fooner live on the Bark of Trees, than let Pompey gicape. For they were informed from Time to Time by Deferters, that their Horses were almost starved, and the rest of their Cattle actually dead: that the Troops themselves were very sickly; partly occasioned by the narrow Space in which they were inclosed, the Number and noisome Smell of dead Carcases, and the daily Fatigue to which they were unaccustomed; partly by their extreme Want of Water. For Cæsar had either turned the Course of all the Rivers and Brooks that ran into the Sea, or dammed up their Currents. And as the Country was mountainous, intermixed with deep Valleys, by driving Piles into the Earth, and covering them with Mould, he stopped up the Course of the Waters. This obliged the Enemy to search for low and marshy Places, and to dig Wells, which added to their daily Labour. The Wells too, when discovered, lay at a confiderable Distance from some Parts of the Army, and were soon dried up by the Heat. Cafar's Army, on the contrary, was very healthy, abounded ir. Water, and had Pienty of all Kinds of Provision, Corn excepted, which they hoped to be soon supplied with, as the Season was now pretty far advanced, and Harvest approached.

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XLII. In this new Method of making War, new Stratagems were every Day put in practice by both Generals. Pompey's Soldiers, observing by the Fires the Place where our Cohorts were upon Guard, stole thither privately by Night, and pouring upon them a Flight of Arrows, retired instantly to their Camp; which obliged our Men to have Fires in one Place, and keep Guard in anoticer,

XLIII. MEAN-WHILE P. Sylla, whom Cæsar, at his Departure, had left to command the Camp, being informed of what passed, came to the Assistance of the Cohort with two Legions. His Arrival foon put the Pompeians to ilight, who could not stand the very Sight and Shock of his Troops; but seeing their first Ranks broken, took to their Heels, and quitted the Place. Sylla checked the Ardour of his Men, whom he would not suffer to continue the Pursuit too far; and it was the general Belief, that had he purfued the Enemy warmly, that Day might have put an End to the War. His Conduct however cannot be justly censured; for the Difference is great between a Lieutenant and a General; the one is tied up to act according to Instructions; the other, free from Restraint, is at Liberty to lay hold of all Advantages. Sylla, who was left by Cæsur to take care of the Camp, was fatisfied with having disengaged his own Men; and had no Intention to hazard a general Action, which might have been attended with ill Confequences, and would have looked like arrogating the Part of a General. The Pompeians found it no easy Matter to make good their Retreat: for having advanced from a very disadvantageous Post to the Summit of the Hill, they had Reason to fear our Men would charge them in descending; and the rather, as it was very near Sun-set; for they had protracted the Affair almost till Night, in hopes of accomplishing their Design. Thus Pompey, compelled by Necessity, immediately took possession of an Eminence, at such a Distance from our Fort, as to be secure from Darts and military Engines. Here he encamped, threw up an Intrenchment, and drew his Forces together to defend the Place.

XLIV. AT the same Time we were engaged in

two other Places; for Pompey attacked feveral Castles together, to divide our Forces, and hinder the Forts from mutually succouring one another. In one of these, Volcatius Tullus, with three Cohorts, sustained the Charge of a whole Legion, and forced them to retire. In the other, the Germans, sallying out of their Intrenchments, flew feveral of the Enemy, and returned again without Lofs.

XLV. Thus there happened no less than fix Actions in one Day; three near Dyrrhachium, and three about the Lines. In computing the Number of the Slain, it appeared, that Pompey loft about two thousand Men, with feveral Volunteers and Centurions, among whom was Valerius Flaceus, the Son of Lucius, who had formerly been Prætor of Asia. We gained fix Standards, with the Loss of no more than twenty Men in all the Attacks: but in the Fort, not a Soldier escaped being wounded; and four Centurions belonging to one Cohort lost their Eyes. As a Proof of the Danger they had been exposed to, and the Efforts they had sustained, they brought and counted to Cafar about thirty thousand Arrows that had been shot into the Fort; and shewed him the Centurion Scava's Buckler, which was pierced in two hundred and thirty Places. Cæsar, as a Reward for his Services both to himself and the Republick presented him with two hundred thousand Asses, and advanced him directly from the eighth Rank of Captains to the first; it appearing, that the Preservation of the Fort was chiefly owing to his Valour. He also distributed military Rewards among the other Officers and Soldiers of that Cohort; and affigned them double Pay, and a double Allowance of Corn.

XLVI. POMPEY laboured all Night at his Fortifications, raised Redoubts the following Days, and having carried his Works fifteen Foot high, covered that Part of his Camp with Mantelets. Five Days after, taking advantage of a very dark Night, he walled up the Gates of his Camp, rendered all the Avenues impracticable; and drawing out his Troops in great Silence about Midnight, returned to his former Works.

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ALVII. ÆTOLIA, Acarnania, and Amphilochis, having been reduced by Cassius Longinus, and Calvisus Sabinus as we have related above; Cæsar thought it expedient to pursue his Conquests, and attempt to gain Achaia. Accordingly he dispatched Fusius Kalenus thither, ordering Salinus and Cassius to join him, with the Cohorts under their Command. Rutilius Lupus, Pompey Lieutenant in Achaia, hearing of their Approach, resolved to fortify the Isthmus, and thereby hinder Fusius from entering the Province. Delphos, Thebes, and Orchomenus, voluntarily submitted to Kalonus: some States he obtained by Force; and sending Deputies to the rest, endeavoured to make them declare for Cæsar. These Negotiations sound sufficient Employment for Fusius.

XLVIII. CESAR, Mean-while, drew up his Army every Day, offering Pompey Battle upon equal Ground; and, to provoke him to accept it, advanced so near his Camp, that his Van was within Engine-shot of the Rampart. Pompey, to preserve his Reputation, drew out his Legions too; but posted them in such a Manner, that his third Line touched the Rampart, and the whole Army lay under Cover of the Weapons discharged from thence.

XLIX. WHILST these Things passed in Achasa and at Dyrrhachium, and it was now known that Scipio was arrived in Macedonia; Cafar still adhering to his former Views of Peace, dispatched Clodius to him, an intimate Friend of both, whom he had taken into his Service upon Scipio's Recommendation. At his Departure, he charged him with Letters and Instruction's to this Effect : "That he had tried all Ways to bring about a Peace, 66 but believed he had hitherto miscarried through the Fault of those to whom his Proposals were addressed, because they dreaded presenting them to Pempey at an " improper Time: That he knew Scipio's Authority to be fuch, as not only privileged him to advise freely, 66 but even to inforce his Counsels, and compel the 66 Obstinate to hearken to Reason: That he was of possessed of an independent Command, and had are Army at his Disposal to give Weight to-his Interpo-" fition:

" ficion: That in employing it for so desirable an End, he would gain the indisputable Praise of having restored Quiet to Italy, Peace to the Provinces and " faved the Empire." Clodius reported this Commission to Scipio, and at first met with a favourable Reception, but was afterwards denied Audience: for Favonius having sharply reprimanded Scipio, as we learnt after the Conclusion of the War, the Negotiation was discontinued, and Clodius returned to Cassur without Success.

L. CASAR, the more effectually to shut up Pompey's Horse at Dyrrhachium, and hinder them from foraging, blocked up the two narrow Passes, of which we have spoken, with strong Works, and raised Forts to defend them. Pompey finding his Cavalry rendered by this Means unserviceable, conveyed them some Days after by Sea to his Camp again. Forage was so scarce, that they were forced to have Recourse to the Leaves of Trees, and the Roots of green Reeds bruised: for the Corn fown within their Lines was all confumed; nor had they any Supplies, but what came a long Way about by Sea, from Corcyra and Acarnania; and even this was so inconsiderable, that to increase the Quantity, they were forced to mix it with Barley, and by these Contrivances support their Horses. At last, all Expedients being exhausted, and the Horses dying daily, Pompey thought it Time to attempt to force the Barricade, and fet himfelf at liberty.

LI. Among the Cavalry in Cafar's Camp, were two Brothers, Allobrogians by Birth, named Roscillus and Ægus, the Sons of Adbucillus, who had long held the chief Sway in his own State; Men of fingular Bravery, and who had been of fignal Service to Cæfar in all his Gallick Wars. For these Reasons he had raised them to the highest Offices in their own Country, got them chosen into the Senate before they were of Age, given them Lands in Gaul taken from the Enemy, besides pecuniary Rewards to a great Value; insomuch that from very moderate Beginnings they had risen to vast Wealth. These Men were not only highly honoured by Cafar on account of their Bravery, but in great Esteem with the whole Army. But presuming on Cafar's ВЬ Friendship,

Friendship, and foolishly elated with their Prosperity, they used the Troopers ill, defrauded them of their Pay, and secreted all the Plunder to their own Use. Gau is Cavalry, offended at these Proceedings, went in a Body to Cæsar, and openly complained of the two Brothers; adding, among other Accusations, that by giring in false Musters they received Pay for more Men than bey had. Cæsar not thinking it a proper Time for Animadversion, and regarding them greatly on account of their Valour, declined all publick Notice of the Affair, and contented himself with reprimanding them in private; admonishing them to expect every Thing from his Friendship, and to measure their future Hopes by the Experience of what he had already done for them. This Rebuke, however, difgusted them greatly, and very much lessened their Credit with the whole Army; which they eafily perceived, as well from the Raillery they were often forced to bear, as in consequence of the fecret Reproaches and Sense of their own Minds. Thus prompted by Shame, and perhaps imagining they were not cleared, but reserved to a more favourable Opportunity; they resolved to desert, try their Fortune elsewhere, and search for new Friendships. Having imparted their Design to a few of their Clients, whom they judged fit Instruments for so black a Treason; they first attempted to murder C. Volusenus, General of the Cavalry, (as was afterwards known, when the War was over,) that by so signal a Piece of Service they might the more effectually recommend themselves to Pompey's Favour. But finding that Design attended with great Hazard, and that no favourable Opportunity offered for putting it in execution; they borrowed all the Money they could, under Pretence of reimburfing the Troops, and making Restitution; and having bought up a great Number of Horses, went over to Pompey, with those whom they had made acquainted with their Design. As they were Persons of noble Birth, liberally educated, came with a great Train of Horses and Servants, had been highly honoured by Cafar, and were universally esteemed on account of their Valour; Pompey carried them oftentatiously over all the Camp, triumphing in this new and unusual Acquisition: for till then, neither Horse nor Foot-Soldier had deserted from Cassar to Pompey; whereas scarce a Day passed without some Defertion

Desertion from Pompey's Army, especially ar long the new Levies in Epirus, Ætolia, and those Countries that had declared for Cæsar. The Brothers being vell acquainted with the Condition of Cæsar's Camp, v hat was wanting to complete the Fortifications, where the Eoible of the Lines lay, the particular Times, Distance of Places, Strength and Vigilance of the Guards, with the Temper and Character of the Officers who commanded in every Post, made an exact Report of all to

Pompey.

LII. Upon this Intelligence, having already formed the Design of forcing Casar's Lines, he ordered the Soldiers to make Coverings of Ofier for their Helmets, and provide themselves with Fascines. This done, he embarked by Night, in Boats and small Barks, a great Number of light-armed Troops and Archers, with the Fascines for filling up Casar's Trenches; and having drawn together fixty Cohorts from the greater Camp and Forts, led them about Midnight towards that Part of the Enemy's Lines nearest the Sea, a good Distance from the main Camp. Thither likewise he dispatched the Barks, on board of which were the light-armed Troops and Fascines, together with all the Gallies that lay at Dyrrhachium, giving each their particular Instructions. Lentulus Marcellinus the Quæstor, with the ninth Legion, had Charge of this Part of the Fortifications; and as his Health was but infirm, Cæsar had joined Fulvius Posthumus with him in the Command.

LIII. This Place was guarded by a Ditch fifteen Foot broad, with a Rampart towards the Enemy ten Foot high, and of equal Thickness Behind this, at the Distance of six hundred Feet, was another Rampart somewhat lower than the former, and fronting the contrary Way. Casar apprehending an Attack from the Sea, had raised this double Rampart some Days before, that he might be able to defend himself against the Enemy, should they charge him on both Sides at once. But the Extent of the Circumvallation, and the continued Labour of so many Days, in inclosing a Space of eighteen Miles, had not allowed us Time to finish the Work. Accordingly the Line of Communication, B b 2 which

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which ran along the Sea-side, and was to have joined these two Ramparts, was not yet completed. This Pour, was informed of by the Allobrogian Brothers, which proved of fatal Consequence to us. For while some Cohorts of the ninth Legion were upon Guard near the Sea, suddenly the Pompeians arrived about Jay-break, and furprifed them with their unexpected Appearance. At the same Time the Troops that came by Sea, launched their Darts against the outward Rampart, and began to fill up the Ditch with Fascines; while the legionary Soldiers, planting their Scaling-ladders against the inner Works, and plying those that defended them with Darts and Engines, spread a general Terror over that Part of the Camp, which was still increased by the Multitude of Archers that came pouring upon them from all Sides. The Ofiers they had bound round their Helmets, contributed greatly to defend them from the Stones thrown down from the Rampart, which were the only Weapons we had. At last, all Things going against us, and our Resistance becoming every Moment more languid, the Enemy discovered the Defect before spoken of in our Lines; and landing their Men between the two Ramparts, where the Line of Communication towards the Sea remained unfinished, they attacked our Soldiers in the Rear, and obliged them to abandon both Sides of the Works.

LIV. MARCELLINUS hearing of this Diforder, detached some Cohorts to sustain the slying Troops: but as the Rout was become general, they could neither perfuade them to rally, nor were able themselves to withstand the Enemy's Charge. The like happened to a second Detachment; insomuch that the several Supplies fent, by catching the general Terror, ferved only to add to the Confusion and Danger: for the Multitude of Runaways rendered the Retreat the more difficult. In this Action the Eagle-bearer of the ninth Legion, finding himself dangerously wounded, and that his Strength began to fail, called to some Troopers who passed by, and faid: " I have preserved, to the last Moment of " my Life, with the greatest Care, this Eagle, with " which I have been entrusted; and now I am dying, " I return it to Cafar, with the same Fidelity. Carry

it to him, I befeech you; nor fuffer Cæsar'; Arms to experience, in losing it, an Ignominy with which they have been hitherto unacquainted." Thus the Eagle was preserved; but all the Centurions of the first Cohort were slain, except the first Captain of the Principes.

LV. AND now the Pompeians, having made great Slaughter of our Men, approached the Quarters of Marcellinus, to the no small Terror of the rest of the Cohorts; when Mark Antony, who commanded in the nearest Redoubts, upon Notice of what passed, was seen descending from the higher Ground at the Head of twelve Cohorts. His Arrival put a Stop to the Enemy's Progress, and by enabling our Men to recover from their extreme Terror, restored them to their wonted Courage. Soon after Cæsar arrived in person with some Troops, being apprifed of the Attack by the Smoke of the Forts, the usual Signal on these Occasions: and perceiving the Loss he had sustained, and that Pompey had forced the Lines, being able to forage, and having an easy Communication with the Sea; he quitted his former Project, which had proved unfuccessful, and encamped as near Pompey as he could.

LVI. WHEN the Intrenchments were finished, Cafar had Notice from his Scouts, that a certain Number of the Enemy's Cohorts, which to them appeared a complete Legion, were retired behind a Wood, and seemed to be on their March to the old Camp. The Situation of the two Armies was this: Some Days before, when Cæsar's ninth Legion was sent to oppose a Body of Pempey's Troops, they thought proper to intrench themfelves upon an opposite Hill, and form a Camp there. This Camp bordered upon a Wood, and was not above four hundred Paces from the Sea. But afterwards, for certain Reasons, Casar removed a little beyond that Post; and Pompey, a few Days after, took possession of it. But as his Delign was to place feveral Legions there; leaving the inner Rampart standing, he surrounded it with greater Works. Thus the fmaller Camp, inclosed within one of larger Circumference, ferved by way of a Castle or Citadel. He likewife carried an Intrenchment from the left Angle of the Camp to the River, through a Space B b 3

of about four hundred Paces, which enabled him to water freely and without Danger. But he too, soon after, changed his Mind, for Reasons which it is not nee iful to repeat here; and abandoned the Place, which thereby was left several Days without Troops, though the Fortifications remained entire. Hither the Scouts seported they saw the Standard of a Legion carried', which was likewise confirmed by those who were stationed in the higher Forts. The Place was about five hundred Paces distant from Pompey's new Camp. Cæsar desirous to repair the Loss he had sustained, and hoping he might be able to surprise this Legion, left two Cohorts in his Intrenchments, to prevent any Suspicion of his Design; and with thirty-three more, amongst which Number was the ninth Legion, which had lost many Centurions and Soldiers, marched by a different Route, as privately as he could, against the Legion which Pompey had lodged in the lesser Camp. Neither was he deceived in his first Conjecture: For he arrived before Pompey could have Notice of his Design; and though the Increnchments were strong, yet charging the Enemy briskly with his left Wing, where he himself commanded in person, he quickly drove them from the Rampart. But as the Gates were secured by a Barricade,' they still maintained the Fight here for some Time, our Men endeavouring to break in, and the Enemy to defend the Camp. T. Pulcio, who betrayed the Army of C. Antony, as we have related above, gave fignal Proofs of his Valour on this Occasion. But our Men at last prevailed; and having cut down the Barricade, broke first into the greater Camp, and afterwards into the Fort within it, whither the Legion had retired, some of whom were flain endeavouring to defend themselves.

LVII. But Fortune, whose Influence is very great, as in other Things, so particularly in War; often effects mighty Changes from the most trisling Causes; as happened upon this Occasion. For the Cohorts of Casar's right Wing being unacquainted with the Situation of the Camp, and mistaking the Rampart which led to the River for one of its Sides, marched on that Way in quest of a Gate; but perceiving at length their Error, and that nobody defended the Intrenchment, they immediately mounted the Rampart, and were followed by the whole

Cavalry

Caval y. This Delay faved the Enemy: For Pompey having Notice of what passed, brought up the fifth Legion to sustain his Party; so that at one and the "wine Instant, his Cavalry approached ours, and his Treops were seen advancing in Order of Battle, by those who had taken possession of the Camp: Which quickly whanged the Face of Affairs. For Pompey's Legion, en couraged by the Hope of speedy Succours, sallied by the Decuman Port, and briskly charged our Cohorts. On the other hand, Cæsar's Cavalry, who had entered by a narrow Breach in the Rampart, foreseeing that a Retreat would be extremely difficult, began betimes to think of flying. The right Wing, which had no Communication with the left, observing the Consternation of the Cavalry, and fearing they should be overpowered within the Camp, retired the same Way they had entered. Many, to avoid being engaged in the narrow Passes, threw themselves from the Rampart, which was ten Foot high, into the Ditch; where the first Ranks being trodden to Death, their Bodies afforded a safe Passage to those that followed. The left Wing, who from the Rampart whence they had driven the Enemy, faw Pompey advancing against them, and their own Men flying; fearing to be entangled in the Defiles, as they had the Enemy upon them both within and without the Camp, retreated the same Way they came. Nothing was to be seen but Consternation, Flying, and Disorder; insomuch that all Cæsar's Efforts to rally his Troops If he feized any by the Arm they were fruitless. struggled till they got away. If he laid hold of the Colours, they left them in his Hands. Not a Man could be prevailed on to face about.

LVIII. In this Calamity, what faved the Army from entire Destruction was, that Pompey apprehending an Ambuscade (probably because the Success was beyond his Hopes, as a little before he had feen his Men worsted and put to flight) durst not for some Time approach the Intrenchments; and his Cavalry were retarded in the Pursuit by Cæsar's Troops, who were possessed of all the Gates and Defiles. Be that as it will, a small Matter proved of very great Consequence to both Parties: For the Intrenchment between the Camp and the River, stopped the Course of Cæsur's Victory, when he B b 4 had

376 CA SAR'S COMMENTARIES OF BockIII. had alread forced Pompey's Lines: And the sam, by retarding the Pursuit of the Enemy, saved his Army from Destruction.

LIX. In these two Actions, Casar lost nine hundred and fixty private Men, thirty Officers, and several Enights of Note, as Flavius Tuticanus Gallus, a Senator . Son; C. Felginus, of Placentia; A. Gravius, of Puteoli; and M. Sacrativir, of Capua. But the greatest Part of these died without Wounds, being trodden to Death in the Ditch, about the Works, and on the Banks of the River, occasioned by the Flight and Terror of their own Men. He lost also thirty-two Colours. Pompey was saluted Emperor on this Occasion; a Title which he bore ever after, and suffered himself to be accosted by: But neither in the Letters which he wrote, nor in his Consular Ensigns did he think proper to assume the Laurel. The Prisoners were delivered up to Labienus at his own Request; and this Deserter, brutal and cruel as usual, diverted himself. with insulting them in their Calamity; and asked them sarcastically, if it was usual for Veterans to run away; after which he caused them all to be put to death.

LX. THIS Success gave such Confidence and Spirit to the Pompeian Party, that they now no longer took any Concern about the Conduct of the War, but began to consider themselves as already victorious. They never reflected on the inconsiderable Number of our Troops, the Disadvantage of the Ground, the narrow Pasies we were engaged in by their having first Possession of the Camp, the double Danger both within and without the Fortifications, and the Separation of the two Wings of the Army, which hindered them from mutually fuccouring one another. They forgot that the Advantage they had gained, was not the Effect of a brifk and vigorous Attack; and that our Men had fusiered more by crowding upon one another in the narrow Palles, than by the Sword of the Enemy. In fine, they never called to mind the uncertain Chance of War, and upon what minute Caufes good or bad Success often depend; how a groundlet's butpicion, a panick Terror, or a religious Si rupie, have frequently been productive of the most fatal Events; when either by the Misconduct of a General,

fuffered to take root in an Army. But as if the Victory had been purely the Effect of their Valour, and no Change of Fortune was to be apprehended, they every when proclaimed and made publick the Success of this Day.

LXI. CESAR seeing all his former Projects discour certed, resolved to submit to Fortune, and entirely change the Manner of the War. He therefore called in all his Forces from the Forts, gave un the Design of inclosing Pempey, and having affembied his Army, addressed them as follows: "That they ought not to be discouraged, or give way to Consternation upon what had lately happened, but oppose their many successful Engagements to one flight and inconsiderable Check. That Fortune had already befriended them greatly, in the Reduction of Italy without Bloodshed; in the Conequest of the two Spains, though defended by warlike Troops, under the Conduct of skilful and experienced Leaders; and in the Subjection of the neighbouring Provinces, whence they could be plentifully supplied with Corn. In fine, they ought to call to mind, how " happily they had passed into Greece, through the Midst " of the Enemy's Fleets, though possessed of all the "Coasts and Havens. If they were not successful in every Thing, they must endeavour by Prudence to overcome the Disappointments of Fortune; and attribute their late Diffilter to the Caprice of that Goddess, rather than to any Fault on their Side. "he had led them to an advantageous Ground, and put them in the Possession of the Enemy's Camp, es after driving them from all their Works. If either " fome furiden Consternation, the mistaking their Ways or any other Mishap, had fnatched an apparent and es almost certain Victory out of their Hands, they ought to exert their utmo't Endeavours to repair that Difes grace; which would turn their Misfortunes to a Be-"nefit, as happened at Gergovia; where those who at first dreaded to encount r the Enemy, demanded earnettly in the End to be led to Battle." Having made this Speech, he contented himself with stigmatifing, and reducing to private Men, forne of the Standard-bearers; For the whole Army were so grieved at their Loss, and fo defirous of expunging the Stain their Glory had re-

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ceived, that there was no Occasion either for the ribunes or Centurions to remind them of their Ducy: Nay, they even undertook to punish themselves by the severe'. Impositions, and demanded with great Outcries to be sed against the Enemy; being seconded by some Centurions of the first Rank, who touched with their monstrances, were for continuing in the Post they then pesselfed, and putting all to the Hazard of a Battle. But Casar did not think it prudent to expose to an Action Troops that had been just worsted, and in whom might remain too deep Impressions of their late Fright.

He was for allowing them Time to recover themselves;

and having quitted his Works, thought it needful to

provide for the Security of his Convoys.

LXII. ACCORDINGLY, after proper Care taken of the Sick and Wounded, and as foon as Night approached, he fent all the Baggage privately towards Apollonia, under a Guard of one Legion, with Orders not to halt till they had reached the Place. This Affair dispatched, he made two Legions remain in the Camp, and marching out all the rest about Three in the Morning at several Gates, ordered them to follow the same Route the Baggage had taken. Soon after, that his Departure might not have the Appearance of a Flight, and yet be known to the Enemy as late as possible, he ordered the usual Signal to be given; and fetting out with the rest of his Forces, lost Sight of the Camp in a Moment. Pompey hearing of his Retreat, prepared to follow him without Delay, and hoping to surprise the Army in its March, whilst incumbered with Baggage, and not yet recovered from its Consternation, drew out all his Troops, and fent his Cavalry before to retard our Rear: Which however he could not overtake, because Casar marching without Baggage, had got a great way before him. But when we came to the River Genusus, we found the Banks so steep and difficult, that before all the Men could get over, Pompey's Cavalry came up, and fell upon our hind-Caefar fent his Horse to oppose them, most Battalions. intermixed with some light-armed Troops; who charged with that Vigour and Success, as to put them all to rout, leave a confiderable Number dead upon the Field, and res turn without Lois to the main Body of their Army.

XIII. HAVING completed the intende | March of that Day, and brought his Army over the Genusus, he took up his Quarters in his old Camp at Asparagium, fuffering none of the Soldiers to stroll without the Rainpart, and charging the Cavalry, who had been feat out under Pretence of foraging, to return immediately by the Decuman Port. Pomper likewise, having completed that Day's March, encamped at his old Post at Asparagium; where the Troops having nothing to do, because the Works were feill entire; some made long Excursions in quest of Wood and Ferage; others, who had come almost without any Baggage, by reason the March was undertaken on a Sudden, enticed by the Nearness of their former Camp, laid down their Arms in their Tents, quitted the Intrenenments, and went to fetch what they had left behind the.n. This rendering them unable to pursue, as Cæsar had soreseen; about Noon, he gave the Signal for decamping, led forth his Troops, and doubling that Day's March, gained eight Miles upon Pompey, who could not follow him by reason his Troops were dispersed.

LXIV. NEXT Day Cæsar decamped again at three in the Morning, having fent away his Baggage over Night, that if he should find himself under a Necessity of fighting, he might have his Army clear of all Incumbrance. The same he did the following Days: By which Means, though he had very difficult Ways to pass, and some great Rivers to cross, he suffered no Loss during the whole March. For Pompey, after the first Day's Hindrance, endeavouring in vain by long and forced Marches to overtake Cæsar, gave over the Pursuit on the fourth, and began to think of taking other Measures.

LXV. CÆSAR was under a Necessity of going to Apollonia, to leave his wounded there, to pay his Army, confirm his Friends in their Duty, and garrison the Towns that had submitted. But he took no longer Time to these Affairs, than the Importance of his other Engagements would allow. For fearing that Pompey night surprise Domitius Calvinus, he put himself in full M. ch to join him. The Scheme he proceeded on was this: that if Pompey took the same Route, he must leave the

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the Sea, the Forces he had at Dyrrhachium, with al his Ammunition and Provision, which would bring them upon equal Terms: if he passed into Italy, Casar purposed to join Domitius, and March to its Defence by the Coaft of Illyricum: in fine, should be fall upon Apollonia and Oricum, and endeavour to exclude him from the Seatotal; in that Case he reckened to oblige him, by attacking Metellus Scipio, to have every Thing to succour Cæsar therefore dispatched Couriers to Domitius, to acquaint him with his Defign; and leaving four Cohorts at Apollonia, one at Liffus, and three at Oricam, with the fick and wounded, began his March through Epirus and Acarnania. Pompey on his Side, guessing Cafar's Design, made what haste he could to join Scipia; that if Cæsar should march that Way, he might prevent his being overpowered: but should he still keep near Corcyra, and the Sea, because of the Legions and Cavalry he expected from Italy; in that Case, he purposed to fall upon Demitius with all his Forces.

LXVI. For these Reasons both Generals studied Dispatch, as well to afford timely Succour to their Friends, as not to miss an Opportunity of distressing their Enemies. But Cæsar had turned off to apolionia; whereas Pompey took the nearest Way through Candavia for Macedonia. It happened too very unfortunately, that Domitius, who for several Days had been encamped near Scipio, quitted that Station for the Convenience of Provisions, and was upon his March to Heraclea Sentica, a City of the Candavians; so that Chance seemed to throw him directly in Pampey's Way, which Cæfar had not then the least Knowledge of. Pompey too having fent Letters through all the States and Provinces, relating to the Action at Dyrrhachium, with Representations that far exceeded the Truth; a Rumour began to prevail, that Cæsar had been defeated with the Lois of almost all his Forces, and was forced to fly before Pempey. These Reports raised him many Enemies on his March, and induced some States to throw off their Allegiance; whence it happened, that the Couriers mutually sent by Cæsar and Donitius, were all intercepted. But the Allobrogians in the Train of Figus and Roscillus, who, as we have seep be fore, had deferted from Cafar to Pompey, meeting ome of Demitius's Scouts; either out of an ancient Culton, because

because they had served together in the Gallick Wars; or from a Motive of Vainglory; informed them of all that had passed; of Pompey's Victory, and Cæsar's Retreat. Advice being given of this to Calvinus, who was not above four Hours March from the Enemy, he avoided the Danger by a timely Retreat, and joined Cæsar near Æginium, a Town on the Borders of Thessuly.

LXVII. AFTER the Junction of the two Armies, Cæsar arrived at Gemphi, the first Town of Thessaly, as you come from Epirus. A few Months before, the Inhabitants had of their own Accord sent Ambassadors to Cafar, to make an Offer of what their Country afforded, and petition for a Garrison. But the Report of the Action at Dyrrhachium, with many groundless Additions, had by this Time reached their Ears. And therefore Androfthenes, Prætor of Thessaly, choosing rather to be the Companion of Pompey's good Fortune, than affociate with Cæsar in his Adversity; ordered all the People, whether Slaves or free, to assemble in the Town; and having shut the Gates against Cafar, sent Letters to Scipio and Pompey to come to his Affistance, intimating: "That the Town was strong enough to hold out if they " used Dispatch, but by no Means in Condition to " sustain a long Siege." Scipio, on Advice of the Departure of the Armics from Dyrrhachium, was come to: Larissa with his Legions; and Pompey was yet far enough distant from Thessaly. Casar having fortified his Camp, ordered Mantelets, Hurdles, and Scaling-ladders to be prepared for a sudden Attack; and then exhorting his Men, represented; "Of how great Consequence it was " to render themselves Masters of an opulent City, 66 abounding in all Things needful for the Supply of their "Wants, and by the Terror of whose Punishment 66 other States would be awed into Submission: and " this, he told them, must be done quickly, before any "Succours could arrive." Accordingly, feizing the Opportunity offered by the uncommon Ardor of the Troops, he attacked the Town the same Day about Three in the Afternoon; and having made himself Master of it before Sun-set, gave it up to be plundered. From Gomphi Cæsar marched directly to Metropolis, and arr. ed before they were acquainted with the Misfortune of .heir Neighbours.

LXYIII. THE

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LXVIII THE Metropolitans at first following the Example of Gomphi, to which they were moved by the same Reports, shut their Gates, and manned the Walls. But no fooner came they to understand the Fate of their neighbour City, by some Prisoners whom Cæsur produced for that End, than immediately they admitted him into the Town. He suffered no Hostilities to be committed, nor any Harm to be done them; and so powerful was the Example, from the different Treatment of these two Cities, that not a single State in Thessaly refused to submit to Casar, and receive his Orders, except Larissa, which was awed by the numerous Army of Metellus Scipio. As the Country was good, and covered with Corn, which was near ripe, Cafar took up his Quarters there, judging it a proper Place to wait for Pampey in, and render the Theatre of the War.

LXIX. A few Days after Pompey arrived in Thessaly; and joining Metellus Scipio, harangued both Armies. He first thanked his own for their late Services; and then turning to Scipio's Troops, exhorted them to put in for their Share of the Booty, which the Victory already obtained gave them the fairest Prospect of. Both Armies being received into one Camp, he shared all the Honours of Command with Scipio, ordered a Pavilion to be erected for him, and the Trumpets to found before it. This Increase of Pompey's Forces, by the Conjunction of two mighty Armies, raised the Confidence of his Followers, and their Assurance of Victory to such a Degree, that all Delays were confidered as a Hindrance of their Return to Italy; infomuch that if Pompey on any Occasion acted with Slowness and Circumspection, they failed not to cry out: " That he industriously protract-" ed an Affair, for the Dispatch of which one Day was " fufficient, in the View of gratifying his Ambition for "Command, and having confular and prætorian Sena-"tors amongst the Number of his Servants." Already they began to dispute about Rewards and Dignities, and fixed upon the Persons who were annually to succed to the Consulship. Others sued for the Houses and Estates of those who had followed Casar's Party. warm Debate arose in Council in relation to L. Hirren whom Pompey had fent against the Parthians, whether in the next Election of Prætors, he should be allowed to

stand Candidate for that Office in his Absence; his Friends imploring Pompey to make good the Promise he had made him at his Departure, and not suffer him to be deceived by depending on the General's Honour; while fuch as aspired at this Office complained publickly, that a Promise should be made to any one Candidate, when all were embarked in the same Cause, and shared the like Dangers. Aiready Domitius Scipio, and Lentulus Spinther, were openly quarrelling about the High-priesthood, which Cæsar was in possession of. They even descended to personal Abuse, and pleased their several Pretensions; Lentulus urging the Respect due to his Age; Domitius, his Dignity, and the Interest he had in the City; and Scipio his Alliance with Pompey. - Attius Rufus impeached L. Afranius before Pompey, charging him with having occasioned the Loss of the Army in Spain. And L. Domitius moved in Council, that after the Victory, all the Senators in Pempey's Army and Camps, should be appointed Judges, and impowered to proceed against those who had stayed in Italy, or who had appeared cool, or shewn any Indifference to the Cause; and that three Billets should be given to these Judges, one for Acquittance, another for Condemnation, and a Third for a pecuniary Fine. In a Word, nothing was thought on but Honours, or Profit, or Vengeance; nor did they consider by what Methods they were to conquer, but what Advantage they should make of Victory.

LXX. CESAR having provided for the Subfiftence of his Troops, who were now no longer fatigued, and had fufficiently recovered from the Consternation the different Actions at Dyrrhachium had thrown them into; thought it high Time to make trial how Pompey stood affected to an Engagement. Accordingly he drew out his Men, and formed them in Order of Battle; at first near his own Camp, and somewhat distant from the Enemy: but perceiving this had no Effect on Pompey, who still maintained his Post on the Eminences, he each Day drew nearer, and by that Conduct animated and gave fresh Courage to his Soldiers. His Cavalry being much infe ior to the Enemy's in Number, he followed the M 'hod already mentioned; of fingling out the strongest and 1 mblcst of his Foot-soldiers, and accustoming them to fight intermixed with the Horse; in which Way of Combat

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Combat they were become very expert by daily Practice. This Disposition, joined to constant Exercite, so emboldened his Cavalry, that though but a thousand in Number, they would upon occasion sustain the Charge of Pampey's seven thousand, even in an open Plain, and appear not greatly dismayed at their Multitude: nay, they actually got the better in a Skirmish that happened between them, and killed Agus the Allabragian, one of the two Brothers who deserted to Pampry, with several others of his Party.

LXXI. Pomfey, whose Camp was on an Eminence, drew up his Army at the Foot of the Mountain, expecting, as may be prefumed, that Cafar would attack him in that advantageous Situation. But Cafar despairing to draw Pempey to a Battle on equal Terms, thought it would be his best Course to decamp, and be always upon the March; in Hopes, that by frequently shifting his Ground, he might the better be supplied with Provifions; and that as the Enemy would not fail following him, in the frequent Marches he should make, he might perhaps find an Opportunity of attacking them, and forcing them to fight: at least he was sure of harassing Pempey's Army, little accustomed to these continued Fatigues. Accordingly the Order for marching was given, and the Tents struck, when Cæsar perceived that Pompey's Army, which had quitted their Intrenchments, had advanced further towards the Plain than usual, so that he might engage them at a less Disadvantage: whereupon addressing himself to his Soldiers, who were juit ready to march out of their Trenches; "Let " us no longer think, fays he, of marching; now is the "Time for righting, to long wished for; let us there-" fore arm ourselves with Courage, and not miss so fa-" vouranie an Opportunity." This said, he immediately drew out his Forces.

LXXII. Pompey likewise, as was afterwards known, had resolved to offer Battle, in compliance with the repeated Importunities of his Friends. He even said in a Council of War, held some Days before, that Cofer's Army would be deleated before the Infantry came then gage. And when some expressed their Surprise of this Speech; "I have fays he, that what I promise ap-

of pears almost incredible but hear the Reasons on which "I ground my Confidence, that you may advance to Battle with the greater Assurance. I have persuaded " the Cavalry, and obtained their Promise for the Per-" formance, that as foon as the Armies are formed, " they shall fall upon Cacfar's right Wing, which they " will eafily be able to out-flank and furround. This "must infallibly occasion the immediate Rout of that "Wing, and consequently of the rest of Casar's Troops, " without Danger or Loss on our Side. Nor will the Execution be attended with any Difficulty, as we are " so much superior to them in Horse. Be ready therefore for Battle; and fince the so much defired Opportu-" nity of fighting is come, take care not to fall fhort of the good Opinion the World entertains of your Va-" lour and Experience." Labienus spoke next; highly applauding this Scheme of Pampey, and expressing the greatest Contempt of Cæsar's Army: "Think not," Tays he, addressing himself to Pompey, " that these are "the Legions which conquered Gaul and Germany. I was present in all those Battles, and can of my own "Knowledge affirm, that but a very small Part of that 66 Army now remains: great Numbers have been kil-" led, as must of necessity happen, in such a Variety of " Conflicts: many perished during the autumnal Pesti-66 lence in Apulia: many are returned to their own Habitations: and not a few were left behind to guard " Italy. Have you not heard, that the Cohorts in Gar-" rison at Brundusium are made up of Invalids? The "Forces which you now behold, are composed of new "Levies raised in Lombardy, and the Colonies beyond the Po: for the Veterans, in whom confifted the main Strength of the Army, perilhed all in the two Defeats " at Dyrrhachium." Having finished this Speech, he took an Oath, which he proffered to all tirat were prefent, never to return to Camp otherwise than victori-Pompey commended his Zeal, took the Oath himfelf, and the rest followed his Example without Hetitation. After these Engagements taken publickly in Council, they all departed full of Joy and Expectacion; confidering themselves as already victorious, and relying entirel on the Ability of their General; who, in an Affine that Importance, they were confident would promife tothing without Assurance of Success. LXXIII WHEN Cc

CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES OF Book III.

LXXIII. WHEN Cafar approached Pompey's Camp, he found his Army drawn up in this Manner! In the left Wing were the two Legions delivered by Cæsar av the Beginning of the Quarrel, in consequence of a Decree of the Senate; one of which was called the First, the other the Third Legion: and here Pompey commanded in person. Scipio was in the Center, with the Legions he had brought out of Syria. The Cilician Leg joined to the Spanish Cohorts brought over by Afranius, formed the right Wing: These Pompey esteemed his best Troops, distributing the less expert between the Wings and the main Body. He had in all an hundred and ten Cohorts, amounting to five-and-forty thousand; besides, two Cohorts of Volunteers, who had ferved under him in former Wars; and who, out of Affection to their old General, though their legal Time was expired, flocked to his Standard on this Occasion, and were dispersed amongst the whole Army. His other seven Cohorts were left to guard the Camp and the adjoining Forts. As the Enipeus, a River with very steep Banks, covered his right Wing, he placed all his Horse, Slingers, and Archers in the Left.

LXXIV. CESAR observing his ancient Custor, placed the Tenth Legion in the Right, and the Ninth in the left Wing. As this last had been considerably weakened by the feveral Actions at Dyrrhachium, he joined the Eighth to it in fuch Manner, that they formed as it were but one Legion, and had Orders mutually to relieve each other. His whole Army amounted to fourfcore Cohorts, making in all twenty-two thousand Men; besides two Cohorts left to guard the Camp. Domitius Calvinus was in the Center, Mark Antony on the Left, and P. Sylla on the Right. Cafar took his Post opposite to Pompey, at the Head of the Tenth Legion. And as he had observed the Disposition of the Enemy contrived to out-flank his right Wing; to obviate that Inconvenience, he made a Draught of fix Cohorts from his Rear-line, formed them into a separate Body, and opposed them to Pempey's Horse; instructing them in the Part they were to act; and adn onishing them, that the Success of that Day would deper I chiefly on their Courage. At the same Time he change the whole Army, and in particular the third Line, not to advance

vance to Battle without Orders; which, when he faw it proper, he would give, by making the usual Signal.

LXXV. WHEN he was exhorting them to Battle, as military Custom required, and reminding them of the many Favours they had on all Occasions received at his Hands, he chiefly took care to observe; "That they " had themselves been Witnesses of his earnest Endea-" vours after Peace; that ie had employed Vatinius to " folicit a Conference with Labienus, and fent A. Clo-" dius to treat with Scipio; that he had pressed Libo in " the warmest Manner at Oricum, to grant him a Safe-" conduct for his Ambassadors: in a Word, that he " had left nothing unattempted to avoid wasting the "Blood of his Soldiers, and to spare the Commonwealth " the Loss of one of her Armies." After this Speech, observing his Soldiers ardent for the Fight, he ordered the Trumpets to found a Charge. Among the Volunteers in Cæsar's Army was one Crastinus, a Man of distinguished Courage, who the Year before had been first Centurion of the tenth-Legion. This brave Officer, as foon as the Signal was given, calling to those next him: "Follow me, faid he, you that were formerly under my "Command, and acquit yourselves of the Duty you " owe to your General. This one Battle more will " crown the Work, by restoring him to his proper Dig-" nity, and us to the Enjoyment of our Freedom." At the same Time turning to Cæsar, "General, says he, this Day you shall be satisfied with my Behaviour, " and whether I live or die, I will take care to deserve vour Commendations." So faying, he marched up to the Enemy, and began the Attack at the Head of a hundred and twenty Volunteers.

LXXVI. BETWEEN the two Armies there was an Interval sufficient for the Onset: but Pompey had given his Troops Orders to keep their Ground, that Cafar's Army might have all that Way to come. This he is faid to have done by the Advice of C. Triarius, that the Enemy's Ranks might be broken, and themselves put or: of Breath, by having so far to run; of which Disof ler he hoped to make an Advantage. He was besides Opinion, that our Javelins would have less Effect, by the Troops continuing in their Post, than if they sprung Cc 2

forward at the very Time they were launched; and as the Soldiers would have twice as far to run as usual, they must be weary and breathless by that Time they came up with the first Line. But herein Pompey seems to have acted without sufficient Reason; because there is a certain Alacrity and Ardor of Mind, naturally planted in every Man, which is inflamed by the Defire of fighting; and which an able General far from endeavouring to repress, will by all the Methods he can devise, foment and cherish. Nor was it a vain Institution of our Ancestors, that the Trumpets should sound on every Side, and the whole Army raise a Shout, in order to animate the Courage of their own Men, and strike Terror into the Enemy. Cafar's Soldiers entirely defeated Pompey's Hopes by their good Discipline and Experience. For perceiving the Enemy did not stir, they halted of their own Accord in the Midst of their Career; and having taken a Moment's Breath, put themselves a second Time in Motion, marched up in good Order, flung their Javelins, and then betook themselves to their Swords. Nor did Pompey's Men act with less Presence of Mind: for they sustained our Attack, kept their Ranks, bore the Discharge of our Darts; and having launched their own; immediately had recourse to their Swords. At this Inffant Pampey's Horse, accompanied by the Archers and Slingers, attacked Cæsar's; and having compelled them to give Ground, began to extend themselves to the Left, in order to flank the Infantry. Whereupon Cafar gave the appointed Signal to the fix Cohorts, who fell on the Enemy's Horse with such Fury, that they not only drove them from the Field of Battle, but even compelled them to feek Refuge in the highest Mountains. The Archers and Slingers, deprived of their Protection, were foon after cut to Pieces. Mean-while the fix Cohorts, not content with this Success, wheeled round upon the Enemy's left Wing, and began to charge it in the Rear: whereupon Cafar, perceiving the Victory so far advanced, to complete it, brought up his third Line, which till then had not engaged. Pempey's Infantry being thus doubly attacked in Front by fresh Troops, and in Rear by the victorious Cohorts, could no longer refist, but fled to their Camp. Nor was Cafar mista in his Conjecture, when in exhorting his Men, he'declared that Victory would depend chiefly on the fix Cohorts,

horts, which formed the Body of Reserve, and were statione! to oppose the Enemy's Horse: sor by them were their Cavalry defeated, their Archers and Slingers cut to pieces, and their left Wing surrounded and forced to fly.

LXXVII. POMPEY seeing his Cavalry routed, and that Part of the Army on which he chiefly depended put into Disorder, despaired of bei ig able to restore the Battle, and quitted the Field. Repairing immediately to his Camp, he said aloud to the Centurions who guarded the Prætorian Gate, so as all the Soldiers might hear him: "Take care of the Camp, and defend it vigorously in " case of an Attack. I go to visit the other Gates, and " give Orders for their Defence." This faid, he retired to his Tent, despairing of Success, yet waiting the Event. Cæsar having forced the Pompeians to seek refuge in their Camp, and not willing to allow them Time to recover from their Consternation, exhorted his Troops to make the best of their present Victory, and vigorously attack the Enemy's Entrenchments. Though the Battle had lasted till Noon, the Weather being extremely hot; yet prepared to encounter all Difficulties, they cheerfully complied with his Orders. The Camp was bravely defended for some Time by the Cohorts left to guard it; and particularly by a great Number of Thracians, and other Barbarians, who made a very stout Resistance: for as to fuch Troops as had there fought Refuge from the Field of Battle, they were in too great a Consternation to think of any Thing more than a safe Retreat. It was not however possible for the Troops posted on the Rampart, long to stand the Multitude of Darts continually poured upon them; which in the End obliged them to retire covered with Wounds, and under the Conduct of their Tribunes and Centurions, feek Shelter in the Mountains adjoining to the Camp.

LXXVIII. On entering Pompey's Camp, we found Tables ready covered, Side-boards loaded with Plate, and Tents adorned with Branches of Myrtle; that of L. Le itulus, with some others, was shaded with Ivy. Ever Thing gave Proofs of the highest Luxury, and an anureu Expectation of Victory; whence it was easy to see, that they little dreamt of the Issue of that Day, since Cc3 intent

intent only on voluptuous Refinements, they pretended, with Troops immersed in Luxury, to oppose Casar's Army, accustomed to Fatigue, and inured to the Want of Necessaries.

LXXIX. Pompey finding our Men had forced his Intrenchments, mounted his Horse, quitted his Armour for a Hubit more suitable to his ill Fortune, and withdrawing by the Decuman Port, rode sull speed to Larissa. Nor did he stop there; but continuing his Flight Day and Night without Intermission, he arrived at the Seaside with thirty Horse, and went on board a little Bark; often complaining, "That he had been so far deceived in his Opinion of his Followers, as to see those very Men from whom he expected Victory, the sirst to fly, and in a Manner betray him into the Hands of his Enemics."

LXXX. CESAR having mastered the Enemy's Camp, requested his Soldiers not to leave the Victory imperfect, by busying themselves about the Plunder. Finding them ready to obey, he began a Line of Circum-vallation round the Mountain. The Pompeians quickly abandoned a Post, which, for Want of Water, was not tenable, and endeavoured to reach the City of Larissa: whereupon Cæsar, dividing his Army, left one Part in Pompey's Camp, sent back another to his own Camp, and having with four Legions taken a nearer Road than that by which the Enemy passed, he found Means to intercept them, and after fix Miles March drew up in Order of Battle. But the Pompeians once more found Protection from a Mountain, at the Foot of which ran a Rivulet. Though Cæfar's Troops were greatly fatigued by fighting the whole Day, before Night he had flung up some Works, sufficient to prevent the Enemy from having any Communication with the Rivulet. As by this Step they were cut off from all Hopes of Relief, or of escaping, they sent Deputies to treat about a Surren-Affairs continued in this Situation all that Night, of which some sew Senators, who had accombanied them, took the Advantage to make their Escape Break of Day they all, by Cafar's Order, came into the Plain, and delivered up their Arms; imploring his Goodness, and suing for Mercy. 'Cafar spoke

spoke to them with great Mildness, and to alleviate their App chensions, cited various Instances of his Clemency, which he had on so many Occasions made evident. In fact, he gave them their Lives, and forbid his Soldiers to offer them any Violence, or to take any Thing stom them. He then sent for the Legions which had passed the Night in Camp, to relieve those that had accompanied him in the Pursuit; and being determined to sollow Pompey, began his Marc', and arrived the same Day at Larissa.

LXXXI. This Battle cost Casar no more than two hundred Soldiers: but he lost thirty Centurions, Men of fingular Courage. Among these latter was Crastinus, whose Gallantry and Intrepidity, in marching up to Battle, has been taken notice of. This brave Officer, fighting regardless of Danger, received a Wound in the Mouth from a Sword. Nor was he deceived in promising himself Cæsar's Approbation, who was thoroughly sensible of his Merit, and greatly applauded his Behaviour in this Action. On Pompey's Side there fell about fifteen Thousand: but upwards of four-and-twenty thoufand were taken Prisoners: for the Cohorts that guarded the Forts surrendered to Sylla; though many escaped into the adjacent Countries. One hundred and eighty Colours were taken, and nine Eagles. L. Domitius flying towards the Mountains, and growing faint through the Fatigue, was overtaken and killed by some Horsemen.

LXXXII. About this Time D. Lælius arrived with his Fleet at Brundusium, and possessed himself of the Island over-against the Harbour, as Libs had done before. Vatinius, who commanded in the Place, having equipped several Boats, endeavoured to entice some of Lælius's Ships within the Haven, and took a sivebenched Galley, with two smaller Vessels, that had ventured too far into the Port: then disposing his Cavalry along the Shore, he prevented the Enemy from getting fresh Water. But Lælius having chosen a more con eniont Season of the Year for sailing, brought Water Transports from Gorcyra and Dyrrhæchium; still keeping to his Purpose; from which neither the Differace of losing his Ships, nor the Want of Necessaries

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LXXXIII. Much about the same Time Cassius arrived in Sicily, with the Syrian, Phænician, and Cilician Fleets. And as Cafar's Fleet was divided into two Parts, in one of which P. Sulpicius the Prætor commanded at Vibo in the Straits; in the other M. Pomponius at Messana: Cassus wi arrived at Messana with his Fleet before Pompenius had Notice of his coming. And finding him unprepared, without Guards, Order, or Discipline, he took the Opportunity of a favourable Wind, and fent feveral Fire-ships against him, which consumed his whole Fleet, thirty-five in Number, twenty of which were decked. The Terror occasioned by this Blow was fo great, that though there was an entire Legion in Garrison at Messana, they durst scarce look the Enemy in the Face; and would doubtless have delivered up the Town, had not the News of Cæsar's Victory reached them, by Means of the Cavalry Stationed along the Coast. Cussius then sailed for Sulpicius's Fleet at Vibo; which finding at Anchor, near the Shore, by reason the Consternation was become general over the whole Island; he put the same Stratagem in practice as before. For taking the Advantage of a favourable Wind, he made forty Fire-ships advance against them, and the Flame catching hold on both Sides, quickly reduced five Gallies to Ashes. The Conflagration continuing to spread, roused the Indignation of some veteran Soldiers, who had been left to guard the Ships. Accordingly they went on board, weighed Anchor, and attacking the Enemy, took two Quinqueremes, in one of which was Cassius himself; but he escaped in a Boat. Two three-benched Gallies were funk: and foon after he was informed of the Defeat at Pharsalia, by some of Pompey's own Followers; for hitherto he had regarded it as a false Report, spread abroad by Cæsar's Lieutenants and Friends. Upon this Intelligence he quitted Sicily, and retired with his Fleet.

LXXXIV. CESAR laying all other Thoughts aside; determined to pursue Pompey, whithersoeve he should retire, to prevent his drawing together frest rorces, and renewing the War. He marched every Day

as far as the Body of Cavalry he had with him could hold out, and was followed by shorter Marches by a single Legion. Pompey had issued a Proclamation at Amphipolis, enjoining all the Youth of the Province, whether Greeks or Romans, to join him in Arms. But whether this was with Intent to conceal his real Design of retreating much farther, or to try to maintain his Ground in Macedonia, if no body pursued him, is hard to determine. Here he lay one Night at Anchor, sending to what Friends he had in the Town, and raising all the Money he possibly could. But being informed of Cafar's Approach, he departed with all Expedition, and came in a few Days to Mitylene. Here he was detained two Days by the Badness of the Weather; and having increased his Fleet with a few Gallies, sailed to Cilicia, and thence to Cyprus. There he was informed, that the Antiochians, and Roman Citizens trading thither, had with joint Consent seized the Castle, and sent Deputies to fuch of his Followers as had taken refuge in the neighbouring States, not to come near Antioch at their Peril. The same had happened at Rhodes to L. Lentulus the Consul of the foregoing Year, to P. Lentulus a confular Senator, and to some other Persons of Distinction; who following Pompey in his Flight, and arriving at that Island, were refused Admittance into the Town and Harbour, and received an Order to withdraw immediately which they were necessitated to comply with; for the Fame of Cæsar's Approach had now reached the neighbouring States.

LXXXV. Upon this Intelligence Pompey laid afide his Defign of going into Syria, seized all the Money he found in the publick Bank, borrowed as much more as he could of his Friends, sent great Quantities of Brass on board for military Uses: and having raised two thousand Soldiers, amongst the publick Officers, Merchants, and his own Servants, sailed for Pelusium. Here, by accident, was King Ptolemy, a Minor, warring with a great Army against his Sister Gleopatra; whom, some Months before, by the Assistance of his Friends, he had expelled the Kingdom, and was then encamped not far direction her. Pompey sent to demand his Protection, and a fase Retreat in Alexandria, in consideration of the Friendship that had subsisted between him and his Father.

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ther. The Messengers, after discharging their Commisfion, began to converse freely with the King's Troops, exhorting them to affist Pompey, and not despise him in his adverse Fortune. Among these Troops were many of Pompey's old Soldiers, whom Galinius having draughted out of the Syrian Army, had carried to Alexandria, and upon the Conclusion of the War, left there with the young King's Father. The King's Ministers, who had the Care of the Government during his Minority, being informed of this: either out of Fear, as they afterwards pretended, lest Pompey should debauch the Army, and thereby render himself Master of Alexandria and Egypt; or despissing his low Condition, (as Friends in bad Fortune, often turn Enemies,) spoke favourably to the Deputies in publick, and invited Pompey to Court; but privately dispatched Achillas, Captain of the King's Guards, a Man of fingular Boldness, and L. Septimius, a military Tribune, with Orders to murder him. They accosted him with an Air of Frankness, especially Septimins, who had ferved under him as a Centurion in the War with the Pirates; and inviting him into the Boat, treacherously sew him. L. Lentulus was likewise seized by the King's Command, and put to death in Prifon.

LXXXVI. WHEN Cæsur arrived in Asia, he found that T. Ampius, having formed the Design of seizing the Treasures of the Ephesian Diana, and summoned all the Senators in the Province to bear witness to the Sum taken, had quitted that Project upon Cæsar's Approach, and betaken himself to Flight. Thus was the Temple of Ephefus a second Time saved from Plunder by Cafar. It was remarked in the Temple of Minerva at Elis, that the very Day Cæsar gained the Battle of Pharsalia, the Image of Victory, which before frond fronting the Statue of the Goddess, turned towards the Portal of the Temple. The same Day, at Antioch in Syria, such a No.16 of fighting and Trumpets was heard two feveral Times, that the Inhabitants ran to Arms, and manned their Walls. The like happened at Ptelemais. At Pergarant in the inner Recesses of the Temple, called by the serreks Adyta, where none but Pricits are allowed a cuter, the Sound of Cymbals was heard. And in the Temple of Victory at Tralits, where a Statue was consecrated to Cæsar, a Palm sprouted between the joining of the Stones that arched the Roof.

LXXXVII. CESAR, after a short Stay in Asia, hearing that Pompey had been seen at Cyprus, and thence conjecturing that he was gone for Egypt, because of the Interest he had in that Kingdom, and the Advantages it would afford him; left Rhodes, with a Convoy of ten Rhedian Gallies, and a fev others from Asia, having on board two Legions, one o' which he had ordered to follow him from Thessaly, the other detached from Fusins's Army in Achaia, and eight hundred Horse. In these Legions were no more than three thousand two hundred Men: The rest, fatigued with the Length of the March, or weakened with Wounds, had not been able to follow But Cæsar depending on the Reputation of his former Exploits, scrupled not to trust the Safety of his Person to a feeble Escort, believing no Place would dare to attempt any Thing against him. At Alexandria he was informed of Pompey's Death: And upon landing, was accosted in a clamorous Manner by the Soldiers, whom Ptolemy had left to garrison the City: And he observed that the Mob appeared distatisfied to see the Fasces carried before him, which they interpreted a Degradation of the Sovereign Authority. Though this Tumult was appealed, yet each Day produced some frech Disturbance, and many of the Roman Soldiers were murdered in all Parts of the City.

LXXXVIII. For these Reasons he sent into Asia for some of the Legions which he had raised out of the Remains of Pompey's Army; being himself necessarily detained by the Etesian Winds, which are directly contrary to any Passage by Sea from Alexandria. Meantime considering the Difference between Ptolemy and his Sister, as subject to the Cognisance of the Roman People, and of him as Consul; and the rather, because the Alliance with Ptolemy the Father had been contracted during his former Consulship; he gave the King and C'copatra to understand, that it was his Pleasure they I ould dismiss their Troops, and instead of having reurse to Arms, come and plead their Cause before him.

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LXXXIX. POTHINUS the Eunuch, Governor to the young King, had the chief Management of Affairs during his Minority. This Minister complained bitterly to his Friends, that the King should be summoned to plead his Caus before Casar: Afterwards finding among those that fided with the King, some who were disposed to enter into his Views, he privately sent for the Army from Pelustum to Alexandria, and conferred the chief Command upon Achillas, the same we lave spoken of before; inciting him by Letters and Promises, both in the King's Name and his own, to execute such Orders as he should receive from him. Ptolemy the Father, by his Will, had appointed the eldest of his two Sons, and his elder Daughter, joint Heirs of the Kingdom. For the more certain Accomplishment of his Design, he in the same Will implored the Protection of the Roman People; adjuring them by all the Gods, and the Treaties he had made at Rome, to see it put in Execution. A Copy of this Will was sent by Ambassadors to Rome, to be deposited in the publick Treasury; but the domestic Troubles preventing it, it was left in the Hands of Pompey. The Original, figned and sealed, was kept at Alexandria.

XC. WHILE this Affair was debated before Cæsar, who passionately desired to terminate the Matter amicably, and to the Satisfaction of both Parties; he was informed that the King's Army, with all the Cavalry, were arrived at Aiexandria. Cæsar's Forces were by no means sufficient to give Battle without the Town; and therefore the only Course left was, to secure the most convenient Posts within the City, till he should get acquainted with Achillas's Designs. Mean-time he ordered all the Soldiers to their Arms, and admonished the King, to send some Persons of the greatest Authority to Achillas, to forbid his Approach. Discorides and Serapion, who had both been Ambassadors at Rome, and in great Credit with Ptolemy the Father, were deputed to this But no sooner did they come before Achillas, than without giving them a Hearing, or enquiring after the Message they brought, he ordered them to be seized One was killed upon the Spot; a and put to death. the other having received a dangerous Wound, was carried off for dead by his Attendants. Upon hearing this,

Cæsar took care to secure the King's Person, the Authority of whose Name would authorize his Proceedings, and occasion Achillas and his Associates to be esteemed seditious and rebellious.

XCI. ACHILLAS'S Army was far from being contemptible, whether we regard their Number, Courage, or Experience in War. It amounted to twenty thoufand effective Men, many o' whom were originally Romans, brought into the Country by Gabinius, when he came to settle Auletes on the Throne; and who having afterwards married and settled in Alexandria, were devoted to the Ptolemean Interest. There were also some Brigades raised in Syria and Cilicia, together with a considerable Number of renegade Slaves, who had deserted their Masters, and found Protection in Egypt, by entering into the Service. If any of these was seized by his Master, their Companions slocked to his Rescue, regarding his Safety as a common Cause, because they were all embarked in the like Guilt. These would often take upon them to put to death the King's Ministers, to plunder the Rich, for the sake of increasing their Pay, to invest the royal Palace; to banish some, and send for others home, with other Liberties of the like Nature, which the Alexandrian Army claims by a Kind of Prescription. Besides these, he had likewise two thousand Horse, who, during the late Troubles, and the Wars that ensued, had had Opportunities of inuring themselves to Arms. These had restored Ptolemy the Father to his Kingdom, killed Bibulus's two Sons, warred against the Egyptians with Success, and acquired a thorough Experience in military Affairs.

XCII. Achillas trusting to the Valour of his Troops, and despising the Handful of Men that sollowed Cæsar, quickly made himself Master of Alexandria, the Palace only excepted, where Cæsar thought proper to make his Stand, and which he attacked briskly, though without Effect. But it was on the Side of the Harbour that the greatest Efforts were made. On that, in Effect, the Victory depended. Besides two-and-twenty constant Gurtdships, there were in the Port sifty Gallies, from three to five Banks of Oars, which the Year before had

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the Battle of Pharsalia. Had Achillas been once Master of these Vessels, he might have cut Cæsar off from all Communication with the Ocean, and consequently from all Hopes of receiving Supplies of Victuals or Forces. Thus the Egyptians in hopes of a complete Victory, and the Romans to avoid a certain Ruin, exerted themselves with incredible Vigour. At length Cæsar carried his Point, and not only see fire to the Vessels abovementioned, but to all that were in the Arsenals; after which he passed some Troops into the Isle of Pharos.

XCIII. THE Pharos is a Tower of prodigious Height, and wonderful Workmanship, built in an Island from whence it takes its Name. This Island lying overagainst Alexandria, makes a Haven; and is joined to the Continent by a Causeway of nine hundred Paces, and by a Bridge. Here dwell several Egyptians, who have built a Town, and live by pillaging the Ships that are thrown upon their Coast, either by Mistake or Tempest. As it is fituate at the Entrance of the Port, which is but narrow, it absolutely commands it. Cæsar knowing the Importance of this Post, whilst the Enemy were engaged in the Assault, landed some Troops there, seized the Tower, and put a Garrison into it; thereby securing a fafe Reception for the Supplies he had fent for on all Sides. In the other Quarters of the Town, the Fight was maintained with equal Advantage, neither Party Joling Ground, because of the Narrowness of the Passes, which enabled them easily to support themselves. After a few Men killed on both Sides, Gasfar having secured the most necessary Places, fortified them in the Night. In this Quarter was a small Part of the King's Palace, where Cæsar was lodged upon his first Arrival; and adjoining thereto a Theatre, that served instead of a Citadel, and had a Communication with the Port and other Arienals. These Works he increased afterwards, that they might ferve instead of a Rampart, to prevent his being obliged to fight against his Will. Mean-time Ptolenry's youngest Daughter, hoping the Throne would be vacant, fled from the Palace to Achillas, and joined with him in the Profecution of the War. But they foor diffigreed about the Command, which increased third argeffes



Book III. TH CIVIL WAR.

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gesses to the Soldiers, each Party endeavouring to gain them by large Presents. During these Transactions, Pothemy's Governor, and Regent of the Kingdom being discovered in a clandestine Correspondence with Achillas, whom he encouraged to the vigorous Prosecution of h's Enterprise, Cæsar ordered him to be put to death. Such was the Commencement of the Alexandrian War.

A. HIRTIUS PANSA's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

ALEXANDRIAN WAR.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Cæsar prepares for War. II. As likewise the Alexandrians. III. Arfinoe, Ptolemy's Daughter, possesses berfelf of the supreme Authority. IV. Scheme of the Alexandrians to deprive the Romans of Water. V. Cæsar's Speech to his Soldiers. They fall to digging of Wells, and thereby find Water. VI. Cælar having brought his Transports to Alexandria, has the Advantage in several naval Encounters. XIII. And afterwards makes himself Master of some Forts that commanded the Port. XIV. But attempting some others, is repulsed and narrowly escapes by swimming. XV. Which Loss serves only the more to animate his Soldiers. XVI. Cæfar, at the Request of the Alexandrians, fends them their King, Ptolemy, who immediately becomes his Enemy. XVII. Cæsar's Fleet has the Disadvantage in an Engagement. XVIII. Mithridates, Cæfar's. Friend, having made himself Master of Pelusium, advances towards Alexandria at the Head of a great Body of Troops. XIX. The King's Forces, endeavouring Dd

THE ARGUMENT.

to oppose him, are repulsed with Loss. XX. Cæsar marching to the Assistance of Mithridates, and Ptolemy at the same Time to reinforce his Troops, they come to a Battle, with all their Forces, in which the King is entirely defeated. XXII. Cæsar storms the Enen y's Camp; and the King himself endeavouring to make his Escape, is drowned. XXIII. Cæfar admitting the Alexandrians to a Surrender, restores Tranquillity to Egypt. XXIV. And settles the Kingdon upon Cleopatra and her Brother. XXV. Mean-time Do vitius Calvinus, one of Cæ ar' Generals, loses a Battle against Pharnaces in Armer the Leffer. XXXII. At the same Time Gabinius r ceives a considerable Check in Illyricum, which had bee. gallantly defended by Q. Cornificius. XXXIV. Bu this Loss is afterwards repaired by the Bravery of Vatinius, who recovers Illyricum to the Obedience of Cæsar. XXXVIII. About the same Time Commotions arise in Spain, occasioned by the Extertions of Cassius Longinus. XLII. Cassius is wounded by the Conspirators. XLIII. After which he behaves still more tyrunnically. XLIV. Whence new Disturbances arise. L. Which are appeased. at last, by the Arrival of Lepidus, and the Death of Cassius. LII. Cæsar restores his Affairs in Syria. LIII. As likewise in Cilicia and Cappadocia. And in Gallogræcia. LV. He afterwards treats of Peace with Pharnaces in Pontus. LVI. And finding him not faithful to his Engagements, resolves to make War upon him. LIX. Pharnaces rashly hazarding a Battle, is totally routed, and his Army cut to pieces. LXII. Pontus being thus speedily recovered, and Tranquillity restored to all the Asiatick Provinces, Cæsar returns to Italy.

A. HIRTIUS PANSA's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

ALEXANDRIAN WAR.

I. HE War thus commencing at Alexandria, Cæsar sent to Rhades Suria and Cilinia for his Electric fent to Rhodes, Syria, and Cilicia, for his Fleet; to Crete, for Archers; and to Malchus, King of the Nabatheans, for Cavalry. He likewise ordered military Engines to be provided, Corn to be brought, and Forces dispatched to him with all Diligence. Mean-while he was daily employed in augmenting his Works; and fuch Parts of the Town as appeared less tenable, were strengthened with Tortoises and Mantelets. Openings were made in the Walls, through which the Batteringrams might play; and whatever Houses were thrown down, or taken by Force, were brought within the In-For Alexandria is in a Manner secure from Fire, because the Inhabitants use no Wood in their Buildings, the Houses being all vaulted, and roofed with Tile or Pavement. Cæsar's principal Aim was, to inclose with Works the smallest Part of the Town, separated from the rest by a Morass towards the South. For thus the Army would lie closer together, be subject to one Command, and could readily dispatch Relief where it was most wanted. Above all, he by this means made fure of Water and Forage; which was of so much the more Consequence, as he was but ill provided with the one; and wholly destitute of the other. The Morass, on the contrary, served abundantly to supply him with both.

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II. Nor

II. Nor were the Alexandrians remiss on their Side, or less active in the Conduct of their Affairs. had fent Deputies and Commissioners into all Parts, where the Power and Territories of Egypt extend, with Orders to levy Troops. They had carried vast Quantities of Darts and Engines into the Town, and drawn together an innumerable Multitude of Soldiers. Yet not contented with all these Preparations, they established Work-shops in every Part of the City, for the making of Arms; and inlifted all the Slaves that were of age, the richer Citizens paying and maintaining them. With these they guarded the remoter Parts of the Town; while the veteran Cohorts, exempt from all other Service, were quartered in the Squares and open Places; that on whatever Side an Attack should be made, they might be at hand to give Relief, and march fresh and entire to the Charge. All the Avenues and Passes were thut up by a triple Wall, built of square Stones, and carried to the Height of forty Feet. The lower Parts of the Town were defended by very high Towers of ten Stories: Besides which, they had likewise contrived a Kind of moving Towers, which confifted of the same Number of Stories, and being fitted with Ropes and Wheels, could, by Means of Horses, as the Streets of Alexandria were quite even and level, be conveyed wherever their Service was necessary. The City abounding in every Thing, and being very rich, furnished ample Materials for these several Works; and as the People were extremely ingenious, and quick of Apprehension, they so well copied what they saw done by us, that our Men seemed rather to imitate them. They even invented many Things themselves, and at once invested our Works, and defended their own. Chiefs every where represented: "That the People of " Rome were endeavouring by Degrees to steal into the " Policifion of Egypt: That a few Years before Gabi-" nius had come thither with an Army: That Fompey had chosen it for the Place of his Retreat: That Casar " was now among them with a considerable Body of "Troops, and notwithstanding his Rival's Death, " made no Offers to return: That if they did not there-" fore find Means to expel him, they would soon from a Kingdom be reduced to a Roman Province: That " no Time was to be lost in this Attempt; because the

Season of the Year having put a stop to Navigation, he could receive no Supplies from beyond Sea."

III. MEAN-WHILE a Division arising between Achilas, who commanded the veteran Army, and Arsimoe, the
youngest Daughter of King Ptolemy, as has been demonstrated above: While they mutually endeavoured to
supplant one another, each striving to ingross the supreme Authority; Arsimoe, by the Assistance of the Eusuch Ganymed, her Governoe, at length prevailed, and
caused Achillas to be slain. After his Death, being possessed of the whole Power without a Rival, she raised
Ganymed to the Command of the Army; who, on his
Entrance into that high Office, augmented the Allowance of the Troops, and with equal Diligence discharged all other Parts of his Duty.

IV. ALEXANDRIA is almost quite hollow underneath, occasioned by the many Aqueducts to the Nile, that fur-.nish private Houses with. Water; where being received in Cifterns, it settles by Degrees, and becomes perfectly clear. This is preserved for the Use of the Master and his Family: For the Water of the Nile being extremely thick and muddy, is apt to breed many Distempers. The common People, however, are forced to be contented with it, because there is not a single Spring in the whole City. The River was in that Part of the Town where the Alexandrians were Masters. Hence Ganymed conceived, that a Way might be found to deprive the Romans of Water; because being distributed into several Streets, for the more easy Defence of the Works, they made use of that which was preserved in the Citterns of private Houses. With this View he began a great and difficult Work: For having stopt up all the Canals by which his own Cisterns were supplied, he drew vast Quantities of Water out of the Sea; by the Help of Wheels and other Engines, pouring it continually into the Canals of Cafar's Quarter. The Cisterns in the nearest Houses soon began to taste salter than ordinary, and occasioned great Wonder among the Men, who could not think from what Cause it proceeded. They were even ready to disbelieve their Senses, when those who were quartered a little lower in the Town affured them, that they found the Water the same as before. This put Dd 3 them

them upon comparing the Cisterns one with another, and by Trial they easily perceived the Difference. But in a little Time the Water in the nearest Houses became quite unfit for Use, and that lower down grew daily more tainted and brackish; upon which such a Thror ensuce among the Troops, that they fancied themforves reduced to the last Extremity. Some complained of Cæsar's Delay, and that he did not order them immediately to repair to their Ships. Others dreaded a yet greater Missortune, as it would be impossible to conceal their Design of retreating from the Alexandrians, who were so near then and no less so to embark in the Face of a vigorous and pursuing Enemy. There were besides a great Numb of the Townsmen in Cæsar's Quarter, whom he had not thought proper to force from their Houses, because they openly pretended to be in his Interest, and to have quitted the Party of their Fellow-citizens. But to offer here at a Defence either of the Sincerity or Conduct of these Alexandrians, would be only Labour in vain; since all who know the Genius and Temper of the People must be satisfied, that they are the fittest Instruments in the World for Treason.

V. CESAR laboured to remove his Soldiers Fears by encouraging and reasoning the Case with them. "They might easily," he told them, "find Water, by ce digging Wells, as all Sea-coasts naturally abounded with fresh Springs: that if Ægypt was fingular in 66 this Respect, and differed from every other Soil; yet fill as the Sea was open, and the Enemy without a 66 Fleet, there was nothing to hinder their fetching it at es Pleasure in their Ships, either from Parætonium on the left, or Pharos on the right; which two Places " lying different Ways, the Wind could never exclude them from both at the same Time: that a Retreat was on no Account to be thought of, not only by those who had a Concern for their Honour, but even by " fuch as regarded nothing but Life: that it was with 66 the utmost Difficulty they could defend themselves 66 behind their Works; but if they once quitted that " Advantage, neither in Number nor Situation would they be a Match for the Enemy: that to embark would require much Time and be attended with es great Danger, especially where it must be managed

by little Boats: that the Alexandrians on the contrary "were nimble and active, and thoroughly acquainted " with the Streets and Buildings: that flushed with " fo manifest an Advantage, they would not fail to run befor;, seize all the advantageous Posts, possess themselves of the Tops of the Houses, and by annoy-" ing them in their Retreat, effectually prevent their "getting on board: that they might therefore think no more of retiring, but place all their Hopes of Safety " in Victory." Having by this Speech re-affured his vien, he ordered the Centirions to lay afide all other Cares, and apply themselves Day and Night to the digging of Wells. The Work once begun, they pushed it on so vigorously, that the very first Night Abundance of fresh Water was found. Thus with little Labour on our Side, the mighty Projects and painful Attempts of the Alexandrians were entirely frustrated.

VI. DURING these Transactions, the thirty-seventh Legion, composed of Pompey's Veterans that had furrendered to Cæsar, embarking by Order of Domitius Calvinus, with Arms, Darts, Provisions, and military Engines, arrived upon the Coast of Africa, a little above An easterly Wind, which continued to blow for several Days together, hindered their being able to gain the Port; but all along that Coast, it is very safe riding at Anchor. Being detained, however, longer than they expected, and pressed with want of Water, they gave Notice of it to Cafar by a dispatch Sloop. Cæsar, that he might himself be able to determine what was best to be done, went on board one of the Ships in the Harbour, and ordered the whole Fleet to follow. He took none of the Land Forces with him, because he was unwilling to leave the Works unguarded during his Absence. Being arrived at that Part of the Coast known by the Name of Cherronejus, he sent some Mariners on Shore to fetch Water. Part of these venturing too far into the Country for the Sake of Plunder, were intercepted by the Enemy's Horse. From them the Ægyptians learnt, that Cæsar himself was on board, without any Soldiers. Upon this Information, they thought Fortune had thrown a fair Occasion in their Way, of attempting something with Success. They therefore manned all the Ships that were in Condition

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to sail, and met Cæsar on his Return. He declined fighting that Day for two Reasons; because he had no Soldiers on board; and it was past four in the Asternoon. The Night, he was sensible, must be highly advantageous to his Enemies, who were perfectly well acquainted with the Coast: and he would himself be deprived of the Benefit of encouraging his Men; which could not be done with any Effect an the dark, where Courage and Cowardice must remain equally unknown. He therefore drew all his Shios towards the Shore, where he imagined the Enemy would not venture to sollow him.

VII. THERE was one Rhodian Galley in Cafar's right Wing, considerably distant from the rest. This being observed by the Enemy, they came forward with four decked Ships, and several open Barks, to attack her. Cæsar was obliged to advance to her Relief, that he might not suffer the Disgrace of seeing one of his Gallies funk before his Eyes; though, had he left her to perish, she seemed to deserve it for her Rashness. The Attack was fustained with great Courage by the Rhodians; who, though at all Times distinguished by their Valour and Experience in Engagements at Sea, yet exerted themselves in a particular Manner on this Occasion, that they might not draw upon themselves the Charge of having occasioned a Missortune to the Fleet. Accordingly they obtained a complete Victory; took one four-benched Galley; sunk another, disabled a third, and flew all that were on board, besides a great Number belonging to the other Ships. Nay, had not Night interpoled, Cæsar would have made himself Master of their whole Fleet. During the Consternation that followed upon this Defeat, Cafar finding the contrary Winds to abate, took the Transports in tow, and advanced with the victorious Fleet to Alexandria.

VIII. THE Alexandrians disheartened at this Loss, as finding themselves now worsted, not by the superior Valour of the Soldiers, but by the Skill and Ability of the Mariners, retired to the Tops of their Houses, and blocked up the Entrance of their Streets, as searing our Fleet might attack them even by Land. But soon after, Gangmed assuring them in Council, that he would not only restore

restore the Vessels they had lost, but even increase their Number; they began to repair their old Ships with great Expectation and Confidence, and resolved to apply more than ever to the putting their Fleet in a good Condition. And although they had lost above an hundred and ten Ships in the Port and Arfenal, yet did not all this difcourage them; because by making themselves Masters at Sea, they saw they would have it in their Power to hinder Casar's receiving any Reinforcements or Supplies. Besides, being n iturally Mariners, born upon the Sea-coast, and exercised from their Infancy in naval Affairs, they were desirous to return to that wherein their rue and proper Strength lay, remembering the Advantages they had formerly gained, even with their little Ships. They therefore applied themselves with all Diligence to the equipping a Fleet,

IX. VESSELS were stationed at all the Mouths of the Nile, for receiving and gathering in the Customs. Several old Ships were likewife lodged in the King's private Arfenals, where they had remained unrigged for many Years. These last they resitted, and recalled the former to Alexandria. To supply themselves with Oars, they uncovered the Porticos, Academies, and publick Buildings, and made use of the Planks they furnished. Their natural Ingenuity, and the Abundance of all Things to be met with in the City, supplied every Want. In fine, they had no long Navigation to provide for, and were only folicitous about present Exigences, foreseeing they would have no Occasion to fight but in the Port. In a few Days therefore, contrary to all Expectation, they had fitted out twenty-two Quadriremes, and five Quinqueremes. To these they added a great Number of finall open Barks; and employing the Rowers in the Harbour, to practife and exercise themselves, put a fufficient Number of Soldiers on board, and prepared every Thing necessary for an Engagement. Cafar had nine Rhedian Gallies (for of the ten which were fent, one was shipwrecked on the Coast of Egypt;) eight from Pontus, five from Lycia, and twelve out of Alia. Of these ten were Quadriremes, and five Quinqueremes. The rest were of an inferior Bulk, and for the most Pai without Decks. Yet truiting to the Valour of his Soldiers,

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Soldiers, and knowing the Strength of the Enemy, he prepared for an Engagement.

X. WHEN both · Sides were come to have sufficient Confidence in their own Strength, Cæsar sailed round Pharos, and formed in Line of Battle over-against the Enemy. The Rhodian Gallies were in his right Wing, and those of Pontus in his lest. Between these he left. a Space of four hundred Paces to serve for the extending and working the Vessels. This Disposition being made, he drew up the rest of the Fleet as a Reserve, giving them the necessary Orders, and distributing them in such Manner, that every Ship followed that to which she was appointed to give Succour. The Alexandrians came forth with great Confidence, and drew up their Fleet; placing their twenty-two Quadriremes in front, and difpofing the rest behind them in a second Line, by Way of Reserve. They had besides a great Number of Boats and smaller Vessels, that carried Fire and combustible Weapons, with Design to fright us by their Number, Cries, and flaming Darts. Between the two Fleets were certain Flats, separated by very narrow Channels, and which are said to be on the African Coast, as being in that Division of Alexandria which belongs to Africa. Both Sides waited which should first pass these Shallows, because whoever entered the narrow Channels between them, in case of any Missortune, would find it very difficult either to retreat, or work the Ships to advantage.

XI. EUPHRANOR commanded the Rhodian Fleet, who for Valour and Greatness of Mind deserved rather to be ranked among the Romans than the Grecians. The Rhodians had raised him to the Post of Admiral, on account of his known Courage and Experience. He perceiving Cæsar's Design, addressed him to this Effect: You feem afraid of passing the Shallows first, lest you " should be thereby forced to come to an Engagement 66 before the rest of the Fleet can be brought up. Leave " the Matter to us; we will fustain the Fight, and I hope too without disappointing your Expectations, till the whole Fleet gets clear of the Shallows. It is both "dishonourable and afflicting, that they should so long " continue in our Sight with an Air of Triumpl." Cafar. Cafar encouraging him in his Design, and bestowing many Praises upon him, gave the Signal for engaging. Four Rhodian Ships having passed the Shallows, the Alexendrians gathered round and attacked them. They maintained the Fight with great Bravery, difengaging themselves by their Art and Address, and working their Ships with so much Skill, that notwithstanding the Inequality of Number, none of the Enemy were suffered to run along-fide, or break their Oars. Mgan-time the rest of the Fleet came up; when on account of the Narrowness of the Place, Art becoming useless, the Success depended wholly upon Valour. The Alexandrians and Romans who were in the Town, laying afide all Thoughts of Attack and Defence, mounted the Tops of the Houses, and all the Eminences that would give a View of the Fight, addressing the Gods by Vows and Prayers for Victory.

XII. THE Event of the Battle was by no Means equal. A Defeat would have deprived us of all Resource either by Land or Sea , and even Victory itself would not much better our Condition. The Alexandrians, on the contrary, by a Victory, gained every Thing; and if defeated, might yet again have recourse to Fortune. It was likewise a Matter of the highest Concern, to see the Safety of all depend upon the Bravery of a few, whose want of Courage would expose their whole Part, to Destruction. This Cafar had often represented to his Troops during the preceding Days, that they might be thereby induced to fight with the more Refolution, when they knew the common Safety to depend upon their Bravery. Every Man faid the same to his Comrade, Companion, and Friend, requesting him not to difappoint the Expectation of those who had chosen him preferably to others for the Defence of the common Interest. Accordingly they fought with so much Resolution, that neither the Art nor Address of the Egyptians, a maritime and feafaring People, could stand them in any Stead; nor the Multitude of their Ships be of Service to them; nor the Valour of those selected for this Engagement, stand in competition with the determined Courage of the Romans. In this Action a Quinquereme was taken, and a Bireme with all the Soldiers and

and Mariners on board, besides three sunk, without any Loss on our Side. The rest sted towards the Town, sheltering themselves under the Mole and Forts, whither we durst not pursue them.

XIII. To deprive the Enemy of this Resource for the future, Casfar thought it by all Means necessary to render himself Master of the Mole and Island: for having already in great Measure completed his Works within the Town, he was in hopes of being able to de-Lind himself both in the Island and City. This Resolution being taken, he put into Boats and finall Vessels ten Cohorts, a felect Body of light-armed Infantry, and fuch of the Gallick Cavalry as he thought most for his Purpose, and sent them against the Island; whilst at the same Time, to occasion a Diversion, he attacked it on the other Side with his Fleet, promifing great Rewards to those who should first render themselves Masters of it. At first, the Attack was brisk, and the Defence vigorous: for they both annoyed our Men from the Tops of the Houses, and gallantly maintained their Ground along the Shore; which being steep and craggy, our Men could find no Way of Approach; all the more accessible Avenues being skilfully defended by small Boats, and five Gallies, properly stationed for that Purpose. But when after examining the Approaches, and founding the Shallows, a few of our Men got upon the Shore, and were followed by others, who pushed the Islanders without Intermission; the Pharians at last betook themselves to flight. Upon this, abandoning the Defence of the Port, they quitted their Ships, and retired into the Town, to provide for the Security of their Houses. they could not long maintain their Ground there: though, to compare small Things with great, their Buildings resembled those of Alexandria, and their Towers were high, and joined together so as to form a Kind of Wall; and our Men had neither Ladders, Fafcincs, nor any Weapons for Assault. But fear often deprives Men of Counfel and Strength, as happened upon this Occasion. Those who had ventured to oppose us on even Ground, terrified by the Lofs of a few Men, and the general Rout; durft not face us from a Height of thirty Foot; but throwing themselves from the Mis'e into

into the Sea, endeavoured to gain the Town, though above eight hundred Paces distant. Many however were flain and about fix hundred taken.

XIV. CESAR giving up the Plunder to the Soldiers, 'ordered the Houses to be demolished; but fortified the Castle at the End of the Bridge next the Island, and placed a Garrison in it. This the Pharians had abandoned: but the other, towards the Town, which was confiderably stronger, was still held by the Alexandrians. liæsar attacked it next Day: because by getting Possesfion of these two Forts, he would be entirely Master of the Port, and prevent sudden Excursions and Piracies. Already he had, by Means of his Arrows and Engines, forced the Garrison to abandon the Place, and retire towards the Town. He had also landed three Cohorts, which was all the Place would contain; and disposed the rest of his Troops abroad to sustain them. He then fortified the Bridge on the Side of the Enemy, built an Arch across the Entrance of the Port, and filled it up in such a Manner with Stones, that not the smallest Boat could pass. When the Work was almost finished, the Alexandrians fallied in Crowds from the Town, and drew up in an open Place, over-against the Intrenchment we had cast up at the Head of the Bridge. At the same Time the Veffels, which they had been wont to make pass under the Bridge, to set fire to our Ships of Burden, were ranged along the Mole. Our Men fought from the Bridge and the Mole; the Enemy from the Area over-against the Bridge, and from their Ships by the Side of the Mole. While Cafar, attentive to what passed, was exhorting his Troops; a Number of Rowers and Mariners quitting their Ships, threw themselves upon the Mole; partly out of Curiofity, partly to have a Share in the Action. At first, with Stones and Slings they forced the Enemy's Ships from the Mole; and seemed to do still greater Execution with their Darts. But when some Time after, a few Alexandrians found Means to land, and attack them in flank; as they had left their Ships without Order or Discipline. so they soon began to fly with Precipitation. The Alexandrians encouraged by this Success, landed in greater Numbers, and vigorously pushed our Men, who were by this Time in great Consusion. Those that remained in the Gallies perceiving

this, drew up the Ladders, and put off from the Shore, to prevent the Enemies boarding them. The three Cohorts, who were at the Head of the Mole, to guard the Bridge, aftonished at this Disorder, the Cries they heard behind them, and the general Rout of their Party; unable besides to bear up against the Multitude of Darts which came pouring upon them, and fearing to be furrounded, and have their Retreat cut off, by the Departure of their Ships; abandoned the Defence of the Bridge, and ran with all the Speed they could towards the Gallies. Some getting on board the nearest Vessels, overloaded and funk them. Part making head against the Enemy, and uncertain what Course to take, were cut to pieces by the Alexandrians. Others more fortunate, got to the Ships that rode at Anchor; and a few, by the Help of their Bucklers, swam to the nearest Vessels. Casar endeavouring to reanimate his Men, and lead them back to the Defence of the Works, was exposed to the same Danger with the rest: when finding them univerfally to give ground, he retreated to his own Galley; whither fuch a Multitude followed, and crowded after him, that it was impossible either to work or put her off. Foreseeing what must happen, he flung himself into the Sea, and swam to a Ship that lay at some Distance. Hence dispatching Boats to succour his Men, he by that Means preferved a small Number. His own Ship, funk by the Multitude that crowded into her, perished with all that were on board. We lost in this Action about four hundred legionary Soldiers, and somewhat above that Number of Sailors and Rowers. The Alexandrians secured the Fort by strong Works, and a great Number of Engines and having cleared away the Stones, with which Cafar had blocked up the Port, enjoyed thenceforward a free and open Navigation.

XV. Our Men, instead of being disheartened at this Loss, seemed rather roused and animated by it. They were making continual Sallies upon the Enemy, to destroy or check the Progress of their Works; sell upon them as often as they had an Opportunity; and never failed to intercept them, when they ventured to advance beyond their Fortisications. In short, the Legions were so bent upon sighting, that they even outstripped the Orders and Exhortations of Carsar. They were inconsolable

folable for their late Disgrace, and impatient to come to Blows with the Enemy; insomuch that he found it rather necessary to restrain and check their Ardor, than incite them to Action.

XVI. THE Alexandrians perceiving that Success confirmed the Romans, and that adverse Fortune only animated them the more; as they knew of no Medium between these, on which to ground any farther Hopes, refolved, either by the Advice of the Friends of their King, who were in Casar's Quarter; or of their own Motion; or, perhaps, on an Intimation from the King himfelf, suggested to him by secret Emissaries; to send Ambassa-dors to Cæsar to demand their King. They represented: "That the People, weary of Subjection to a Woman, of living under a precarious Government, and fub-" mitting to the cruel Laws of the Tyrant Ganymed, " instead of obeying their own lawful King, defired " nothing fo much as to have him amongst them: that " in granting their Request, he would pave the Way to an Alliance, and extinguish all the Fears and Ob-66 jections that had hitherto obstructed it." Though Cæsar knew the Nation to be false and perfidious, seldom speaking as they really thought, he judged it best however to comply with their Desire. He even flattered himself, that his Condescension, in sending back their King at their Request, would prevail on them to be faithful: or, as was more agreeable to their Character, if they only wanted the King to head their Army; at least it would be more for his Honour and Credit, to have to do with a Monarch, than with a Band of Slaves and Fugitives. Accordingly he fent Ptolemy to them, exhorting him " to take the Government into his own 66 Hands, and confult the Welfare of fo fair and illus-" trious a Kingdom, defaced by hideous Ruins and "Conflagrations. That he would make his Subjects " sensible of their Duty, preserve them from the De-" struction that threatened them, and act with Fidelity towards himself and the Romans, who put so much "Confidence in him, as to fend him amongst armed Ene-Then taking him by the Hand, he told him he was at liberty to depart. But the young Prince, th roughly versed in the Art of Dissimulation, and no Way degenerating from the Character of his Nation, intreated

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that his Company was to him preferable to a Kingdom. Cafar, moved at his Concern, dried up his Tears; and, telling him if these were his real Sentiments they would soon meet again, dismissed him. The King, like a wild Beast escaped out of Consinement, carried on the War with such Acrimony against Cafar, that the Tears he shed at parting seemed to have been Tears of Joy. Cafar's Licutenants, Friends, Centurions, and Soldiers, were not a little pleased at this; because through his Easiness of Temper, he had suffered himself to be imposed upon by a Child: as if in Truth Cafar's Behaviour on this Occasion had been the Essect of Easiness of Temper, and not of the most consummate Prudence.

XVII. WHEN the Alexandrians found that the Restitution of their King had neither rendered their own Party stronger, nor the Romans weaker; that the Troops despited the Youth and Weakness of their King; and that their Affairs were no way bettered by his Presence; they were greatly discouraged: the rather, because a Report ran, that a great Body of Troops was marching by Land from Syria and Cilicia to Cafar's Assistance, of which he had not as yet himself received Information. This however did not hinder their Defign of intercepting the Convoys that came to him by Sea. To this End having equipped some Ships, they ordered them to cruite before the Canopic Branch of the Nile, by which they thought it most likely our Supplies would arrive. Casjar, who was informed of it, sent likewise his Fleet to Sea, under the Command of Tiberius Nero. Rivdium Gallies made Part of this Squadron, headed by Euphranor their Admiral, without whom he had little Hopes of Success from any maritime Expedition. But Fortune, which often referves the heaviest Difasters for those who have been loaded with her highest Favours, encountered Euphranor upon this Occasion, with an Aspect very different from what she had hitherto worn. For when our Ships were arrived at Canopus, and the Fleets drawn up on each Side had begun the Engagement, Euphranor, according to Custom, having made the first Attack, and pierced and funk one of the Enemy's Ships ; as he purfued the next a confiderable Way, without being sufficiently sullained by those that followed him,

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he was furrounded by the Alexandrians. None of the Fleet advanced to his Relief, either out of fear for their own Safety, or because they imagined he would easily be able to extricate himself by his Courage and good Fortune. Accordingly he alone behaved well in this Action, and being abandoned by all the rest, perished with his victorious Galley.

XVIII. ABOUT the same Time Mithridates of Pergamus, a Man of illustrious Descent, distinguished for his Eravery and Knowledge in the Art of War, and who bore a very high Place in the Friendthip and Confidence of Cæsar; having been sent in the Beginning of the Alexandrian War, to raise Succours in Syria and Cilicia; arrived by Land at the Head of a great Body of Troops, which his Diligence, and the Affection of these two Provinces, had enabled him to draw together in a very short Time. He conducted them first to Pelusium, a City which joins Syria to Egypt. Achillas, who was perfectly well acquainted with its Importance, had feized and put a strong Garrison into it. For Egypt is considered as defended on all Sides by strong Barriers; towards the Sea by the Pharos, and towards Seria by Pelusium, which are accounted the two Keys of that Kingdom. He attacked it so briskly with a large Body of Troops, fresh Men continually succeeding in the Place of those that were fatigued; and urged the Assault with so much Firmness and Perseverance, that he carried it the same Day, and placed a Garrison in it. Thence he pursued his March to Alexandria, reducing all the Provinces through which he passed, and conciliating them to Casar, by that Authority which always accompanies Victory.

XIX. Nor far from Alexandria lies Delta, the most celebrated Province of Egypt which borrows its Name from the Greek Letter io called. For the Nile dividing into two Channels, which gradually runs off as they approach the Sea, into which they at lait discharge themselves at a considerable Distance from one another, leaves an intermediate Space in Form of a Triangle. The King understanding that Mithridates approached this Place, and knowing he must pass the River, sent a great Body of Troops against him, sufficient, as he thought, if not to overwhelm and cruik him, at least to

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stop his March. For though he earnestly desired to see him defeated, yet he thought it a great Point gained, to hinder his Junction with Cafar. The Troops that first passed the River, and came up with Mithridates, attacked him immediately, that they might alone have the Honour of the Victory. Mithridates at first confined himself to the Defence of his Camp, which he had with great Prudence fortified according to the Custom of the Romans: but observing that they advanced insolently and without Caution, he fallied upon them from all Parts, and put a great Number of them to the Sword; insomuch that but for their Knowledge of the Places, and the Neighbourhood of the Veilels in which they had passed the River, they must have been all destroyed. But recovering by Degrees from their Terror, and joining the Troops that followed them, they again prepared to attack Mithridates.

XX. MITHRIDATES fent to inform Cæfar of what had happened. The King was likewise informed on his Side. Thus much about the same Time, Ptolemy set out to crush Mithridates, and Cæfar to relieve him. The King made use of the more expeditious Conveyance of the Nile, where he had a large Fleet in readiness. Cassar declined the Navigation of the River, that he might not be obliged to fight the Enemy's Fleet: and coasting along the African Shore, found Means to join the victorious Troops of Mithridates, before Ptolemy could attack him.

XXI. THE King had encamped in a very dangerous Place, being an Eminence furrounded on all Sides by a Plain. Three of its Sides were fecured by various Defences. One adjoined to the Nile, the other was fleep and inacceffible, and the Third was defended by a Morafs. Between Ptolemy's Camp and Caefar's Route lay a narrow River with very high Banks, which discharged itself into the Nile. This River was about feven Miles from the King's Camp; who understanding that Caefar directed his March that Way, sent all his Cavalry, with a choice Body of light-armed Foot, to hinder Caefar from passing, and maintain an unequal Fight from the Banks, where Courage had no Opportunity to exert itself, and Cowardice ran no Hazard. Our Meil, both Horse

Horse and Foot, were extremely mortified, that the diexandrians should so long maintain their Ground against them. Wherefore the German Cavalry dispersing in quest of a Ford, some sound Means to swim the Paver where the Banks were lowest; and the Legionaries the same Time cutting down several large Trees, that reached from one Bank to another, and throwing them into the Water, by their Help, got to the other Side. The Enemy unable to sustain their sirst Charge, betook themselves to slight; but in vain: for very sew returned to the King, being almost all cut to pieces in the Pursuit.

XXII. CÆSAR, upon this Success, judging that his sudden Approach must strike a great Terror into the Alexandrians, advanced towards their Camp with his victorious Army. But finding it well intrenched, strongly fortified by Nature, and the Ramparts crowded with armed Soldiers, he did not think proper to attack it at that Time, as his Troops were very much fatigued, both by their March and the late Battle; and therefore encamped at a small Distance from the Enemy. Next Day he attacked a Fort, in a Village not far off, which the King had joined to his Camp by a Line of Communication, with a View of keeping Possession of the Village. He employed his whole Army in this Assault: not because it would have been difficult to carry it with a few Forces: but with Design of falling immediately upon the Enemy's Camp, during the Alarm the Loss of this Fort must give them. Accordingly the Romans, in continuing the Pursuit of those that fled From the Fort, arrived at last before the Alexandrian Camp, where a furious Battle enfued. There were two Approaches by which it might be attacked: one by the Plain, of which we have spoken before; the other by a narrow Pass, between their Camp and the Nile. The first, which was much the easiest, was defended by a numerous Body of their best Troops: and the Access on the Side of the Nile gave the Enemy great Advantages in distressing and wounding our Men: for they were exposed to a doubl Shower of Darts: in front, from the Rampart; behind, from the River, where the Enemy had stationed a great Number of Ships, furnished with Archers and Slingers, that kept a continual Discharge. Casar observing that his Troops fought with the utmost Ardor, and yet made Ec 2

no great Progress, on account of the Disadvantage of the Ground; as he faw they had left the highest Part of their Camp unguarded, because being sufficiently fortified by Nature, they had all crowded to the other Attacks, partly to have a Share in the Action, partly to be Spectators of the Issue: he ordered some Cohorts to wheel round the Camp, and gain that Ascent; appoint ing Carjulenus to command them, a brave Officer, and well acquainted with the Service. When they had reached the Place, where they found but very few to defend it, our Men attacked them so briskly, that the Alexandrians terrified by the Cries they heard behind them, and seeing themselves attacked both in Front and Rear, fled in the utmost Consternation on all Sides. Our Men animated by the Confusion of the Enemy, entered the Camp in several Places at the same Time; and running down from the higher Ground, put a great Number of them to the Sword. The Alexandrians endeavouring to escape, threw themselves in Crowds over the Rampart next the River. The foremost tumbling into the Ditch, where they were crushed to death, furnished an easy Passage for those that followed. The Hing made his Escape the same Way; but by the Crowd that followed him, the Ship to which he fled was overloaded and funk.

XXIII. AFTER this speedy and successful Action, Cajar, in confidence of so great a Victory, marched the nearest Way by Land to Alexandria with his Cavalry, and entered triumphant into that Part of the Town poi-I fled by the Enemy. He was not mistaken in thinking, that the Alexandrians, upon hearing of the Issue of the Battle, would give over all Thoughts of War. Accordingly, as foon as he was arrived, he reaped the just Fruit of his Valour and Magnanimity. For the Alexandriens throwing down their Arms, abandoning their Works, and assuming the Habit of Suppliants, came forth to furrender themselves to Casar, preceded by all those sacred Symbols of Religion, wherewith they were wont to mollify their offended Kings. Cafar accepting the r Submission, and encouraging them, advanced through the Enemy's Works into his own Quarter of the" Town, where he was received with the univerfal Congratulations of his Party, who were no less overjoyed at hus

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his Artival and Presence, than at the happy Issue of the War.

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XXIV. CASAR having thus made himself Master-of Alexandria and Egypt, lodged the Government in the Hands of those to whom Ptolemy had bequeathed it by Will, appointing the People of Rome his Executors, and requesting them to confirm his Choice. For the eldest of his two Sons being dead, he settled the Kingdom upon the youngest, in conjunction with his Sister Clevpatra, who had always continued faithful to the Romans. The younger Arsince, in whose Name Ganymed, as we have seen, reigned for some Time, he thought proper to banish the Kingdom, that she might not raise any new Disturbance, before the King's Authority should be firmly established. Things thus settled, he carried the fixth Legion with him into Syria, leaving the rest to support the Authority of the King and Queen: who neither stood well in the Affections of their Subjects, on. account of their Attachment to Cæsar; nor could be supposed to have given any fixed Foundation to their Power, in an Administration of only a few Days continuance. It was also for the Honour and Interest of the Republick, that if they continued faithful, our Forces fhould protect them; if otherwise, would be in a condition to restrain them. Having thus settled the Kingdom, he marched by Land into Syria.

XXV. WHILE these Things passed in Egypt, King Dejotarus applied to Domitius Caivinus, to whom Cafar had intrusted the Government of Asia and the neighbouring Provinces, befeeching him, " Not to suffer " Pharnaces to seize and lay waste the Lesser Armenia, which was his Kingdom; or Cappadocia, which be-66 longed to Ariobarzanes; because unless they were de-" livered from these Insults, it would be impossible for them to execute Cæsar's Orders, or raise the Money they flood engaged to pay." Domitius, who was not only sensible of the Necessity of Money to defray the Expences of the War, but likewise thought it dishonourable to the People of Rome and Cafar, as well as infamous to himself, to suffer the Dominions of Allies and Friends to be usurped by a foreign Prince; sent Ambassadors to Phurnaces to acquaint him, " That he Ec 3

" must withdraw immediately out of Armenia and Capof pudocia, and no longer infult the Majesty and Right " of the Roman People, engaged in a Civil War." But believing that his Deputation would have greater Weight, if he was ready to second it himself at the Head of an Army; he repaired to the Legions which were then in Ajin, ordering two of them into Egypt at Caefar's Defire, and carrying the Thirty-fixth along with him. To this Dejotarus added two more, which he had trained up for several Years according to our Discipline; and an hundred Horse. The like Number of Horie were furnished by Ariobarzanes. At the same Time he sent P. Sextius to C. Platorius the Quaftor, for the Logion which had been lately levied in Pontus; and Quinctines Patisius into Cilicia, to draw thence a Body of auxiliary Troops. All these Forces had Orders to rendezvous, as foon as possible, at Comana.

XXVI. MEAN-WHILE his Ambassadors returned with Pharnaces's Answer: "That he had quitted Cappadocia; but kept Poisession of the Lesser Armenia, as his own by Right of Inheritance: however, was willing to " submit all to the Decision of Cæsar, to whose Com-"mands he would pay immediate Obedience." C. Domitius, sensible that he had quitted Cappadocia, not voluntarily, but out of Necessity; because he could more easily defend Armenia, which lay contiguous to his own Kingdom, than Cappadacia, which was more remote; and because believing at first that Domitius had brought all the three Legions along with him, upon hearing that two were gone to Cæfar, he seemed more determined to keep possession: intisted " upon his quitting Armenia " likewise, the Reason in both Cases being the same; " nor was it just to demand that the Matter should be of postponed till Cæsar's Return, unless Things were of put in the Condition in which they were at first." Having returned this Answer, he advanced towards Armenia with the Forces abovementioned, directing his March along the Hills. For from Pontus, by the Way of Comana, runs a woody Ridge of Hills, that extends as far as Armenia the Lef-, dividing it from Cappadscia. Advantages he had in view by fuch a March were; that he would thereby effectually prevent all Surprifes, and be plentifully furnished with Provisions from Cappadocia. XXVII. MEAN-

XXVII. MEAN-TIME Pharnaces was perpetually sending Ambassadors to Domitius with Presents, and to treat of Peace. All these he firmly rejected, telling the Peputies; " That nothing was more facred with him, "than the Majesty of the Roman People, and the Rights of their Allies." After a long March he reached Nicopolis, a City of Armenia the Less, situated in a Plain, having Mountains however on its two Sides, at a confiderable Distance. Here he encamped about feven Miles from the Town. Between his Camp and Nicopalis lay a difficult and narrow Pass, where Phurnaces placed a chosen Body of Foot, and all his Horse in Ambuscade. He ordered a great Number of Cattle to be dispersed in this Pass, and the Townsmen and Peafants to show themselves; that if Domitius entered the Defile as a Friend, he might have no Suspicion of an Ambuscade, when he saw the Men and Flocks dispersed without Apprehension in the Fields; or if he should come as an Enemy, that the Soldiers quitting their Ranks to pillage, might fall an easy Prey to his Troops.

XXVIII. WHILE this Design was going forward, he never ceased sending Ambassadors to Domitius, with Proposals of Peace and Amity, as fancying by this Means the more easily to infnare him. The Expectation of Peace kept Domitius in his Camp, so that Pharmaces, disappointed of his Hopes, and searing the Ambuscade might be discovered, drew off his Troops. Next Day Domitius approached Nicopolis, and encamped near the Town. While our Men were working at the Trenches, Pharnaces drew up his Army in Order of Battle, forming his Front into one Line, according to the Custom of the Country, and securing his Wings with a triple Body of Reserves. Domitius ordering Part of the Troops to continue under Arms before the Rampart, completed the Fortifications of his Camp.

XXIX. NEXT Night Pharnaces having intercepted the Couriers, who brought Domitius an Account of the Posture of Affairs at Alexandria; understood that Garfar was in great Danger, and requested Domitius to send him Succours speedily, and come himself to Alexandria by the Way of Syria. Pharnaces, upon this Intelligence, imagined that protracting the Time would be equiva-

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lent to a Victory; because Dominius, he supposed, must very soon depart. He therefore dug two Ditches sour Foot deep, at a moderate Distance from each other, on that Side where lay the easiest Access to the Town, and our Forces might with most Advantage attack him; resolving not to advance beyond them. Between these he constantly drew up his Army, placing all his Cavalry upon the Wings without them, which greatly exceeded ours ir Number, and would otherwise have been use-less.

XXX. Domitius, more concerned at Cafar's Danger than his own, and believing he could not retire with Safety, should he now defire the Conditions he had rejected, or march away without any apparent Cause; drew his Forces out of the Camp, and ranged them in Order of Battle. He placed the thirty-fixth Legion on the Right, that of Pontus on the Left, and those of Dejotarus in the main Body; drawing them up with a very narrow Front, and posting the rest of the Cohorts to fustain the Wings. The Armies thus drawn up on each Side, they prepared for Battle; and the Signal being given at the same Time by both Parties, the Engagement began. The Conflict was sharp and various: for the thirty-fixth Legion falling upon the King's Cavalry, that was drawn up without the Ditch, charged them fo fuccessfully, that they drove them to the very Walls of the Town, passed the Ditch, and attacked their Infantry behind. But on the other Side, the Legion of Pontus having given way; the second Line, which advanced to fustain them, fetching a Compass round the Ditch, in order to attack the Enemy in flank, was overwhelmed and borne down by a Shower of Darts, in endeavouring to pass it. The Legions of Dejotarus scarce made any Resistance; so that the victorious right Wing and main Body of the King's Army fell upon the thirty-fixth Legion, which yet made a brave Stand; and though furrounded by the Forces of the Enemy, with wonderful Presence of Mind cast themselves into an Orb, and retired to the Foot of a Mountain, whither Pharnaces did not think fit to purfue them, because of the Disadvantage of the Place. the Legion of Pantus being almost wholly cut out, with great Part of those of Dejotarus, the thirty-fixth I gion reticated

retreated to an Eminence, with the Loss of about two hundred and fifty Men. Several Roman Knights of illustrious Rank fell in this Battle. Domitius, after this Defeat, rallied the Remains of his broken Army, and retreated by afe Ways through Cappadocia into Asia.

XXXI. PHARNACES elated with this Success, and hoping that Cæsar would never be able to extricate himfelf at Alexandria, entered Pontus with all his Forces. There acting as Conqueror and King, and promising himself a happier Destiny than his Father, he ravaged their Towns, seized the Effects of the Roman Citizens and Natives, insticted Punishments worse than Death upon such as were distinguished by their Age or Beauty; and having made himself Master of all Pontus, as there was no one to oppose his Progress, boasted that he had recovered his Father's Kingdom.

XXXII. Abour the same Time we received a considerable Check in Illyricum; which Province 2. Cornifi-. cius, Cæsar's Quæstor, had defended the preceding Months, not only without Infult, but even with Honour, and a Conduct worthy of Praise. Cafar had sent. him thither the Summer before with two Legions; and though it was of itself little able to subsist an Army, and at that Time in particular almost totally ruined by the Neighbourhood of so many Wars; yet by his Prudence, Vigilance, and uncommon Care, he defended and kept Possession of it. For he made himself Master of several Forts built on Eminences, whose advantageous Situation tempted the Inhabitants to make Descents and Inroads upon the Country; and gave the Plunder of them to his Soldiers: which though but inconfiderable, yet as they were no Strangers to the Diffress and ill Condition or the Province, did not cease to be grateful; the rather, as it was the Fruit of their own Valour. And when after the Battle of Pharfalia, Octavius had retreated to that Coast with a large Fleet; Cornificius, with feme Vesiels of the Judertini, who had always continued faithful to the Commonwealth, made himself Master of the greatest Part of his Ships, which joined to those of the Judertini, rendered him capable of sustaining even a naval Engagement. And while Cafar, victorious, was pursuing Pompey to the remotest Parts of the Earth; upon

upon Advice that the Enemy had for the most Part retired into Illyricum, on account of its neighbourhood to Macedonia, and were there uniting into a Body, he wrote to Gabinius, "To repair directly thither with the new raised Legions, and join Corniscius, that in case of any Danger to the Province, they might be the better able to protect it: but if less Forces sufficed, to march into Macedonia, which he forestw would never be free from Commotions, so long as Pompey lived."

XXXIII. GABINIUS, whether he imagined the Province better provided than it really was, or depended much upon the auspicious Fortune of Casar, or confided in his own Valour and Abilities, having often terminated with Success difficult and dangerous Wars; marched into Illyricum in the Middle of Winter, and the most difficult Season of the Year: where not finding sufficient Sublistence in the Province, which was partly ruined, partly ill-affected; and having no Supplies by Sea, because the Season of the Year had put a stop to Navigation; he found himself compelled to carry on the War, not according to his own Inclination, but as Necessity allowed. As he was therefore obliged to lay siege to Forts and Castles in a very rude Season, he received many Checks, and fell under such Contempt with the Barbarians, that retiring to Salona, a maritime City, inhabited by a fet of brave and faithful Romans, he was attacked upon his March; and after the Loss of two thousand Soldiers, thirty-eight Centurions, and four Tribunes, got to Salona with the rest; where his Wants continually increasing, he died a few Days after. Misfortunes and sudden Death gave Octavius great Hopes of mastering the Province. But Fortune, whose Influence is so great in Matters of War, joined to the Diligence of Cornificius, and the Valour of Vatinius, soon put an End to his Triumphs.

XXXIV. For Vatinius, who was then at Brundusium, having Intelligence of what passed in Illyricum, by Letters from Corniscius, who pressed him to come to the Assistance of the Province, and informed him, that Octavius had leagued with the Barbarians, and in several Places attacked our Garrisons, partly by Sea with his Fleet, partly by Land with the Troops of the Barbari-

ans: Vatinius, I say, upon Notice of these Things, though extremely weakened by Sickness, infomuch that his Strength of Body no way answered his Resolution and Greatness of Mind: yet, by his Valour surmounted all Opposition, the Force of his Distemper, the Rigour of the Season, and the Difficulties of a sudden Preparation. For having himself but a very few Gallies, he wrote to Q. Kalenus in Achaia, to furnish him with a Squadron of Ships. But these not coming with that Dispatch which the Danger our Army was in required, because Octavius pressed Lard upon them; he fastened Beaks to all the Barks and Vessels that lay in the Port, whose Number was considerable enough, though they were not sufficiently large for an Engagement. Joining these to what Gallies he had, and putting the veteran Soldiers aboard, whereof he had a great Number, who had been left fick at Brundusium when the Army went over to Greece; he failed for Illyricum: where having fubjected several maritime States that had declared for Octavius; and neglecting such as continued obstinate in their Revolt, because he would suffer nothing to retard his Design of meeting the Enemy; he came up with Octavius before Epidaurus; and obliging him to raise the Siege, which he was carrying on with great Vigour by Sea and Land, joined the Garrison to his own Forces.

XXXV. OCTAVIUS understanding that Vatinius's Fleet confifted mostly of small Barks, and confiding in the Strength of his own, stopped at the Isle of Tauris. Vatinius followed him thither, not imagining he would halt at that Place, but because he was determined to pursue him wherever he-went. Vatinius, who had no Suspicion of an Enemy, and whose Ships were moreover dispersed by a Tempest, perceived, as he approached the Isle, a Vessel filled with Soldiers, that advanced towards him with full Sails. Upon this he gave Orders for furling the Sails, lowering the Sail-yards, and arming the Soldiers: and hoisting a Flag as a Signal of Battle, intimated to the Ships that followed to do the fame. Our Men prepared themselves in the best Manner their sudden Surprise would allow, while Octavius advanced in good Order from the Port. The two Fleets drew up. Octavius had the Advantage as to Disposition. and Vatinius in the Bravery of his Troops.

XXXVI. VA-

XXXVI. VATINIUS finding himself inferior to the Enemy, both in the Number and Largeness of his Ships, resolved to commit the Affair to Fortune, and therefore in his own Quinquereme, attac ted Octavius in his Four-benched Galley. This he did with fuch Violence, and the Shock was so great, that the Beak of Octavius's Galley was brok: The Battle raged with great Fury likewise in other Places, but chiefly round the two Admirals: for as the Ships on each Side advanced to sustain those that fought, a close and furious Conflict enfued in a very narrow Sea, where the nearer the Vessels approached, the more had Vatinius's Soldiers the Advantage. For with admirable Courage they leaped into the Enemy's Ships, and forcing them by this Means to an equal Combat, foon mastered them by their superior Valour. Octavius's Galley was sunk. Many others were taken, or fuffered the same Fate. The Soldiers were partly flain in the Ships, partly thrown overboard into the Sea. Octavius got into a Boat, which anking under the Multitude that crowded after him, he himself, though wounded, swam to his Brigantine; where being taken up, and Night having put an End to the Battle; as the Wind blew very strong, he spread all his Sails and fled. A few of his Ships, that had the good Fortune to escape, followed him.

XXXVII. VATINIUS, feeing the Enemy entirely defeated, sounded a Retreat, and entered victorious the Port whence Octavius had failed to fight him, without the Loss of a fingle Vessel. He took in this Battle one Quinquereme, two Triremes, eight two-benched Gallies, and a great Number of Rowers. The next Day was employed in repairing his own Fleet, and the Ships he had taken from the Enemy; after which he failed for the Island of Isla, imagining Octavius would retire thither after his Defeat. In this Island was a flourishing City well affected to Ostavius, which however surrendered to Vatinius upon the first Summons. Here he understood that Octavius, attended by a few iniall Barks, had failed with a fair Wind for Greece, whence he intended to pass on to Sicily, and afterwards to Africa. Varinius having in to thort a Space fuccossfully terminated the Affairs of Illyricum, restored the Province in a peaceable Condition to Cornificius, and driven the Enemy's Fleet

out of those Seas, returned victorious to Brundusium, with his Army and Fleet in good Condition.

XXXVIII. WHILE Cafar belieged Pompey at Dyrrhachium, triumphed at Fharfalia, and carried on the War with so much Danger at Alexandria, Cassius Longinus, who had been left in Spain as Proprætor of the Farther Province; either through his natural Dispofition, or out of a Hatred he had contracted to the Province, because of a Wound he had treacheroully received there when Quæstor, drew upon himself the general Dislike of the People. He discerned this Temper among them, partly from a Consciousness that he deferved it, partly from the manifest Indications they gave of their Discontent. To secure himself against their Disaffection, he endeavoured to gain the Love of the Soldiers; and having for this Purpose assembled them together, promised them an hundred Sesterces a Man. Soon after, having made himself Master of Medebrega, a Town in Lusitania, and of Mount Herminius, whither the Medobregians had retired; and being upon that Occasion saluted Imperator by the Army, he gave them another hundred Sesterces each. These, accompanied with other confiderable Largesses in great Number, seemed for the present to increase the Goodwill of the Army, but tended gradually and imperceptibly to the Relaxation of military Discipline.

XXXIX. Cassius having fent his Army into Winter-quarters, fixed his Residence at Cordova for the Administration of Justice. Being greatly in Debt, he refolved to pay it by laying heavy Impositions upon the Province; and according to the Custom of Prodigals, made his Liberalities a Pretence to justify the most exorbitant Demands. He taxed the Rich at Discretion, and compelled them to pay without the least Regard to their Remonstrances; frequently improving light and triffing Offences, as an Handle for all Manner of Ex-All Methods of Gain were pursued, whether great and apparent, or mean and fordid. None that had any Thing to lose could escape Accusation; insomuch that the Plunder of their private Fortunes was aggravated by the Dangers they were exposed to from pretended Crimes.

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XL. Thus Longinus, acting the same Parl when Proconsul, which he had done when Quæstor, drew upon himself the like Conspiracies against his Life. Even his own Dependents concurred in the general Hatred; who though the Ministers of his Rapine, yet hated the Man by whose Authority they committed those Crimes. The Odium still increased upon his raising a fifth Legion, which added to the Expence and Burden of the Province. The Cavalry was augmented to three Thousand, with costly Ornaments and Equipage; nor had the People any Respite from his Extortions.

XLI. MEAN-WHILE he received Orders from Cæfar, to transport his Army into Africa, and march through Mauritania towards Numidia, because King Juba had fent confiderable Succours to Pompey, and was preparing to send more. These Letters filled him with an infolent Joy, by the Opportunity they offered him of pillaging new Provinces, and a wealthy Kingdom. He therefore hastened into Lustania, to assemble his Legions, and draw together a Body of Auxiliaries; appointing certain Persons to provide Corn, Ships, and Money, that nothing might retard him at his Return; which was much sooner than expected: for when Interest called, Cassus wanted neither Industry nor Vigilance.

XLII. HAVING got his Army together, and encamped near Cordova, he made a Speech to the Soldiers, wherein he acquainted them with the Orders he had received from Cæsar, and promised them a hundred Sesterces each, when they should arrive in Mauritania. The fifth Legion, he told them, was to remain in Spain. Having ended his Speech, he returned to Cordova. The same Day about Noon, as he went to the Hall of Justice, one Minutius Silo, a Client of L. Racilius, presented him with a Paper, in a Soldier's Habit, as if he had some Request to make. Then retiring behind Racilius (who walked beside Cassius,) as if waiting for an Answer, he insensibly drew near; and a favourable Opportunity offering, seized Cassius with his left Hand, and wounded him twice with a Dagger in his Right. The Noise this occasioned was as a Signal to the Conspirators, who all rushed upon him in a Body.

Body. Munatius Plancus killed the Lictor that was next Longinus, and wounded Q. Cuffius his Lieutenant. T. Vallius, and L. Mergilio, seconded their Countryman Plancus; for they were all Italians. L. Lieinius Squillus flew upon Longinus himself, and gave him several flight Wounds as he lay spon the Ground. By this Time his Guards came up to his Assistance, (for he always had a Body of Veterans armed with Darts to attend him,) and furrounded the rest of the Conspirators who were advancing to complete the Assassination. this Number were Calphurnius Salvianus, and Manilius Tusculus. Cassius was carried Home; and Minutius Sile itumbling upon a Stone as he endeavoured to make his escape, was taken and brought to him. Racilius retired to the neighbouring House of a Friend, till he should have certain Information of the Fate of Cassius. L. Laterensis not doubting but he was dispatched, ran in a Transport of Joy to the Camp, to congratulate the Second and the new-raifed Legions upon it, who, he knew, bore a particular Hatred to Cassius; and who immediately upon this intelligence, placed him on the Tribunal, and proclaimed him Prætor. For there was not a Native of the Province, nor a Soldier of the newraised Legion, nor a Person who by long Residence was naturalized to the Province, of which Kind the second Legion confisted, who did not join in the general Hatred of Cassius. Mean-time Laterensis was informed that Caffius was still alive; at which being rather grieved than disconcerted, he immediately so far recovered himself, as to go and wait upon him. By this Time the thirtieth Legion having Notice of what had passed, marched to Cordova, to the Assistance of their General. The Twenty-first and Fifth followed their Example. As only two Legions remained in the Camp, the Second fearing they should be left alone, and thereby have their Sentiments known, did the same. But the newraised Legion continued firm, nor could be induced by any Motives of Fear, to stir from its Place. Caffius ordered all the Accomplices of the Conspiracy to be seized, and sent back the fifth Legion to the Camp, retainring the other three. By the Confession of Minutius he learnt, that L. Racilius, L. Laterenfis, and Annius Scapula, a Man of great Authority and Credit in the Province, and equally in his Confidence with Laterensis and Racilius, Racilius, were concerned in the Plot: nor din he long defer his Revenge, but ordered them to be put to death. He delivered Minutius to be racked by his Freed-menelikewise Calphurnius Salvianus; who turning Evidence, increased the Number of he Conspirators; justly, as some think; but others pretend that he was forced. L. Mergilio was likewise put to the Torture. Squillus impeached many others, who were all condemned to die, except such as redeemed their Lives by a Fine: for he pardoned Calphurnius for Ten, and Q. Sextius for sifty thousand Sesterces; who, though deeply guilty, yet having in this Manner escaped Death, shewed Cassius to be no less covetous than cruel.

XLIII. Some Days after, he received Letters from Cæsar, with an Account of Pompey's Defeat and Flight: which News equally affected him with Joy and Sorrow. Cæsar's Success gave him Pleasure; but the Conclusion of the War would put an End to his Rapines: insomuch that he was uncertain which to wish for, Victory, or unbounded Licentiousness. When he was cured of his Wounds, he sent for all who were indebted to him in any Sums, and infifted upon immediate Payment. Such as were taxed too low, had Orders to furnish larger Sums. Such Roman Citizens as had been levied in the several Colonies of the Province, and were alarmed at the Thoughts of a foreign Expedition, obtained their Discharge for a certain Sum. This brought in a vast Revenue, but greatly increased the general Hatred. He afterwards reviewed the Army, sent the Legions and Auxiliaries designed for Africa towards the Straits of Hercules, and went himself to Seville, to examine the Condition of the Fleet. He stayed there some Time, in consequence of an Edict he had published, ordering all who had not paid the Sums in which they were amerced, to repair to him thither; which created an universal Murmuring and Discontent.

XLIV. In the Mean-time L. Titius, a military Tribune of the new-raifed Legion, sent him Notice of a Report, that the thirtieth Legion, one of those he was carrying with him to Africa, had mutinied at Ilurgis, killed some of the Centurions that opposed them, and were gone over to the second Legion, who marched another

another W towards the Straits. Upon this Intelligence, he 14t out by Night with five Cohorts of the twenty-first Legion, and came up with them in the Morning. He stayed there that Day, to consult what was proper to be done, and then went to Carmona, where he found the thirtieth as d twenty-first Legions, with four Cohorts of the fifth, and all the Cavalry assembled. Here he learnt, that the new-raised Legion had furprised four Cohorts near Obucula, and forced them along with them to the second Legion; where all joining, they had chosen T. Thorius an Italian for their General. Having instantly called a Council, he sent Marcellus to Cordova, to secure that Town, and 2. Cassius, his Lieutenant, to Seville. A few Days after, News was brought that Cordova had revolted, and that Marcellus, either voluntarily, or through Force, (for the Reports were various) had joined them; as likewise the two Cohorts of the fifth Legion that were in Garrison Cassius provoked at these Mutinies decamped, and the next Day came to Segovia, upon the River Xenil. There summoning an Assembly, to sound the Disposition of the Troops, he found; that it was not out of any Regard to him, but to Cæsar, though absent, that they continued faithful, and were ready to undergo any Panger for the Recovery of the Province.

XLV. MEAN WHILE Thorius marched the veteran Legions to Cordova; and that the Revolt might not appear to spring from a seditious Inclination in him or the Soldiers; as likewise to oppose an equal Authority to that of Q. Cassius, who was drawing together a great Force in Cæsar's Name; he publickly gave out, that his Design was to recover the Province for Pompey. Nay, perhaps he was really influenced by a Love for Pompey, whose Name was dear to those Legions that had served under Varro. Be this as it will, Thorius at least made it his Pretence; and the Soldiers were so infatuated with the Thought, that they had Pompey's Name in-scribed upon their Bucklers. The Citizens of Cordova, Men, Women, and Children, came out to meet the Leis; " begging they would not enter Cordova as Enemies. feeing they joined with them in their Avertion to Cassius, and only desired they might not be obliged " to act against Cafar."

F f

XLVI. THE Soldiers moved by the I rayers and Tears of so great a Multitude, and seeing they stood in no need of Pompey's Name and Memory to spirit up a Revolt against Caffius, as he was equally odious to the Partizans of both Parties neither being able to prevail with Marcellus, or the leople of Cordova, to declare against Cæsar; they eras d Pompey's Name from their Bucklers, chose Marcellus their Commander, joined the Citizens of Cordova, and encamped near the Town. Two Days after, Caffius encamped on an Eminence on this Side the Bætis, about four Miles from Cordova and within View of the Town; whence he fent Letters to Bogud in Mauritania, and M. Lepidus, Proconful of Hither Spain, to come to his Assistance as soon as possible for Cæsar's Sake. Mean-while he ravaged the Country, and set fire to the Buildings round Cordova.

XLVII. The Legions under Marcellus, provoked at this Indignity, ran to him, and begged to be led against the Enemy, that they might have an Opportunity of fighting them, before they could have Time to destroy with Fire and Sword, the rich and noble Possessions of the Cordovians. Marcellus, though averse to a Battle, which, whoever was victorious, must turn to Cæsar's Detriment; yet unable to restrain the Legions, crosse the Bætis, and drew up his Men. Cassius kid the sar le upon a Rifing-ground: but as he would not quit his a 1vantageous Post, Marcellus persuaded his Men to ret rn to their Camp. He had already begun to retire, when Cuffius, knowing himself to be stronger in Cavaly, fell upon the Legionaries with his Horse, and made a considerable Slaughter in their Rear, upon the Banks of the This Check making Marcellus sensible of the Mistake he had committed in passing the River, he removed his Camp to the other Side, where both Armies frequently drew up, but did not engage, on account of the Inequality of the Ground.

XLVIII. MARCELLUS was stronger in Foot, for he commanded veteran Legions, of great Experience in War. Cassius depended more on the Fidelity than Courage of his Troops. The two Camps being vernear each other, Marcellus seized a Spot of Ground where he built a Fort, very convenient for depriving the Enemy

Enemy of Water. Longinus apprehending he should be besieged in a Country where all were against him, quitted his Camp in the Night, and by a quick March reached Ulla, a Town on which he thought he could rely. There he encamped so near the Walls, that both by the Situation of the Place, (for Ulla stands on an Eminence) and the Defences of the Town, he was on all Sides secure from an Attack. Marcellus followed him, and encamped as near the Town as possible. Having taken a View of the Place, he found himself reduced by Necessity to do what was most agreeable to his own Inclination; and neither engage Cassius, which the Ardour of his Soldiers would have forced him to, had it been possible; nor suffer him by his Excursions to infest the Territories of other States, as he had done those of Cordova. He therefore raised Redoubts in proper Places; and continued his Works quite round the Town, inclosing both Ulla and Cassius within his Lines. But before they were finished, Cassius sent out all his Cavalry; who he imagined might do him great Service, by cutting off Marcellus's Provisions and Forage; and could only be an useless Incumbrance upon him, by consuming his Provisions, if he was shut up in his Camp.

XLIX A FEW Days after, King Bogud having recived Caffu. 's Letters, came and joined him with all his I orces, confirming of one Legion, and feveral auxiliary Chorts. For as commonly happens in civil Diffensions, some of the States of Spain at that Time favoured Cassius, but a yet greater Number, Marcellus. Bogud came up to the advanced Works of Marcellus, where many sharp in ishes happened with various Success however, Marcellus still kept possession of his Works.

L. Mean-while Lepidus, from the hither Province, with thirty-five legionary Cohorts, and a great Body of Horse and Auxiliaries, came to Ulla, with Design to adjust the Differences between Cassius and Marcellus. Marcellus submitted without Hesitation: but Cassius kept within his Works, either because he thought his Cause justest, or from an Apprehension that his Adversary's Submittion had prepossessed Lepidus in his Favour. Lepidus encamped with Marcellus at Ulla, prevented a Battle, invited Cassius into his Camp, and engaged his F f 2

Honour to act without Prejudice. Cassius hesetated long, but at last desired that the Circumvallation should be levelled, and free Egress given him. The Truce was not only concluded, but the Works demolished, and the Guards drawn off, when King Bogud attacked one of Marcellus's Forts, that lay nearest to his Camp, unknown to any (unless perhaps Linginus, who was not exempt from Suspicion on this Occasion) and slew a great Number of his Men. And had not Lepidus interposed, much Mischief would have been done.

- I.I. A FREE Passage being now made for Cassius, Marfellus joined Camps with Lepidus, and both together marched for Cordova, while Cassius retired to Carmona. At the same Time Trebonius, the Proconful, came to take possession of the Province. Cassius having Notice of his Arrival, fent his Legions and Cavalry into Winter-quarters, and haftened with all his Effects to Melaca, where he embarked immediately, though it was the Winter-Season; that he might not, as he pretended, come into the Power of Marsellus, Lepidus and Trebonius; as his Friends gave out, to avoid passing through a Province, great Part of which had revolted from him; but as was more generally believed, to fecure the Money he had amassed by his numberless Extortions The Wind favouring him as far as could be expected: that Season of the Year, he put into the Berus, to avo I failing in the Night; and thence continuing his Voyag :, which he thought he might do with Safety, though the Wind blew confiderably fresher; he was encountered by fuch a Storm at the Mouth of the River, that being neither able to return, because of the Stream, nor Peru the Fury of the Waves, the Ship and all that were in her perished.
- LII. CESAR arriving in Syria from Egypt, and understanding by those who attended him there from Rome, and the Letters he received at the same Time; that the Government there was upon a very bad Footing, and all the Affairs of the Commonwealth managed indiscreetly; that the Contests of the Tribunes were producing perpetual Seditions, and the Remissiness of the Officers of the Legions destroying military Discipline; all which required his speedy Presence to redress them:

thought it yet first incumbent upon him, to settle the State of the Provinces through which he passed; that freeing them from domestick Contentions, and the Fear of a foreign Enemy, the Laws night have a free Courte. This he hoped foon to effect ir Syria, Cilicia, and Asia, because these Provinces were 1 ot involved in War. In Prthinia and Pontus indeed he expected more Trouble, because he understood Pharnaces still continued in Pontus, and was not likely to quit it eafily, being flushed with the Victory he had obtained over Domitius Calvinus. He made a short Stay in most States of Note, distributing Rewards both publickly and privately to fuch as deterved them, determining old Controversies, and receiving into his Protection the Kings, Princes, and Potentates, as well of the Provinces, as of the neighbouring Countries. And having fettled the necessary Regulations for the Defence of the Country, he dismissed them fully fatisfied with himself and the Republick.

LIII. AFTER a Stay of some Days in those Parts, he named Sextus Cæsar, his Friend and Relation, to the Command of Syria, and the Legions appointed to guard it; and sailed himself for Cilicia, with the Fleet he had brought from Egypt. He summoned the States to asis uble at Forfus, the strongest and finest City of the Province; where having settled every Thing that rega ded either it or the neighbouring Countries, his warlike Ardour would not suffer him to tarry longer; but marching through Cappadocia with the utmost Expedition, where he stopped two Days at Mazaca, he arrived at Comana, renowned for the ancient and facred Temple of Launa, where she is worshipped with so much Veneration, that her Priest is accounted next in Power and Dignity to the King. He conferred this Dignity on Lycomedes of Bithynia, descended of the ancient Kings of Cappadecia, who demanded it in Right of Inheritance; his Ancestors having lost it upon occasion of the Scepter's being transferred to another Line. As for Ariobarzanes, and his Brother Ariarates, who had both deserved the Commonwealth, he confirmed the first in his angdom, and put the other under his Protection; ifter which, he pursued his March with the same Dispatch. Ff3

LIV. UPON

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LIV. UPON his approaching Pantus, and the Frontiers of Gallogracia; Dejotarus, Tetrarch of that Province, (whose Title however was disputed by the neighbouring Tetrarchs) and King of the Lesser Armema, laying aside the regal Ornaments, an lassuming the Habit not only of a private Person, but e en of a Criminal, came in 2 suppliant Manner to Caser, "To beg Forgiveness for " obeying and affifting Pompey, at a Time when Cafar. could afford him no Protection: Urging, that it was "his Business to obey the Governors who were present, "without pretending to judge of the Disputes of the " People of Rome." Cafar, after putting him in mind, of the many Services he had done him, and the Decrees he had procured in his Favour when Conful; that his Defection could claim no Excuse from Want " of Information, because one of his Industry and Pru-"dence could not but know who was Master of Haly " and Rome; where the Senate, the People, and the " Majesty of the Republick resided; who in fine was Conful after Marcellus and Lentulus; told him, that he would notwithstanding forgive his present Fault, in consideration of his past Services, the former "Friendship that had subsisted between them, the Re-" spect due to his Age, and the Solicitation of those who interceded in his Behalf: Adding, that he word refer the Controversy relating to the Tetrarchate to " another Time." He restored him Royal Havit, and commanded him to join him with all his Cavary, and the Legion he had trained up after the Roman Manner.

LV. When he was arrived in Pontus, and had rawnall his Forces together, which were not very confiderable either for their Number or Discipline; (for except the fixth Legion, composed of veteran Soldiers, which he had brought with him from Alexandria, and which by its many Labours and Dangers, the Length of its Marches and Voyages, and the frequent Wars in which it had been engaged, was reduced to less than a thousand Men; he had only the Legion of Dejotarus, and two more that had been in the late Battle between Domitius and I maces:) Ambassadors arrived from Pharnaces, "To in treat that Casar would not look upon him as a "Enemy,

Enemy, he being ready to submit to all his Com mands.' Particularly they represented, "That Pharnaces had granted no Aid to Pompey, as Dejotarus had done, whom he 'ad nevertheless pardoned." Cafar replied, "That Phar laces should meet with the utmost Justice, if he perfermed his Promises: But at " the same Time admonished the Ambassadors in gentle Terms, to forbear mentioning Dejotarus, and not to over-rate the having refuted Aid to Pompry. He told "them, he was always ready to forgive the Suppliant, 66 But would never look upon private Services to him-" felf, as an Atonement for publick Injuries done the " Province: That Pharnaces's Refusal of aiding Pom-" pey had turned chiefly to his own Advantage, as he " had thereby avoided all Share in the Difaster of Phar-" falia: That he was however willing to forgive the "Injuries done to the Roman Citizens in Pontus, be-" cause it was now too late to think of redressing them; " as he could neither restore Life to the Dead, or Man-46 hood to those he had deprived of it, by a Punishment " more intolerable to the Romans than Death itself. "But that he must quit Pontus immediately, send back " the Farmers of the Revenues, and restore to the Ro-" mans and their Allies, what he unjustly detained from These Things performed, he might then send " the Pre ents which successful Generals were wont to " receive from their Friends:" (For Pharnaces had fent . im a Golden Crown.) With this Answer he dismissed tn Ambassadors.

LVI. PHARNACES promifed every Thing: But hopis a that Cafar, who was in hafte to be gone, would give easy Credit to whatever he said, that he might the sooner fet out upon more urgent Affairs; (for every Body knew that his Presence was much wanted at Rome,) he performed but flowly, wanted to protract the Day of his Departure, demanded other Conditions, and in fine endeavoured to clude his Engagements. Cafar perceiving his Drift, did now out of Necessity, what he was usually went to do through Inclination, and resolved to decide the Affair as soon as possible by a Battle.

LVII. ZIELA is a Town of Pontus, well fortified, though situated in a Plain. For a natural Eminence, Ff4

as if raised by Art, sustains the Walls on all Sides. All around are a great Number of large Mountains, intersected by Valleys. The highest of these, sanded by the Victory of Mithridates, the Deseat of Triarius, and the Destruction of our Army, is not above three Miles from Ziela, and has a Ridge that almost extends to the Town. Here Pharnaces lodged himself with all his Forces, repairing the Fortifications of a Camp which had proved to fortunate to his Father.

LVIII. CESAR encamped about five Miles from the Enemy; and observing that the Valleys which defended the King's Camp, would likewife defend his own at the same Distance, if the Enemy, who were much nearer, did not seize them before him; he ordered a great Quantity of Fascines to be brought within the Intrenchments. This being quickly performed; next Night, at the fourth Watch, leaving all the Baggage in the Camp, he fet out with the Legions; and arriving at Day-break unsuspected by the Enemy, possessed himself of the same Post where Mithridates had defeated Triarius. Hither he commanded all the Fascines to be brought, employing the Servants of the Army for that Purpose, that the Soldiers might not be called off from the Works; because the Valley, which divided the Eminence where he was intrenching himself, from the Enemy, we not above a Mile over.

LIX. PHARNACES perceiving this next Morning, ranged all his Troops in Order of Battle before his Camp. But the Approach towards us was so dangerous, that Casar concluded it to be no more than a Review done with Defign to retard his Works, by keeping a great Number of his Men under Arms; or perhaps for Oftentation, to shew that he trusted no less to his Army, than the Advantage of his Post. Therefore keeping only his first Line in Order of Battle, he commanded the rest of the Army to go on with the Works. But Pharnaces, either prompted by the Place itself, which had been so fortunate to his Father; or induced by favourable Omque. as we were afterwards told; or despising the small Number of our M: n that were in Arms; for he took all that were employed in carrying Materials to the Works to be Soldiers; or confiding in his veteran Army, who vaLegion; and at the same Time contemning our Troops, whom he had worsted under Domitius; was determined upon a Battle, and to that Erd began to cross the Valley. Casar at single laughed at his Ottentation, in crowding his Army into so narrow a Place, where no Enemy in his right Senses would have ventured; while in the Meantime Pharnages continued his March, and began to ascend the steep Hill on which Casar was posted.

LX. CESAR aftonished at his incredible Rashness and Confidence, and finding himfelf fuddenly and unexpectedly attacked, called off his Soldiers from the Works, ordered them to Arms, opposed the Legions to the Enemy, and ranged his Troops in Order of Battle. The Suddenness of the Thing occasioned some Terror at first; and the Chariots armed with Scythes, falling in with our Ranks before they were completed, difordered them confiderably: However, the Multitude of Darts discharged against them, soon put a Stop to their Career. The Enemy's Army followed them close, and began the Battle with a Shout. Our advantageous Situation, but especially the Assistance of the Gods, who preside over all the Events of War, and more particularly those where human Conduct can be of no Service, favoured . 3 greatly on this Occasion.

LXI. AFTER a sharp and obstinate Conflict, Victory began to declare for us on the right Wing, where the fixth Legion was posted. The Enemy there was totally overthrown; but in the Center and Left the Battle was I -g and doubtful: However, with the Affistance of the fance Gods, we at last prevailed there also, and drove them with the utmost Precipitation down the Hill, which they had so easily ascended before. Great Numbers being flain, and many crushed by the Flight of their own Troops, fuch as had the good Fortune to escape were nevertheless obliged to throw away their Arms; so that having croffed the Valley, and got upon the opposite A front, they could yet, because unarmed, derive no Benefit from the Advantage of the Ground. Our Men Aushed with Victory made no Scruple to follow them, and even attack their Camp; which they foon forced, not withstanding the Resistance made by the Cohorts left

by Pharnaces to guard it. Almost the whole Army was cut to Pieces or made Prisoners. Pharnaces himself escaped with a few Horse; and had not our Soldiers been detained some Time by the Assault of the Camp, he must certainly have fallen alive into Cæsar's Hands.

LXII. Though Cæsar was accustomed to Victory, yet the present Success gave him no small Joy; because, he had so speedily put an End to a very great War. The Remembrance too of the Danger to which he had been exposed, enhanced the Pleasure, as he had obtained an easy Victory in a very difficult Conjuncture. Having thus recovered Pontus, and abandoned the Plunder of the Enemy's Camp to the Soldiers, he set out next Day with a Guard of light Horse. The sixth Legion had Orders to return to Italy, to receive the Honours and Rewards they had merited: The auxiliary Troops of Dejotarus were sent home: And Cæsius Vincianus was lest with two Legions to protect the Kingdom of Pontus.

LXIII. THROUGH Gallogracia and Bithynia he went into Ajia, settling all the Controversies of the Provinces es he passed, and establishing the Limits and Jurisdictions of the several Kings, States, and Tetrarchs. Mithridates of Pergamus, who had so speedily and successfully fired him in Egypt, as we have related above. a Mr., of royal Descent and Education, (for Mithridates, king of all Asia, out of Regard to his Birth, had carried him along with him when very young, and kept him in his Car.p several Years,) was appointed King of Bosphorus, wnich had belonged to Pharnaces. And thus were the Provinces of the Roman People screened from the Attempts of ba. barous and hostile Kings, by the Interposition of a Prince steadily attached to the Interests of the Republick. this was added the Tetrarchate of Gallogræcia, which belonged to him of Right, though it had been possessed for some Years by Dejotarus. Thus Cæsar, staying no where longer than the Necessity of Affairs required, and having settled all Things relating to the Provinces with the utmost Success and Dispatch, returned to Italy much fooner than was expected.

A. HIRTIUS PANSAs

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

AFRICAN WAR.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. Cæsar sets out for Africa. III. And lands at Adru-metum. IV. He treats with Considius about the Surrender of that Town: But in vain. V. Thence he removes his Camp to Ruspina. VI. And again to Leptis, which he immediately takes possession of. VII. Here he draws together his auxiliary Troops. VIII. And afterwards returns to Ruspina, to provide himself with Corn. IX. Whence preparing to fail in quest of his Transports, they unexpectedly appear before the Port. XI. Skirmishes between Cassar and Labienus nedr Ruspina. XVII. Petreius and Piso advance to support Labienus, but they are nevertheless all repulsed. XVIII. The Number of Labienus's Troops, and his Presumption. XIX. Scipio joins Labienus. Cæsar fortifics his Camp. XXI. Young Pompey, by Cato's Advice, prepares for War, but without Success. XXII. Cæsar suffers greatly for want of Corn. XXIII. King Juba marching to the Assistance of Scipio, is forced to return to defend his own Kingdom against Bogud. XXIV. Cæsar rejolving to fight the Enemy, draws Troops together from all Parts. XXV. The Manner of training Scipio's Elephants. XXVI. One of Cæsar's Ships taken by the Enemy. XXVII. Labienus attacks Leptis in vain. XXVIII. Scipio draws out his Troops. Cæfar keeps within his Camp. XXIX. A great Number of Numidians and Getulians desert to Cæsar. XXX. The Town of Acilla demands a Garrison from Cæsar, and is immediatel invested by the Enemy. XXXI. Cæsar receives a Supply of Troops and Corn by Sea. XXXII. A Body of Getulians, fent out as Scouts by Scipio, desert to XXXIII. Cato sends Supplies to Scipio. The City of Tisdra demands a Garrison of Cæsar. XXXIV. Cæsar makes choice of a new Camp, and strengthens it with Works; which the Enemy advancing to retard, are repulsed with great Slaughter. XXXVIII. Upon which Cæsar draws out his Army; but the Enemy keep within their Gamp. XL. The Siege of Acilla raised. XLI. The surprising Fortitude of one of Cæsar's Centurions, taken Prisoner by Scipio; and the Gruelty of that General. XLII. The great Mischief done by a Sudden Storm of Rain. XLIII.

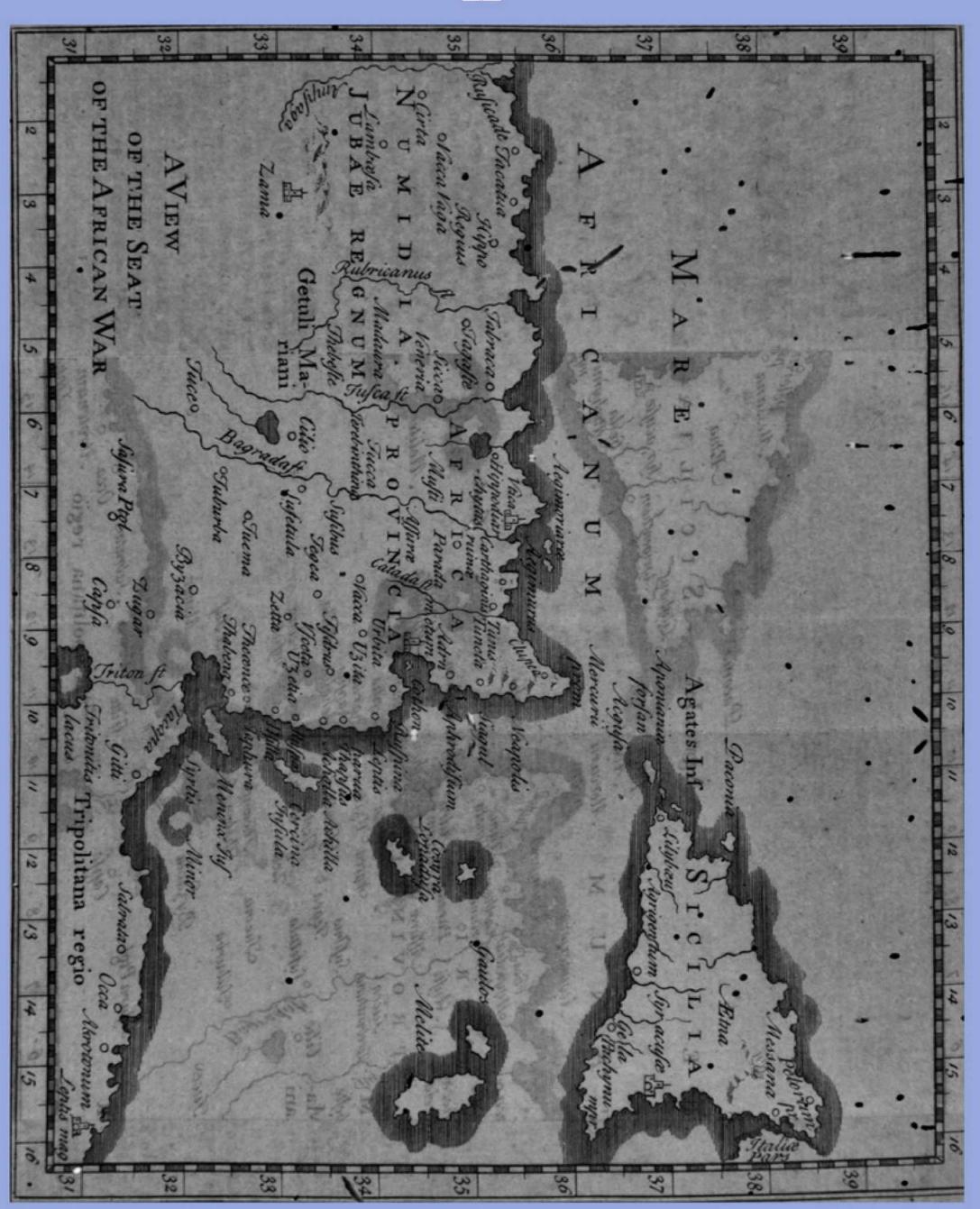
THE ARGUMENT.

XLIII. King Juha arrives in Scipio's Camp at the Head rof a great Body of Troops. XIIV. Cæsar having diflodged Labienus. Seizes the Hill on which he was posted. XLV. Cæsar's Works for the Security of his Camp. XLVI. Juba and Labienus at-tacking a Party of Cæsar's Men, as they returned from the Works, are repulsed with great Slaughter. XLVII. Two Legions arrive to Cæsar's Aid. XLVIII. Cæsar's Steadiness in maintaining military Discipline. XLIX. The Getulians revolting from Juba, oblige him to divide his Forces. L. Cæsar feigns a Design upon Uzita, whence a great many Persons of illustrious Rank join him. LI. Juba's Pride. LII. Both Armies drawn up. LIII. The Order of Battle on each Side. LIV. After a few Skirmishes between the Horse, both retire to their Camps. LV. Some of Cæsar's Ships burnt by the Enemy, and others taken. LVI. Cæsar embarking in person, fullows the Enemy, defeats them, and returns to his Camp. LVII. Cæfar in want of Corn. LVIII. Which compels him to leave his Camp. Scipio pursues him. LIX. He possesses himself of Zeta, a Town beyond the Enemy's Camp. LX. The Enemy attacking him as he returns laden with Plunder, are repulsed. LXI. Difficulty of fighting with the Numidians: Cæsar's Contrivance for that Purpose. LXII. The Town of Vacca, demanding a Garrison of Cæsar, is plundered by King Juba. LXIII. The Enemy declining a Battle, Cæsar decamps, and repulses the Troops sent to set upon him in his March. LXIV. But not caring to besiege Sarsura, he returns to his old Camp. LXV. The Thabenenses demand Cæsar's Protection. LXVI. Cæsar receives fresh Succours. LXVII. A Battle of the Cavalry, in which Cæsar has the Advantage. LXVIII. The Enemy Still declining an Engagement, Cæsar besieges Thapsus. LXIX. Scipio attempts to relieve it. IXX. Cæsar encouraging his Men, and finding them full of Alacrity, attacks the Enemy. LXXII. The surprising Bravery of a private Soldier. LXXIII. Scipio's Army defeated, and almost totally cut off. LXXIV. Cæsar marches for Utica. LXXV. Whither Scipio's Cavalry had retired. LXXVI. Cato

THE ARGUMENT.

Cato kills himself. Utica surrenders. LXXVII. Cæsar in his March to Utica possesses himself of Usceta and Adrumetum. LXXVIII. He pardons the Uticans. LXXIX. Juba jlying to Zama, is resused Admittance. LXXX. Zama, and several of the King's Generals surrender to Cæsar. LXXXI. Considius surrenders Tisdra, and Vergilius Thapsus. LXXXII. The Death of Juba and Petreius. LXXXIII. Also of Faustus and Afranius. LXXXIV. And of Scipio. LXXXV. Cæsar converts Juba's Kingdom into a Pravince. LXXXVI. And returns to Rome.





A. HIRTIUS PANSA s COMMENTARIES

OF THE

AFRICAN WAR.

1. CAESAR setting out for Rome, advanced by moderate Journeys towards Sicily; and continuing his March without Intermission, arrived on the nineteenth of December at Lilybæum. Defigning to embark immediately, though he had only one Leg'on of new Levies, and not quite fix hundred Horse, he c. dered his Tent to be pitched so near the Sca-side, that the Waves flowed up to the very Foot of it. This he did with a View to take away all Hopes of Delay, and keep is Men in readiness at a Day or an Hour's Warning. The Wind at that Time proving contrary, he nevertheless suffered none of the Soldiers or Mariners to come on Shore, that he might lose no Opportunity of sailing; the rather, because the Inhabitants of the Province were perpetually talking of the mighty Forces of the Enemy; a Cavalry not to be numbered; four Legions headed by Juha, together with a great Body of light-armed Troops; ten Legions under the Command of Scipio; an hundred and twenty Elephants, and Fleets in Abundance. Yet all these Reports alarmed him not, nor aught abated his Resolution and Confidence. Mean-time the Number of Gallies and Transports increased daily; the new levic I Legions flocked in to him from all Parts; among the rest the Fifth, a veteran Legion, and about two thousand Horse.

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II. HAVING got toge her fix Legions, and about two thousand Horse; he embarked the Legions as fast as they arrived, in the Gallies; and the Cavalry in the Transports. Then sending the greatest Part of the Fleet before, with Orders to fail, for the Island of Aponiana, not far from Lilybaum; he himse f continued a little longer in Sicily, to expose to publick Sale some confiscated Estates. Leaving all other Affairs to the Care of Allienus the Prætor, who then commanded in the Island; and strictly charging him to use the utmost Expedition in embarking the Remainder of the Troops; he fet fail the twenty-seventh of December, and soon came up with the rest of the Fleet. As the Wind was favourable, and afforded a quick Passage, he arrived the fourth Day within Sight of Africa, attended by a few Gallies: for the Transports, being mostly dispersed and scattered by the Winds, were driven different Ways. Passing Clupea and Neapolis with the Fleet, he continued for some Time to coast along the Shore, leaving many Towns and Castles behind him.

III. WHEN he came before Adrumetum, where the Enemy had a Garrison commanded by C. Considius; and where Cn. Piso appeared upon the Shore towards Clupec, with the Cavalry of Adrumetum, and about two thousand Moors; having stopt a While facing the Port, till the rest of the Fleet should come up, he landed his Men, though their Number at that Time did not exceed three thousand Foot, and an hundred and fifty Horse There encamping before the Town, he continued quiet in his Intrenchments, without offering any Act of Hostility, or suffering his Men to plunder the Country. Mean-time the Inhabitants manned the Walls, and affembled in great Numbers before the Gates, to defend the Town, whose Garrison amounted to two Legions. Gæsur having taken a View of the Place, and thoroughly examined its Situation on all Sides, returned to his Camp. Some blamed his Conduct on this Occasion, and charged him with a confiderable Overfight, in not appointing a Place of Rendezvous to the Pilots and Captains of the Fleet, or at least not delivering them Laled Instructions, according to his usual Cultom, which being opened at a certain Time, might have in cold them where to assemble. But in this Cafar acted

acted not without Desogn: for as he knew of no Port in Africa that, was clear of the Enemy's Forces, and where the Flest might rendezvous in Security, he chose to rely entirely upon Fortune, and land where Occasion offered.

- IV. In the Mean-time L. Plancus, one of Cæfar's Lieutenants, desired leave to treat with Considius, and try, if possible, to bring him to Reason. Leave being granted accordingly, he wrote him a Letter, and sent it into the Town by a Messenger. When the Messenger arrived, and presented the Letter, Considius demanding whence it came, and being told from Cæsar, the Roman General, answered: that he knew no General of the Roman Forces but Scipio. Then commanding the Messenger to be immediately slain in his Presence, he delivered the Letter unopened to a trusty Partizan, with Orders to carry it directly to Scipio.
- V. CÆSAR had low continued a Day and a Night before the Town, without receiving any Answer from Considius; the rest of the Forces were not yet arrived; his Cavalry was very inconfiderable; the Troops he had with him were mostly new Levies, and not sufficiently numerous to invest the Place; neither did he thi k it adviseable, upon his first landing, to expose the Army to Wounds and Fatigue; more especially, as the Town was strongly fortified, extremely difficult of Access, and the Garrison full of Spirits, in Expectation of a great Body of Horse, who were said to be upon their March to join them. For all these Reasons he determined not to attempt a Siege; lest, while he pursued that D sign, the Enemy's Cavalry should come behind and surround him. But as he was drawing off his Men, the Garrison made a sudden Sally; and Juba's Horse, whom he had sent to receive their Pay, happening just then to come up, they jointly took possession of the Camp Cæsar had left, and began to harass his Rear. This being perceived, the Legionaries immediately halted; and the Cavalry, though few in Number, boldly charged the vast Multitude of the Enemy. On this Occasion it was, that less than thirty Gallick Horse, by an incredible and aftonishing Effort of Valour, repulsed two thousand Moors, and drove them quite within the Town. G g thus

thus compelled the Energy to retire, and shelter themlelves behind their Walls, Cæsar retume I his intended March: but observing that they often repeated their Sallies, renewing the Pursuit from Time to Time, and again slying when attacked by the Horse; he posted some veteran Cohorts, with Part of the Cavalry in the Rear, to cover his Retreat, and so proceeded slowly on his March. The farther he advanced from Adrumetum, the less eager were the Numidians to pursue. Mean-time Deputies arrived from the several Towns and Cassles on the Road, offering to surnish him with Corn, and receive his Commands. Towards the Evening of that Day, which was the first of January, he reached Ruspina, and there sixed his Camp.

VI. THENCE he removed, and came before Leptis, a free City, and governed by it own Laws. Here he was also met by Deputies from th Town, who came in the Name of the Inhabitants, to wake an Offer of their Submission and Services. Whereupon placing Centurions and a Guard before the Gates, to prevent the Soldiers from entering, or offering Violence to any of the Inhabitants; he himself encamped towards the Shore, not far distant from the Town. Hither by Accident arrived some of the Gallies and Transports, by whom he was informed, that the rest of the Fleet, uncertain what Course to pursue, had been steering for Utica. This obliged him to keep with the Army near the Sea; and avoid marching into the inland Provinces, that he might be at hand to join his Troops upon their Arrival. He likewife fent the Cavalry back to their Ships, probably to hinder the Country from being plundered, and ordered fresh Water to be carried to them on board. Mean-while the Rowers, who were employed in this Service, were fuddenly and unexpectedly attacked by the Moorish Horse, who killed forme, and wounded many with their Darts. For the Manner of these Barbarians is, to lie in ambush with their Horses among the Valleys, and suddenly launch upon an Enemy; they feldom chooling to engage Hand to Hand in a Plain.

VII. In the Mean-time Cæsar dispatched Letters and Medengers into Sardinia, and the neighbouring Provinces, with Orders, as soon as the Letters came to hand,

hand, to fend Supplies of Men, Corn, and warlike Stores; and having unloaded Part of the Fleet, detached it with Rabiri.'s Postbumus into Sicily, to bring over second Embarkation. It the same Time he ordered out ten Gallies, to get Int lligence of the Transports that had missed their Way, and maintain the Freedom of the Sea. C. Sallustius Crispus, the Prætor, was likewise sent out at the Head of a Squadron, to seize Cercina. then in the Hands of the Enemy, because he heard there was great Store of Corn in that Island: In giving these Orders and Instructions, he used all possible Endeavours to leave no Room for Excuse or Delay. Mean-while having informed himself, from the Deserters and Natives, of the Condition of Scipio and his Followers; and understanding that they were at the whole Charge of maintaining Juba's Cavalry; he could not but pity the Infatuation of Men, who thus rather chose to be Tributaries to the King of Numidia, than securely enjoy their Fortunes at home with their Fell w-Citizens.

VIII. THE third of fanuary he decamped; and leaving fix Cohorts at Leptis, under the Command of Saserna, returned with the rest of the Forces to Ruspina, whence he had come the Day before. Here he deposited the Baggage of the Army; and marching out with a sharp body of Troops to sorage, ordered the Inhabitants to sollow with their Horses and Carriages. Having by this Means got together a great Quantity of Corn, he came back to Ruspina. His Design was, as far as I can judge, that by keeping possession of the maritime Cities, and providing them with Garrisons, he might secure a Retreat for his Fleet.

IX. LEAVING therefore P. Saferna, the Brother of him who commanded at Leptis, to take charge of the Town with one Legion, and ordering all the Wood that could be found to be carried into the Place; he fet out from Ruspina with seven Cohorts, part of the veteran Legions, who had behaved so well in the Fleet under Sulpicius and Vatinius; and marching directly for the Port, which lies at about two Miles distance, embarked with them in the Evening, without imparting his In stentions to the Army, who were extremely inquisitive concerning the General's Design. His Departure occa

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froops: for being few in Number, mostly new Levies, and those not all suffered to land; they saw themselves exposed upon a foreign Coast, to the mighty Forces of a crasty Nation, supported by an innumerable Cavalry. Nor had they any Resource in their present Circumstances, or Expectation of Safety in their own Conduct; but derived all their Hope from the Alacrity, Vigour, and wonderful Cheerfulness, that appeared in the General's Countenance; for he was of an intrepid Spirit, and behaved with undaunted Resolution and Considence. On his Condect therefore they entirely relied, and promited themselves to a Man, that under so able and experienced a Leader, all Dissiculties would vanish before them.

X. CESAR having continued the whole Night on board, about Day-break prepared to fet fail; when all on a Sudden, the Part of the Fleet at had given fo much Concern, appeared unexpectedly in View. Wherefore ordering his Men to quit their Si. ps immediately, and receive the rest of the Troops in Arms upon the Shore, he made the new Fleet enter the Port with the utmost Diligence; and landing all the Forces, Horse and Foot, rer rned again to Ruspina. Here he established his (... ip; and taking with him thirty Cohorts without Baggage, advanced into the Country to forage. Thus was Cæsar's Purpose at length discovered: that he meant, unknown to the Enemy, to have failed to the Assistance of the Transports that had missed their Way, lest they should unexpectedly fall in with the African Fleet. Nor would he even impart his Defign to his own Soldiers left behind in Garrison; from an Apprehension, that when they came to reflect upon their own Weakness, and the Strength of the Enemy, they might too much give way to Fear.

XI. CASAR had not marched above three Miles from his Camp, when he was informed by his Scouts, and some advanced Parties of Horse, that the Enemy's Forces were in View: At the same Time a great Cloud of Dust began to appear. Upon this Intelligence, Casar ordered all his Horse, of which he had at that Time but a very small Number, to advance; as likewise the Archers, only a few of whom had followed him from the Camp; and the Legions to march after him in Order

of Battle: while he went forward at the Head of a small Party. Soom after, having discovered the Enemy at some Distance, he commanded the Soldiers to repair to neir Arms, and prepare or Battle. Their Number in all did not exceed thirty Cohorts, with about sour hundred Horse, and the Archers.

AII. MEAN-WHILE the Enemy, under the Command of Labienus, and the two Pacidii, drew up with a very large Front, confisting mostly of Horse, whom they intermised with light-armed Numidians and Archers; forming themselves in such close Order, that Casar's Army at a Distance mistook them all for Infantry; and strengthening their right and left with many Squadrons of Horse. Casar drew up his Army in one Line, obliged to it by the Smallness of his Numbers; covering his Front with the Archers, and placing his Cavalry in the two Wings, with articular Instructions not to suffer themselves to be su rounded by the Enemy's numerous Horse; for he imposed that he was to have to do only with Infantry.

XIII. As both Sides flood in Expectation of the Signal, and Cæsar chose to continue without ining from his Post, as being sensible, that with su Troops, against so great a Force, he must depend more on Conduct and Contrivance than Strength; on a Sudden the Enemy began to extend themselves, spread out upon the Hills on every Side, and prepare to furround our Horse, who were hardly able to maintain their Ground against them. Mean-while both the main Bodies advancing to engage, the Enemy's Cavalry, intermixed with some light-armed Numidians, suddenly sprung forward, and attacked the Legions with a Shower of Darts. Our Men preparing to return the Charge, their Horie retreated a little, while the Foot continued to maintain their Ground, till the others having rallied, came on again with fresh Vigour to sustain them.

XIV. CÆSAR perceiving that his Ranks were in danger of being broken by this new Way of fighting, (fo. our Foot, in pursuing the Enemy's Horse as y retreated, being forced to advance a considerable Way bryond their Colours, were flanked by the light-armed G g 3

Numidians; while at the tame Time they could do but little Execution against the Cavalry, by reason of the Qurkness wherewith they retired,) gave express Orders, that no Soldier should auxance at ove four Foot beyond the Ensigns. Mean-while Labien: s's Cavalry confiding in their Numbers, endeavoured to surround those of Casar; who being sew in Number, and overpowered by the Multitude of the Enemy, were forced to give ground a little, their Horses being almost all wounded. The Enemy encouraged by this, pressed on more and more, so that in an Instant the Legians being surrounded on all Sides, were obliged to cast themselves into an Orb, and fight as if inclosed with Barriers.

XV. LABIENUS with his Head uncovered, advanced on Horseback to the Front of the Battle to encourage his Sometimes addressing Casa 's Legions: "Soho " you raw Soldiers there, lays he, why so fierce? Has "he infatuated you too with his V ords? Truly he has brought you into a fine Conditie : I pity you fin-" cerely." Upon this one of the Soldiers: " I am of none of your raw Warriors, but a Veteran of the " tenth Legion." " Where's your Standard?" replied Lucie us. "I'll foon make you fensible who I am," anfwere the Soldier. Then pulling off his Helmet to aucover himself, he threw a Javelin with all his Strength at Labienus, which wounding his Horse severely in the Breast: " Know, Labienus, says he, that this Dart was thrown by a Soldier of the tenth Legion." However, the whole Army was not a little daunted, especially the new Levies; and began to cast their Eyes upon Cæsar, minding nothing for the present but to defend themselves from the Enemy's Darts.

XVI. CÆSAR Mean-while perceiving the Enemy's Design, endeavoured to extend his Order of Battle as much as possible, directing the Cohorts to face about alternately to the right and left. By this Means he broke the Enemy's Circle with his right and left Wings; and attacking one Part of them thus separated from the other, with his Horse and Foot, at last put them to slight. He

and returned again to his own Men. The same was done by the other Division of Casar's Horse and Foot;

fo that the Enemy being driven back on all Sides, he retreated towards his Camp in Order of Battle.

XVII. MEAN-TINE M. Petreius, and Cn. Pipo, with eleven hundred se ect Numidian Horse, and a considerable Body of Foot, arrived to the Assistance of the Enemy. who recovering from their Terror upon this Reinforcement, and again resuming Courage, sell upon the Rear of the Legions as they retreated, and endeavoured to hinder them from reaching their Camp. Cafar percerwing this, ordered his Men to wheel about and renew the Battle. As the Enemy still pursued their former Plan, and avoided a close Engagement; Læsar considering that the Horses had not yet recovered the Fatigue of their late Voyage; that they were besides weakened with Thirst, Weariness, and Wounds, and of course unfit for a vigorous and long Pursuit, which even the Time of the Day would no allow, ordered both Horse and Foot to fall at once I iskly upon the Enemy, and not flacken the Pursuit til they had driven them quite beyond the farthest Hills, and taken possession of them themselves .. Accordingly upon a Signal given, the Enemy fighting in a faint and careless Manner, he suddenly charged them with his Horse and Foot; who in a Moment driving them from the Field, and over the adjoining Hill, kept possession of that Post for some Time, and then ruired flowly in Order of Battle to their Camp. The Enemy who in this last Attack had been very rudely handled, thought proper likewise to do the same.

XVIII. THE Action being over, a great Number of Deferters of all Kinds flocked to Cæsar's Camp, besides Multitudes of Horse and Foot that were made Prisoners. By them we learnt, that it was the Design of the Enemy to have associated our raw Troops with their new and uncommon Manner of sighting, and after surrounding them with their Cavalry, to have cut them to pieces, as they had done Curio; and that they had marched against us expressly with that Intention. Labienus had even said in the Council of War, that he would lead such a numerous Body of Troops against us, as should satigue us with the very Slaughter, and deseat us even in the Bosom of Victory; for he relied more on the Number than Valour of his Troops. He had heard of the Mutiny G g 4

of the veteran Legions et Rome, and their Refusal to go into Africa; and was li ewife well affured of the Fide-Ity of his Troops, who had ferved three Years under him in Africa. He had a great Number of Numidian Cavalry and light-armed Troops, besides the Galiick and German Horse, whom he had drawn together out of the Remains of Pompey's Army, and carried over with him from Brundusium; he had likewise the Freed-men raised in the Country, and trained to fight on Horse-back: and the Multitude of Juba's Forces, his hundred and twenty Elephants, his innumerable Cavalry and Legionaries, amounting to above twelve Thousand. Emboldened by the Hope such mighty Forces raised in him; on the fourth of January, fix Days after Cafar's Arrival, he came against him with fixteen hundred Gallick and German Horie, nine hundred under Petreius, eight thoufand Numidians, four times that Number of light-armed Foot, with a Multitude of Arch, 's and Slingers. The Battle lasted from eleven till Sin-set, during which Petreius receiving a dangerous Wund, was obliged to quit the Field.

XIX. MEAN-TIME Cæsar fortified his Camp with Th greater Care, reinforced the Guards, and threw up two Intrenchments; one from Ruspina, quite to the Sca; the other from his Camp to the Sea likewise; to fecure the Communication, and receive Supplies without Danger. He landed a great Number of Darts and military Engines, armed Part of the Mariners, Gauls, Rhodians, and others, that after the Example of the Enemy, he might have a Number of light-armed Troops to intermix with his Cavalry. He likewise strengthened his Army with a great Number of Syrian and Iturean Archers, whom he drew from the Fleet into his Camp: for he understood, that within three Davs Scipio was expected with all his Forces, confifting of eight Legions, and four thousand Horse. At the same Time he established Work-shops, made a great Number of Darts and Arrows, provided himself with leaden Bullets and Palisades, wrote to Sicily for Hurdles and Wood to make Rams, because he had none in Africa, and likewise gave Orders for sending Corn; for the Harvest in that Country like to be inconfiderable, the Enemy having taken all the Labourers into their Service the Year before, and Horet

stored up the Grain in a few fortified Towns, atter demolishing the rest, forcing the Inhabitants into their garrisoned P aces, and laying waste the whole Count. y.

XX. In this Ne effity, by foothing the People, he obtained a small Surply, and husbanded it with Care. Mean-time he was very exact in visiting the Works, and relieving the Guards. Labienus sent his Sick and Wounded, of which the Number was very considerable, in Waggons to Adrumetum. Mean-while Casar's Transports, unacquainted with the Coast, or where their General had landed, wandered up and down in great Uncertainty; and being attacked one after another by the Enemy's Coasters, were for the most Part either taken or burnt. Casar being informed of this, stationed his Fleet along the Coast and Islands, for the Security of his Convoys.

XXI. MEAN-V HILE M. Cato, who commanded in Utica, never eased urging and exhorting young Pompey, in Words to this Effect: "Your Father, when " he was at your Age, and observed the Commonwealth oppressed by wicked and daring Men, and the honest "Party either slain, or driven by Banishment fromer " Country and Relations; incited by the Grea vess of " his Mind, and the Love of Glory; though then very " young, and only a private Man, had yet the Courage " to rally the remains of his Father's Army, and deliver Rome from the Yoke of Slavery and Tyranny under which it groaned. He also recovered Sicily, Africa, " Numidia, Mauritania, with amazing Dispatch; and by that Means gained an illustrious and extensive Re-" putation among all Nations, and triumphed at threeand-twenty while but a Roman Knight. Nor did he enter upon the Administration of publick Affairs, distinguished by the shining E., loits of his Father, or the "Fame and Reputation of his Ancestors, or the Honours " and Dignities of the State. You, on the contrary, " possessed of these Honours, and the Reputation ac-" quired by your Father; sufficiently distinguished by your own Industry and Greatness of Mind; will you not bestir yourself, join you Father's Friends, and windicate your own Liberty, that of the Commonwealth, " and of every good and honest Man." The Youth. roused

Senator, got together about thirty Sail of all Sorts, of which some few were Ships of War, and failing from Utica to Mauritania, invaled the Kingdom of Bogud. And leaving his Baggage behind I im, with an Army of two thousand Men, partly Freemer, partly Slaves, some armed, some not, approached the Town of Ascurum, in which the King had a Garrison. The Inhabitants suffered him to advance to the very Walls and Gates; when sallying out all on a Sudden, they drove him quite back to his Ships. This ill Success determined him to leave that Coast; nor did he afterwards land in any Place, but steered directly for the Balearean Isles.

XXII. MEAN-TIME Scipio, leaving a strong Garrison at Utica, began his March with the Forces we have described above, and encamped firm at Adrumetum; when after a Stay of a few Days, setting out in the Night, he joined Petrcius and Labienus, lodgi g all the Forces in one Camp, about three Miles diant from Cæfar's. Their Cavalry were making continual Excursions to our very Works, intercepted those who ventured too far in quest of Wood or Water, and obliged us to keep w him our Intrenchments. This foon occasioned a great Scare by of Provisions among Cæfar's Men, because no supplies had yet arrived from Sicily or Sardinia. The Season too was dangerous for Navigation, and he did not poileis above fix Miles every Way in Africa, which also greatly straitened him for want of Forage. The veteran Soldiers and Cavalry, who had been engaged in many Wars both by Sea and Land, and often struggled with Wants and Misfortunes of this Kind, gathering Sea-weed, and washing it in fresh Water, by that Means substitted their Horses and Cattle.

XXIII. WHILE Thengs were in this Situation, King Juha being informed of Gæsar's Difficulties, and the sew Troops he had with him, resolved not to allow him Time to remedy his Wants, or increase his Army. Accordingly he lest his Kingdom at the Head of a great Body of Horse and Foot, and marched to join his Allies. Mean-time P. Sitiu, and King Bogud having Intelligence of Juha's March, joined their Forces, entered Numidia, and laying Siege to Cirta, the

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most opulent City in the Country, carried it in a few Days, with two others belonging to the Getulians. They had offered the Inhabitants Leave to depart in Sasety of they would peaceably deliver up the Towns: But these Conditions being rejected, they were taken by Storm, and the Citizens all put to the Sword. They then sell to ravaging the Country, and laying all the Cities under Contribution: Of which Juba having Intelligence; though he was upon the point of joining Scipio and the other Chiefs, he determined to return to the Relief of his own Kingdom, rather than run the Hazard of being driven from it while he was assisting others, and perhaps after all miscarry too in his Designs against Cæsar. He therefore retired with his Troops, leaving only thirty Elephants behind him, and marched to the Relief of his own Cities and Territories.

XXIV. MEAN-WE (LE Cæsar, knowing that the Province still doubted o his Arrival, and imagined that not himself in person, but some of his Lieutenants had: come over with the Forces lately fent; dispatched Letters to all the feveral States, to inform them of his Prefence. Upon this many Persons of Rank sled to his Camp, complaining of the Barbarity and Cruelty o me Hitherto he had continued quiet in his I 4 but touched with their Fears, and a Sense of their Sufferings, he resolved to take the Field as soon as the Weather would permit, and he could draw his Troops together. He immediately dispatched Letters into Sicily, to Allienus and Rabirius Posthumus the Prætors, that without Delay or Excuse, either of the Winter or the Winds, they must send over the rest of the Troops, to save Africa from utter Ruin; because without some speedy Remedy, not a fingle House would be left standing, nor any Thing escape the Fury and Ravages of the Enemy. But such was his Impatience, and so long uid the Time appear, that from the Day the Letters were fent, he complained without ceasing of the Delay of the Fleet, and had his Eyes Night and Day turned towards the Sea. Nor ought we to wonder at his Behaviour on this Occasion: For he saw the Villages burnt, the Country laid waste, tile Cattle destroyed, the Towns plundered, the principal Citizens either flain or put in Chains, and their Children dragged into Servitude under the Name of Hostages;

nor could he, amidst all this Scene of Misery, afford any Relief to those who implored his Protection, because of the small Number of his Forces He kept the Soldiers however at work upon the Intrenchments, ouilt Forts and Redoubts, and carried on his Lines quite to the Sea.

XXV. Mean-while Scipio made use of the following Contrivance for training and disciplining his Elephants. He drew up two Parties in Order of Battle; one of Slingers, who were to act as Enemies, and discharge small Stones against the Elephants; and fronting them, the Elephants themselves, in one Line, with his whole Army behind them in Battle-array; that when the Enemy, by their Discharge of Stones, had frightened the Elephants, and forced them to turn upon their own Men, they might again be made to face the Enemy, by the Vollies of Stones from the Arm behind them. The Work however went on but slow, because these Animals, after many Years teaching, we often no less prejudicial to those who bring them in o the Field, than to the Enemy against whom they were intended.

XXVI. WHILST the two Generals were thus empro ed near Ruspina, C. Virgilius Prætarius, who comma ded in Thapfus, a maritime City, observing some of Casar's Transports that had missed their Way, uncertain where he had landed or held his Camp; and thinking that a fair Opportunity offered of destroying them, manned a Galley that was in the Port with Soldiers and Archers, and joining with it a few armed Barks, began to pursue Cæsar's Ships. Though he was repulsed on several Occasions, he still pursued his Design, and at last fell in with one, on board of which were two young Spaniards, of the Name of Titus, who were Tribunes of the fifth Legion, and whose Father had been made a Senator by Cæsar. Fine was with them a Centurion of the same Legion, T. Salienus by Name, who had invested the House of M. Messala, Cafar's Lieutenant, at Messala, and expressed himself in very seditious Language, nay, even seized the Money and Ornaments destined for Cafar's Triumph, and for that Reason dreaded his Resent-He, conscious of his Demerits, persuaded the young Men to furrender themselves to Virgilius, by whom they were sent under a strong Guard to Scipio, and three Days Days after put to death. It is said that the elder Titus begged of the Centurions who were charged with the Execution, that he might be first put to death; which being easily granted, they both suffered according to their Sentence.

XXVII. THE Cavalry that mounted Guard in the two Camps were continually skirmishing with one another. Sometimes too the German and Gallick Cavalry of Labienus entered into Discourse with those of Cæsar. Mean time Labienus, with a Party of Horse, endeavoured to surprise the Town of Leptic, which Saserna guarded with three Cohorts; but was easily repulsed, because the Town was strongly fortified, and well provided with warlike Engines. But at several Times he renewed the Attempt; one Day, as a strong Squadron of the Enemy had puted themselves before the Gate, their Officer being sain by an Arrow discharged from a Scorpion, the rest vere terrified and took to slight; by which Means the Town was delivered from any further Attempts.

XXVIII. Ar the same Time Scipio daily drew " his Troops in Order of Battle, about three hundred races from his Camp; and after continuing in Arms the greatest Part of the Day, retreated again to his Camp in the Evening. This he did feveral Times, no one meanwhile offering to stir out of Cafar's Camp, or approach his Forces; which Forbearance and Tranquillity gave him such a Contempt of Cæsar and his Army, that drawing out all his Forces, and his thirty Elephants with Towers on their Backs, and extending his Horse and Foot as wide as possible, he approached quite up to Cæsar's Intrenchments. Upon this Cæsar quietly, and without Noise or Confusion, recalled to his Camp all that were gone out either in quest of Forage, Wood, or to work upon the Fortifications: He likewise ordered the Cavalry that were upon Guard, not to quit their Post till the Enemy were within reach of Dart; and if they then persisted to advance, to retire in good Order within the Intrenchments. The rest of the Cavalry were enjoined to hold themselves in Readiness upon the first Notice. These Orders were not given by himself in person, or after viewing the Disposition of the Enemy from

from the Rampart; but fitting in his Tent, and informing himself of their Motions by his Scouts, such was his consummate Knowledge in the Art of War, that he gave all the necessary Directions by his Officers. He very well knew, that, whatever Confidence the Enemy might have in their Numbers, they would yet never dare to attack the Camp of a General, who had so often repulsed, terrified, and put them to flight; who had frequently pardoned and granted them their Lives; and whose very Name had Weight and Authority enough to intimidate their Army. He was besides well intrenched with a high Rampart and deep Ditch, the Approaches to which were rendered so difficult, by the sharp Spikes which he had disposed in a very artful Manner, that they were even sufficient of themselves to keep off the Enemy. He was likewise well provided with military Engines, and all Sorts of Weapons neceh. ry for a vigorous Defence, which compensated in some neasure for the Fewness of his Troops, and the Inexperience of his new Leyies. His Forbearance therefore did not proceed from Fear, or any Distrust of the Valour of his Troops; but because he was unwilling to purchase a bloody Victory over the hattered Remains of his dispersed Enemies, aires such a Series of great Actions, Conquests and Triumphs; and therefore resolved to bear their Insults and Bravadoes, till the Arrival of his veteran Legions by the fecond Embarkation.

XXIX. Scipio, after a short Stay before the Intrenchments, as if in Contempt of Cæsar, withdrew slowly to his Camp; and having called the Soldiers together, enlarged upon the Terror and Despair of the Enemy: When encouraging his Men, he affured them of a complete Victory in a short Time. Casar made his Soldiers again return to the Works, and under pretence of fortifying his Camp, inuted the new Levies to Labour and Fatigue. Mean-time the Numidians and Getulians deferted daily from Scipio's Camp. Part returned Home; Part same over to Cæsar, because they understood he was related to C. Marius, from whom their Ancestors had received confiderable Favours. Of these he selected some of diffinguished Rank, and sent them Home with Let . ters to their Countrymen, exhorting them to levy Troops for their own Defence, and not liften to the Suggestions of his Framies. $X \cdot X X$.

XXX. WHILE the Things pass near Ruspina, Deputies from Atilla, and all the neighbouring Towns, arrive in Cafar's Camp with Offers of Submission, and to supply him with Corn and other Necessaries, if he would fend Garrisons to protect them from the Enemy. Cæsur readily complied with their Demands, and having assigned a Garrison, sent C. Messius, who had been Ædile, to command in Acilla. Upon intelligence of this, Considius Longus, who was at Adrumetum with two Legions and seven hundred Horse, leaving a Garrison in that City, posted to Acilla at the Head of eight Cohorts: But Mesfius having accomplished his March with great Expedition, arrived first at the Place. .. When Considius therefore approached, and found Cæsar's Garrison in possesfion of the Town, not daring to make any Attempt, he returned again to Adrumetum. But some Days after, Labienus having fent um a Reinforcement of Horse, he found himself in a Condition to renew the Siege.

XXXI. Much about the same Time C. Sallustius Crispus, who, as we have seen, had been sent a few Days before to Cercina with a Fleet, arrived in that Island. Upon which C. Decimus the Quæstor, who, with a strong Party of his own Domesticks, had charge of th- ...agazines erected there, went on board a small Vessel and fled. Sallustius mean-while was well received by the Cercinates, and finding great Store of Corn in the Island, loaded all the Ships then in the Port, whose Number was very confiderable, and dispatched them to Cæsar's Camp. At the same Time Allienus the Proconsul, put on board the Transports at Lilybæum the thirteenth and fourteenth Legions, with eight hundred Gailick Horse, and a thoufand Archers and Slingers, and fent them over into Africa. This Fleet meeting with a favourable Wind, arrived in four Days at Ruspina, where Casar had his Camp. Thus he experienced a Louble Pleasure on this Occasion, receiving at one and the same Time, both a Supply of Provisions, and a Reinforcement of Troops; which ammated the Soldiers, and delivered them from the Apprehensions of Want. Having landed the Legions and Cavalry, he allowed them some Time to recover from the Fatigue and Sickness of their Voyage, and then distributed them into the Forts, and along the Werks.

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XXXII. Scipio and the other Generals were greatly surprised at Casar's Conduct, and could not conceive how one, who had alway been forward and active in War, should all of a sudden change his Measures, which they therefore suspected must proceed from some very powerful Reasons. Uneasy and disturbed to see him so patient, they made choice of two Getulians, on whose Fidelity they thought they could rely; and promifing them great Rewards, sent them under the Name of Deferters, to get Intelligence of Cæsar's Designs. When they were brought before him, they begged they might have Leave to speak without Offence; which being granted: "It is now a long Time, great General, said they, fince many of us Getulians, Clients of C. Marius, " and almost all Roman Citizens of the fourth and fixth 66 Legions, have wished for an Opportunity to come over to you; but have hither, been prevented by the Guards of Numidian Horse. Now we gladly embrace the Occasion, being sent by Scipio under the Name of Deferters, to discover what Litches and Traps you 66 have prepared for his Elephants, how you intend to 66 oppose these Animals, and what Dispositions you are es making for Battle." Cæsar commended them, reded them liberally, and fent them to the other Deterters. We had foon a Proof the Truth of what they had advanced; for next Day a great many Soldiers of these Legions mentioned by the Getulians, deserted to Cæfar's Camp.

XXXIII. WHILST Affairs were in this Posture at Ruspina, M. Cato, who commanded in Utica, was daily enlisting Freed-men, Africans, Slaves, and all that were of Age to bear Arms, and fending them without Intermission to Scipio's Camp. Mean-while Deputies from the Town of Tisdra came to Cæsar, to inform him, that some Italian Merchant had brought three hundred thoufand Bushels of Corn into that City; and to demand a Garrison, as well for their own Defence, as to secure the Corn. Cæsar thanked the Deputies, promised to fend the Garrison they desired; and having encouraged them, fent them back to their Fellow-citizens. time P. Sitius entered Numidia with his Troops, and made himself Master of a Castle situated on a Mountain, where Juba had laid up a great Quantity of Provisions

Provisions, and other Things necessary for carrying on the War.

XXXIV. CESAR having increased his Forces with two veteran Legions, and all the Cavalry and lightarmed Troops that had arrived in the second Embarkation, detached fix Transports to Lilybæum, to bring over the rest of the Army. On the twenty-seventh of January, ordering the Scouts and Lictors to attend him at fix in the Evening, he drew out all the Legions at Midnight, and directed his March towards Ru ina, where he had a Garrison, and which had first declared in his Favour, no one knowing or having the least Suspicion of his Design. Thence he continued his Route by the Left of the Camp along the Sea, and passed a little Declivity, which opened into a fine Plain, extending fifteen Miles, and bordered upon a Chain of Mountains of moderate Height, that formed a Kind of Theatre. In this Ridge were some Hills that rose higher than the rest, where Forts and Watch-towers had formerly been erected, and at the farthest of which Scipio's Out-guards were posted.

XXXV. CÆSAR having gained the Ridge, began to raife Redoubts upon the several Eminences, which ne executed in less than half an Hour. When he was near the last, which bordered on the Enemy's Camp, and where, as we have said, Scipio had his Out-guard of Numidians; he stopped a Moment: And having taken a View of the Ground, and posted his Cavalry in the most commodious Situation, he ordered the Legions to throw up an Intrenchment along the Middle of the Ridge, from the Place at which he was arrived, to that whence he set out. This being observed by Scipio and Labienus, they drew all their Cavalry out of the Camp, formed them in Order of Battle; and advancing about a thousand Paces, posted their Inimitry by way of a second Line, somewhat less than half a Mile from their Camp.

XXXVI. CÆSAR unmoved by the Appearance of the Enemy's Forces, encouraged his Men to go on with the Work. But when he perceived that they were within fifteen hundred Paces of the Intrenchment, and that their Design r as to interrupt and disturb the Soldiers,

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ordered a Squadron of Spanish Cavalry, sustained by some light-armed Infantry, to at ack the Numidian Guard upon the nearest Eminence, and drive them from that Post. They easily possessed themselves of the Place, the Numidians being partly killed, and partly made Prisoners. This being perceived by Labienus, that he might the more effectually succour the Fugitives, he wheeled off almost the whole right Wing of the Horse. Casar waited till he was at a considerable Distance from his own Men, and then detached his left Wing to intercept his Return.

XXXVII. In the Plain where this happened was a large Villa with four Turrets, which prevented Labienus from seeing that he was surrounded. He had therefore no Apprehension of the Approac. of Cæsar's Horse, till he found himself charged in the Rear; which struck fuch a fudden Terror into the Numidian Cavalry, that they immediately betook themselves to Flight. The Gauls and Germans who flood their Cround, being furrounded on all Sides, were entirely cut off. This being perceived by Scipio's Legions, who were drawn up in order of Battle before the Camp, they fled in the utmost Terror and Confusion. Scipio and his Forces being driven from the Plain and the Hills, Cæsar sounded a Ketreat, and ordered all the Cavalry to retire behind the Works. When the Field was cleared, he could not forbear admiring the huge Bodies of the Gauls and Germans, who partly induced by the Authority of Labienus, had followed him out of Gaul; partly had been drawn over by Promises and Rewards. Some being made Prifoners in the Battle with Curio, and having their Lives granted them, continued faithful out of Gratitude. Their Bodies of furprifing Shape and Largeness, lay feattered all over the Diain.

XXXVIII. NEXT Day Cafar drew all his Forces together, and formed them in Order of Battle upon the Plain. Scipio discouraged by so unexpected a Check, and the Numbers of his wounded and slain, kept within his Lines. Cafar with his Army in Battalia, marched along the Roots of the Hills, and gradually approached his Trenches. The Legions were by this Time got within

within a Mile of Uzita, a Town possessed by Scipio, whence he had his Water, and other Conveniences for his Army. Resolving therefore o preserve it at all Hazards, he brought forth his whole Army, and drew them up in four Lines, forming the first of Cavalry, supported by Elephants with Castles on their Backs. Castar believing that Scipio approached with Design to give Battle, continued where he was posted not far from the Town. Scipio mean-while having the Town in the Center of his Front, extended his two Wings, where were his Elephants, in full View of our Army.

XXXIX. WHEN Cæsar had waited till Sun-set, without finding that Scipio stirred from his Post; who seemed rather disposed to defend kimself by his advantageous Situation, than hazard a Battle in the open Field; he did not think proper to advance farther that Day, because the Enemy had a strong Garrison of Numidians in the Town, which besides covered the Center of their Front; and he foresaw great Dissiculty in forming at the same Time an Attack upon the Town, and opposing their Right and Lest with the Advantage of the Ground: Especially as the Soldiers had continued under Arms, and sasted since Morning. Having therefore led back his Troops to their Camp, he resolved next Day to extend his Lines nearer the Town.

XL. MEAN-TIME Considius, who besieged eight mercenary Cohorts of Numidians and Getulians in Acilla, where C. Messius commanded; after continuing long before the Place, and seeing all his Works burnt and destroyed by the Enemy, upon the Report of the late Battle of the Cavalry; set size to his Corn, destroyed his Wine, Oil, and other Stores; and abandoning the Siege of Acilla, divided his Forces with Scipio, and retired through the Lingdom of Juba to Adrumetum.

XLI. MEAN-WHILE one of the Transports belonging to the second Embarkation, in which were Q. Cominius and L. Ticida a Roman Knight, being separated from the rest of the Fleet in a Storm, and driven to Thapfus, was taken by Virgilius, and all the Persons on board sent to Scipio. A three-benched Galley likewise, belonging to the same Fleet, being forced by the Winds

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8 Ægimurum, was intercepted by the Squadron under Varus and M. Octavius. In this Vessel were some veteran Soldiers, with a Centurio., and a few new Leyies; whom Varus treated respectfully, and sent under a Guard to Scipio. When they came into his Presence, and appeared before his Tribunal: "I am satisfied, said he, it is not by your own Inclination, but at the Instigation " of your wicked General, that you impioufly wage War on your Fellow-citizens, and on the honestest Part of " the Republick. If therefore, now that Fortune has of put you in our Power, you will take this Opportunity " to unite with the good Citizens, in the Defence of the Commonweal, I not only promise you your Life, but you may expect to be rewarded. Let me " know what you think of the Proposal." Scipio having ended his Speech, and expecting a thankful Return to so gracious an Offer, permitted them to reply: When the Centurion, who on this Occasion was Spokesman, thus addressed him: " Scipio, says he, (for I cannot give you " the Appellation of General) I return you my hearty "Thanks for the good Treatmen you are willing to " show to Prisoners of War; and perhaps I might ac-" cept of your Kindness, were it not to be purchased at the Expence of an horrible Crime. What! shall I " carry Arms and fight against Cæsar my General, un-"der whom I have served as Centurion; and against "his victorious Army, to whose Renown I have so many "Years endeavoured to contribute by my Valour? It is what I will never do; and even advise you not to " push the War any farther. You know not what "Troops you have to deal with, nor the Difference be-66 twixt them and yours; of which, if you please, I "will give you an indisputable Instance. Do you pick out the best Cohort you have in your Army; and " give me only ten of my Comrades, which are now " your Prisoners, to engage them. You shall see, by " the Success, what you are to expect from your Sol-"diers." When the Centurion had made this Reply, Scipio incensed at his Boldness, and resenting the Affront, made a Sign to some of his Officers to kill him on the Spot, which was immediately put in Execution. At the same Time ordering the other veteran Soldiers to be separated from the new Levies: " Carry away, said he, these Villains, pampered with the Blood of their Fellow

"Fellow-citizens." Accordingly they were conducted without the Rampart, and crutlly massacred. The new-raised Soldiers were distributed among his Legions; and Cominius and Ticida forbid to appear in his Presence. Casar, concerned for this Missfortune, broke with lynominy the Officers, whose Instructions being to secure the Coast, and advance to a certain Distance into the main Sea, to protect and facilitate the Approach of the Transports, had been negligent on that important Station.

XLIL ABOUT this Time a most incredible Accident befel Cæsar's Army. For the Pleiades being set; about nine at Night a terrible Storm arose, attended with Hail of an uncommon Size. But what contributed to render this Misfortune the greater was that Casar had not, like other Generals, put his Troops into Winter-quarters; but was every three or four Days changing his Camp, to gain Ground on the Enemy: Which keeping the Soldiers continually employed, they were utterly unprovided of any Conveniencies to protect them from the Inclemency of the Weather. Belides, neither Officer nor Soldier had been permitted to take their Equipages or Utenfils with them, nor formuch as a Vessel, or, fingle Slave, when they parted from Sicily: And to far had they been from acquiring or providing themselves with any Thing in Africa, that by reason of the great Scarcity of Provisions, they had even consumed their former Stores. Impoverished by these Accidents, very few of them had Tents: The rest had made themselves a Kind of Covering, either by spreading their Clothes, or with Mats and Rushes. But these being soon penetrated by the Storm and Hail, the Soldiers had no Refource left, but wandered up and down the Camp, covering their Heads with their Bucklers, to shelter them from the Weather. In a short Time the whole Camp was under Water, the Fires extinguished, and all their Provisions washed away or spoiled. The same Night, the Shafts of the Javelins belonging to the fifth Legion of their own Accord took fire.

Advice of the Horse-engagement with Scipio, and being earnestly solicited by Letters from that General to come to his Assis left Sabura at Home with Part of the

Army to carry on the War against Sitius: And imagining his Name and Presence sufficient to free Scipio's Troops from the Dread they had of Cæsar, began his March with three Legions, eight hundred Horse, a Body of Numidian Cavalry, great Numbers of light-armed Infantry, and thirty Elephanes. When he arrived, he lodged himfelf with all his Forces in a separate Camp, at no great Distance from that of Scipio. Casar's Army had for some Time past been possessed with no small Terror of Juba's Forces; and the Report of his Approach had increated the Inquietude, and produced a general Suspense and Expectation among the Troops. But his Arrival, and the Appearance of his Camp, soon dispelled all these Apprehensions; and they as much despised the King of Mauritania, now he was present, as they had feared him, when at a Distance. It was easy to be seen, however, that the Reinforcement brought by the King, greatly raised the Courage and Confidence of Scipio. For next Day, drawing out all his own and the Roya! Forces, with fixty Elephants; he ranged them in Order of Battle with great Offentation, advanced a little beyond his Intrenchments, and after a short Stay retreated to his Camp.

XLIV. CASAR knowing that Scipio had received all the Supplies he expected, and judging he would no longer decline coming to an Engagement; began to advance along the Ridge with his Forces, extend his Lines, secure them with Redoubts, and possess himself of the Eminences between him and Scipio. The Enemy confiding in their Numbers, seized a neighbouring Hill, and thereby prevented the Progress of our Works. Labienus had formed the Delign of securing this Post, and as it lay nearest his Quarters, soon got thither. Cæsar had the same Project in view: but before he could reach the Place, was necessitated to pais a broad and deep Valley, of rugged Descent, broken with Caves, and beyond which was a thick Grove of Olives. Labienus perceiving that Cafur must march this Way, and having a perfect Knowledge of the Country, placed himself in Ambush with the light-armed Foot, and part of the Cavalry. At the same Time he disposed some Horse behind the Hills, that when he should fall unexpectedly upon Cæsar's Foot, they might fuddenly advance from behind the Mountain. Thus the Enemy, attacked in From al Rear, fur rounsed

rounded with Danger on all Sides, and unable either to retreat or advance, would, he imagined, fall an easy Prey to his victorious Troops. Cafar, who had no Sufpicion of the Ambuscade, sent his Cavalry before; and arriving at the Place, Labienus's Men, either forgetting or neglecting the Orders of their General, or fearing to be trampled to death in the Ditch by our Cavalry, began to issue in small Parties from the Rock, and ascend the Hill. Casar's Horse, pursuing them, slew some, and took others Prisoners: then making towards the Hill, drove thence Labienus's Detachment, and immediately took possession. Labienus, followed by a small Party of Horse, escaped with great Difficulty.

XLV. THE Cavalry having thus cleared the Mountain, Casar resolved to intren h himself there, and distributed the Work to the Legions. He then ordered two Lines of Communication to be drawn from the greater Camp, cross the Plain on the Side of Uzita, which stood between him and the Enemy, and was garrisoned by a Detachment of Scipio s Army. These Lines were so contrived, as to meet at the right and left Angles of the Town. His Design in this Work was, that when he approached the Town with his Troops, and began to attack it, Liefe Lines might iccure his Flanks, and hinder the Enemy's Horse from surrounding him, and compelling him to abandon the Siege. It likewise gave his Men more frequent Opportunities of conversing with the Enemy, and facilitated the Means of Desertion to such as favoured his Cause; many of whom had already come over, though not without great Danger to themselves. He wanted also, by drawing nearer the Enemy, to see how they stood inclined to a Battle. Add to all these Reasons, that the Place itself being very low, he might there fink some Wells, whereas before, he had a long and troublesome Way to send for Water. While the Legions were employed in these Works, part of the Army stood ready drawn up before the Trenches, and had frequent Skirmishes with the Numidian Horse and light-armed Foot.

off his Legions from the Works; Juba, Scipio, and Labienus, at the Head of all their Horse and light-armed Foot, fell furi july upon his Cavalry; who overwhelmed H h 4

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by the sudden and general Attack of so great a Multitude, were forced to give ground a little. But the Event was very different from what the Enemy expected: for Cæsar leading back his L gions to the Assistance of his Cavalry, they immediately rollied, turned upon the Numidians, and charging them vigorously whilst they were difperfed and disordered with the Pursuit, drove them with great Slaughter to the King's Camp. And had not Night intervened, and the Dust raised by the Wind obstructed the Prospect; Juba and Labienus would both have fallen into Cæsar's Hands, and their whole Cavalry and light-armed Infantry been cut off. Mean-while Scipio's Men, of the fourth and fixth Legions, left him in Crowds, some deferting to Cæsar's Camp, others flying to fuch Places as were most convenient for them. Curio's Horse likewise, distrusting Scipia and his Troops, followed the same Counsel.

XLVII. WHILE these Things passed near Uzita, the ninth and tenth Legions sailing in Transports from Sicily; when they came before Raspin, observing Cæsar's Ships that lay at Anchor about Thapsus, and searing it might be the Enemy's Fleet stationed there to intercept them, they imprudently stood out to Sea; and after being long tossed by the Winds, Provisions and Water failing them, at last arrived at Cæsar's Camp.

XLVIII. Soon after they were landed, Cæfar calling to mind their licentious Behaviour in Italy, and the Rapines of some of their Officers, seized the Pretence furnished by C Avienus, a military Tribune of the tenth Legion, who, when he fet out from Sicily, filled a Ship entirely with his own Equipage and Attendants, without taking on board one fingle Soldier. Wherefore fummoning all the military Tribunes 2 id Centurions to appear before his Tribum I next Day, ie addressed them in these Terms: " I could have wished that those, 66 whose Insolence and former licentious Character have es given me Cause of Complaint, had been capable of " Amendment, and of making a good Use of my Mildse ness, Patience, and Moderation. But fince they 66 know not how to confine themselves within Bounds, "I intend to make an Example of them, according to 56 the Law of Arms, in order that others may be taught cc a beta better Conduct. You C. Avienus, when you was " in Italy, instigated the Soldiers of the Roman People to revolt from the Republick; you have been guilty of Rapines and Plunders in the municipal Towns; and you have never been of any real Service, either to the Commonwealth, or to your General: lastly, in lieu of Soldiers, you have crowded the Transports with your Slaves and Equipage; fo that, through your Fault, the Republick fails in Soldiers, who at this Time are not only useful, but necessary. For es all these Causes, I break you with Ignominy, and order you to leave Africa this very Day. In like Manner I break you, A. Fonteius, because you have behaved yourself as a seditious Officer, and as a bad " Citizen. You, T. Salienus, M. Tiro, C. Clusinus, have attained the R. nk of Centurions, through my Indulgence, and not through your own Merit; and 66 since you have been invested with that Rank, have ee neither shewn Bravery in War, nor good Conduct in e Peace. instead of endeavouring to act according to the Rule's of Modesey and Decency, your whole Study has been to stir up the Soldiers against your General. "I therefore think you unworthy of continuing Centurions in my Army: I break you, and order you to quit Africa as soon as 'possible." Having concluded this Speech, he delivered them over to some Centurions, with Orders to confine them separately on board a Ship, allowing each of them a fingle Slave to wait on them.

XLIX. MEAN-TIME the Getulian Deferters, whom Cafar had fent Home with Letters and Instructions, as we have related above, arrived among their Countrymen; who partly swayed by their Authority, partly by the Name and Reputation of Cafar, revolted from Juba; and speedily and unanimously taking up Arms, scrupled not to act in apposition to their King. Juba having thus three Wars to sustain, was compelled to detach six Cohorts from the Army destined to act against Cafar, and send them to defend the Frontiers of his Kingdom against the Getulians.

L. Cæsar having finished his Lines of Communication, and pushed them so near the Town, as to be just without Reach of Dart, intrenched himself there. He caused caused warlike Engines in great Numbers to be placed in the Front of his Works, wherewith he played perpetualry against the Town; and to increase the Enemy's Apprehensions, drew five Legions out of his other Camp. This Opportunity gave feveral Persons of Rank in both Armies, a Desire to see and converse with their Friends, which Cæsar foresaw would turn to his Advantage. For the chief Officers of the Getulian Horse, with other illustrious Men of that Nation, whose Fathers had ferved under C. Marius, and from his Bounty obtained considerable Estates in their Country, but after Sylla's Victory had been made Tributaries to King Hiempfal; taking the Opportunity of the Night, when the Fires were lighted, with their Horses and Servants, to the Number of about a Thousand, came over to Casar's Camp near Uzita.

LI. As this Accident could not but disturb Scipio and his Followers; they perceived, much about the same Time, M. Aquinius in Discourse with J. Saserna. Scipio sent him word, that he did not do well to correspond with the Enemy. Aquinius paid no Attention to this Reprimand, but pursued his Discourse. Soon after, one of Juba's Guards came to him and told him, in the Hearing of Saferna, The King forbids you to contique this Conversation. He no sooner received this Order, than immediately he retired, for fear of offending the King. One cannot wonder enough at this Step in a Roman Citizen, who had already attained to confiderable Honours in the Commonwealth; that though neither banished his Country, nor stripped of his Possesfions, he should pay a more ready Obedience to the Orders of a foreign Prince, than those of Scipio; and choose rather to beheld the Destruction of his Party, than return into the Bosom of his Cou itry. Nor was Juba's Arrogance confined to M. Aquin us, a new Man, and an inconsiderable Senator; but reached even Scipio himself, a Man of illustrious Birth, distinguished Honours, and high Dignity in the State. For as Scipi, before the King's Arrival, always wore a purple Coat of Mail; Juba is reported to have told him, that he ought not to wear the same Habit as he did. Accordingly Scipio changed his purple Robe for a white one, submitting to the Caprice of a haughty Barbarian Monarch LII. NEXT

LII. NEXT Day they drew out all their Forces from both Camps; and forming them on an Eminence not far from Cæfar's Camp, continued thus in Order of Battle. Cæsar likewise drew out his Men and disposed them in Battle-array before his Lines; not doubting but the Enemy, who exceeded him in Number of Troops, and had been so considerably reinforced by the Arrival of King Juba, would advance to attack him. Wherefore having rode through the Ranks, encouraged his Men, and given them the Signal of Battle, he stayed expecting the Enemy's Charge. For he did not think it adviseable to remove far from his Lines; because the Enemy having a strong Garrison in Uzita, which was opposite to his right Wing, he could not advance beyond that Place, without exposing his Flank to a Sally from the Town. Besides, the Access to Scipio's Army was rough and difficult, and would have disordered his Troops before they gave the Onset.

LIII. AND here it may not be improper to describe the Order of Battle of both Armies: Scipio's Troops were drawn up in this Manner: He posted his own Legions, and those of Juba, in the Front: behind them? the Numidians, as a Body of Reserve; but in so very thin Ranks, and so far extended in Length, that to see them at a Distance, you would have taken the main Battle for a simple Line of Legionaries, which was doubled only upon the Wings. The Elephants were placed at equal Distances on the right and left, and suftained by the Light-armed Troops, and auxiliary Numidians. All the bridled Cavairy were on the Right; for the Left was covered by the Town of Uzita, nor had the Cavalry Room to extend themselves on that Side. Accordingly he stationed the Numidian Horse, with an incredible Mu titude of light-armed Foot, about a thousand Paces .rom his Right, towards the Foot of a Mountain, confiderably removed from his own and the Enemy's Troops. His Design in this was, that during tle Progress of the Battle, the Cavalry having Room to extend themselves, might wheel round upon Cajar's Left, and disorder it with their Darts. Such was Scipio's Disposition. Casar's Order of Battle, to describe it from Left to. Right, was as follows: The ninch and feventh Legions formed the left Wing; the thirteenth, fourteenth, fourteenth, twenty-eighth, and twenty-fixth, the Main Body; and the thirtieth and twenty-ninth, the Right. His second Line on the Right, consisted partly of the Cohorts of those Legions we have already mentioned, partly of new Levies. His third Line was posted to the Left, extending as far as the middle Legion of the Main Body, and so disposed, that the left Wing formed a triple Order of Battle. The Reason of this Disposition was; because his right Wing being defended by the Works, it behoved him to make his Left the Stronger, that they might be a Match for the numerous Cavalry of the Enemy; for which Reason he had placed all his Horse there, intermixed with light-armed Foot; and as he could not rely much upon them, had detached the fifth Legion to sustain them. The Archers were dispersed up and down the Field, but principally in the two Wings.

LIV. THE two Armies thus facing one another in Order of Battle, with a Space of no more than three hundred Paces between, continued so posted from Morning till Night without fighting, of which perhaps there never was an Instance before. But when Cafar began to retreat within his Lines, fuddenly all the Numidian and Getulian Horse without Bridles, who were pested behind the Enemy's Army, made a Motion to the Right, and began to approach Cæsar's Camp on the Mountain; while the regular Cavalry under Labienus, continued in their Post, to keep our Legions in check. Upon this, Part of Cæsar's Cavalry, with the light-armed Foot, advancing hastily, and without Orders against the Getulians, and venturing to pass the Morass, found themselves unable to deal with the superior Multitude of the Enemy; and being abandoned by the light-armed Troops, were forced to retreat in grea Disorder, after the Loss of one Trooper, twenty-fix light-armed Foot, and many of their Horses wounded. Scipio, overjoyed at this Success, returned towards Night to his Camp. But as Fortune's Favours are seldom permanent to the se engaged in the Trade of War; the Day after a Party of Horse sent by Casar to Leptis in quest of Provisions, falling in unexpectedly with tome Numidian and Getulian Stragglers, killed or made Prisoners about a Hundred of Cajar, Mean-while, omitted not every Day theni.

to draw out his Men and labour at the Works; carrying a Ditch and Rampart quite cross the Plain, to prevent the Incursions of the Enemy. Nor was Scipio less active in forwarding his Works, and securing his Communication with the Mountain. Thus both Generals were busied about their Intrenchments, yet seldom a Day passed, without some Skirmish between the Cavalry.

LV. In the Mean-time Varus, upon Notice that the feventh and eighth Legions had failed from Sicily, speedily equipped the Fleet he had brought to winter at Utica; and manning it with Getulian Rowers and Mariners, went out a cruifing; and came before Adrumetum with fifty-five Ships. Cafar, who knew nothing of his Arrival, sent L. Cispius, with a Squadron of twentyfeven Sail, to cruise about Thapsus, for the Security of his Convoys; and likewise dispatched Q. Aquila to Adrumetum, with thirteen Gallies, upon the same Errand. Cispius soch reached the Station appointed him: but Aquila being attacked by a Storm, could not double the Cape, which obliged him to put into a Creek at some Distance, that a forded convenient Shelter. The rest of the Fleet anchored before Leptis, where the Lainers. went on Shore, some to refresh themselves, others to buy Provisions in the Towns, and left their Ships quite defenceless. Varus having Notice of this from the Deferters, and resolving to take Advantage of the Enemy's. Negligence, left Adrumetum about nine at Night, and arriving early next Morning with his whole Fleet before Leptis, burnt all the Transports that were out at Sea, and took without Opposition two five-benched Gallies, in which were none to detend them.

LVI. CÆ AR had an Account brought him of this unlucky Accident, as he was inspecting the Works of his Camp. Whereupon he immediately took Horse, went sull speed to Leptis, which was but two Leagues distant, and going on board a Brigantine, ordered all the Ships in the Port to sollow him, and in this Manner put to Sci. He soon came up with Aquila, whom he sound dismayed an terrified at the Number of Ships he had to oppose; and continuing his Course, began to pursue the Enemy's lect. Mean-time Varus, astonished at Cæsar's

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Cafar's Boldness and Dispatch, tacked about with his whole Fleet, and made the best of his Way for Adrumetum. But Casar after four Miles sail came up with him, recovered one of his Gallies, with the Crew, and an hundred and thirty Men left to guard her: and took a three-benched Galley belonging to the Enemy, with all the Soldiers and Mariners on board. The rest of the Fleet doubled the Cape, and made the Port of Adrumetum. Cafar could not double the Cape with the fame Wind, but keeping the Sea all Night, appeared early next Morning before Adrumetum. He set fire to all the Transports without the Haven, took what Gallies he found there, or forced them into the Harbour; and having waited some Time to offer the Enemy Battle, returned again to his Camp. On board the Ship he had taken was P. Vestrius, a Roman Knight, and P. Ligarius Afranianus, the same who had prosecuted the War against him in Spain, and who instead of acknowledging the Conqueror's Generosity, in granting him his Liberty, had joined Pompey in Greece; and after the Battle of Pharsalia, had gone into Africa to Varus, there to continue in the Service of the same Cause. Casar, to punish his Perfidy and Breach of Oath, gave im hediate Orders for his Execution But he pard oned P. Vestrius, because his Brother had paid his Ransom at Rome, and he made it appear, that being taken in Nasdius's Fleet, and condemned to die, Varus had saved his Life, fince which no Opportunity had offered of making his escape.

LVII. It is a final for the People of Africa to deposit their Corn privately in Vaults under Ground, to secure it in Time of War, and guard it from the sudden Incursions of an Enemy. Casar having Intelligence of this from a Spy, drew out two Legions with a Party of Cavalry at Midnight, and sent them about ten Miles off, whence they returned loade a with Corr to the Camp. Labienus being informed of it, marched about seven Miles through the Mountains Casar had passed the Day before, and there encamped with two Legions; where expecting that Casar would often come the same Way in quest of Corn, he daily lay in Ambush with a great Body of Horse and light-armed Foot. Sasar having Notice of this from the Deserters, suffered some Days to pass.

pass, till the Enemy, by repeating the Practice often, had abated a little of their Circumspection. Then issuing unexpectedly one Morning by the Decuman Port, with eight veteran Legions, and a Party of Horse, he ordered the Cavalry to march before; who coming suddenly upon the Enemics light-armed Foot that lay in Ambush namong the Valleys, flew about five Hundred, and put the Rest to Flight. Mean-time Labienus advanced with all his Cavalry to support the Runaways, and was on the Point of overpowering our small Party with his Numbers, when suddenly Cæsar appeared with the Legions in Order of Battie. This Sight checked the Ardour of Labienus, who thought proper to found a Retreat. The Day after, Juba ordered all the Numidians who had deferted their Post and fled to the Camp, to be crucified.

LVIII. MEAN-WHILE Cafar being straitened for want of Corn, recalled all his Forces to the Camp; and having left Garrisons at Leptis, Ruspina, and Acilla; ordered Cifpius and Aquila to cruise with their Fleets, the one before Ad umetum, the other before Thapfus; and set fir : 10 his Camp at Uzita: He set out in Order of Battle at Three in the Morning, disposed his Baggage in the Left, and came to Agar, a Town that had been often vigoroust; attacked by the Getulians, and as valiantly defended by the Inhabitants. There encamping in the Plain before the Town, he went with Part of his Army round the Country in quest of Provisions; and having found Store of Barley, Oil, Wine, and Figs, with a small Quantity of Wheat; after allowing the Troops some Time to refresh themselves, he returned to his Scipio, mean-while, hearing of Cæsar's Departure, followed him along the Hills with all his Forces, and posted himself about six Miles off in three different Camps.

LIX. The Town of Zeta lying on Scipio's Side of ne Country, was not above ten Miles from his Camp: But might be about eighteen from that of Cæsar. Scipio is I sent two Legions thither to forage; which Cæsar naving Intelligence of from a Deserter, removed his Camp from the Plain to a Hill, for the greater Security; and leaving som: Troops to guard it, marched at Three

Enemy's Camp, and possessed himself of the Town. Scipia's Legions were gone farther into the Country to forage; against whom setting out immediately, he sound the whole Army come up to their Assistance, which obliged him to give over the Pursuit. He took on this Occasion C. Mutius Reginus, a Roman Knight, Scipio's intimate Friend, and Governor of the Town; also P. Atrius, a Roman Knight likewise, of the Province of Utica; with twenty-two Camels belonging to King Juba. Then leaving a Garrison in the Place, under the Command of Oppius his Lieutenant, he set out upon his Return to his own Camp.

LX. As he drew near Scipio's Camp, by which he was necessitated to pais; Labienus and Afranius, who lay in Ambuscade among the nearest Hills, with all their Cavalry and light-armed Infantry, started up and attacked his Rear. Cæfar detaching his Cavalry to receive their Charge, ordered the Legions to throw all their Baggage into a Heap, and face about upon the Enemy. No fooner was this Order executed, tran upon the first Charge of the Legions, the Enemy's Horse and lightarmed Foot began to give way, and were with incredible Ease driven from the higher Ground. But when Cafar, imagining them fufficiently deterred from any further Altempts, began to pursue his March they again issued from the Hills; and the Numidians, with the light-armed Infantry, who are wonderfully nimble, and accustom themselves to fight intermixed with the Horse, with whom they keep an equal Pace either in advancing or retiring, fell a second Time upon our Foot. As they repeated this often, pressing upon our Rear when we marched, and retiring when we endeavoured to engage, always keeping at a certain Distance, and with singular Care avoiding a close Fight, as holding it enough to wound us with their Darts; Cæfal: plainly faw that their while Aim was, to oblige him to encamp in that Place, whe: no Water was to be had; that his Soldiers, who ha tafted nothing from Three in the Morning till Four ir the Afternoon, might perish with Hunger, and the Catala with Thirst. Sun-set now appreached vnen Cæfar, finding he had not gained an hundre Paces complète in four Hours, and that by keeping his Cavalry in the Rear,

Rear, he lost many Herse, ordered the Legions to fall behind, and close the March. Proceeding thus with a flow and gentle Pace, he found the Legions fitter to sustain the Enemy's Charge. Mean-time the Numidian Horse, wheeling round the Hills to the Right and Left, threatened to inclose Cafar's Forces with their Numbers; while Part continued to harafs his Rear: And if but three or four veteran Soldiers faced about, and darted their Javelins at the Enemy, no less than two chousand of them would take to Flight; but suddenly rallying, returned to the Fight, and charged the Legionaries with their Darts. Thus Cæsar, one while marching forward, one while halting, and going on but flowly, reached his Camp safe about seven that Evening, having only ten Men wounded. Labienus too retreated to his Camp, after having thoroughly fa igued his Troops with the Purfuit; in which, besides a great Number wounded, his Loss amounted to about three hundred Men. And Scipio withdrew his Legions and Elephants, whom for the greater Terror, he had ranged before his Camp within View of Cæfar's Army.

LXI. CESAR h. ving fuch an Enemy to deal with, was necessitated to instruct his Soldiers, not like a General of a veteran Army, which had been victorious in so many Battles; but like a Fencing-master training "p his Gladiators: With what Foot they must advance or retire; when they were to oppose and make good their Ground, when to counterfeit an Attack; at what Place, and in what Manner to launch their Javelins. For the Enemy's light-armed Troops gave wonderful Trouble and Disquiet to our Army; because they not only deterred the Cavalry from the Encounter, by killing their Horses with their Javelins, but likewise wearied out the legionary Soldiers by their Swiftness: For as often as these heavy-armed Troops a vanced to attack them, t ley evaded the Danger by a quick Retreat. This gave æsar no small Trouble; because as often as he engaged wrh his Cavalry, without being sustained by the Inir try, he found himself by no means a Match for the Enemy's Horse, supported by their light-armed Foot; and as he had to Experience of the Strength of their Legions, he for faw still greater Dissiculties when these should be unite I, as the Shock must then be wonderful. The

The Number too and Size of the Elephants, greatly increased the Terror of the Soldiers; for which however he found a Remedy, in causing some of those Animals to be brought over from Italy, that his Men might be accustomed to the Sight of them, know their Strength and Courage, and in what Part of the Body they were most easily to be wounded. For as the Elephants are covered with Trappings and Ornaments, it was necessary to inform them what Parts of the Body remained naked, that they might direct their Darts thither. It was likewife needful to familiarize his Horfes to the Cry, Smell, and Figure of these Animals, in all which he succeeded to a Wonder: For the Soldiers quickly came to touch them with their Hands, and to be sensible of their Tardiness; and the Cavalry attacked them with blunted Darts, and by Degrees brought their Horses to endure their Presence. For these Reasons already mentioned, Casfar was not without his Anxieties, and proceeded with more Slowness and Circumspection than usual, abating confiderably of his wonted Expedition and Celerity. Nor ought we to wonder: For in Gau! his Troops had been accustomed to fight in a chambailen Country, against an open undefigning Enemy, who sespised Artifice, and valued themselves only on their Fravery. But now he was to habituate his Soldiers to the Arts and Contrivances of a crafty Enemy, and teach them what to purfue, and what to avoid. The fooner therefore to instruct them in these Matters, he took care not to confine his Legions to one Place, but under Pretence of foraging, engaged them in frequent Marches, and Countermarches; knowing well that the Enemy would take care not to lose fight of him. Three Days after, he drew up his Forces with great Art, and marching past Scipio's Camp, waited for him in an open Plain; but seeing that he still declined a Battle, he retreated to his Camp in the Evening.

LXII. MEAN-TIME Ambassadors arrived from Town of Vacca, bordering upon Zeta, of which we be observed Cassar had possessed himself. They require and intreated that he would send them a Garrson, panising to surnish many of the Necessar of War. A the same Time, by an uncommon Piece of good Fortunctor Cassar, a Deserter informed him, that Juba had by a quick

quick March reached the Town, massacred the Inhabitants, and abandoned the Place itself to the Plunder of his Soldiers. Thus was Cafar's Garrison prevented from setting but, and by that Means saved from Destruction.

LXIII. CARAR having reviewed his Army the eighteenth of February, advanced next Day with all his Forces five Miles beyond his Camp, and remained a conliderable Time in Order of Battle two Miles from Scipio's. When he had waited sufficiently long to invite the Enemy to an Engagement, finding them still decline it, he led back his Troops Next Day he decamped, and directed his March towards Sarsura, where Scipio had a Garrison of Numidians, and a Magazine of Corn. Labienus being informed of this Motion, fell upon his Rear with the Cavalry and light-armed Troops: And having made himself Master of Part of the Baggage, was encouraged to attack the Legions themselves, believing they would fall an easy Prey, under the Load and Incumbrance of a March. But Cæsar, from a Foresight of what might hippen, had ordered three hundred Men out of each Legio to sold themselves in Readiness for Action. These being sent against Labienus, he was se terrified at their Appro ch, that he shamefully took to Flight, great Numbe s of his Men being killed or wounded. The Legic naries returned to their Standards, and pursued their Maich. Labienus still followed us at a Distance along the Summit of the Mountains, and kept hovering on our Right.

LXIV. CÆSAR arriving before Sarsura, took it in Presence of the Enemy, who durst not advance to its Relief; and put to the Sword the Garrison which had been left there by Scipio under the Command of P. Cornelius, who after a vigorous Defence was surrounded and Having given all the Co.n in the Place to the Arr y, he marched next Day to Tijdra, where Considius va: with a strong Garrison, and his Cohort of Gla-Cæsar having taken a View of the Town, and deter ed from besieging it for want of Corn, set inmediacily and after a March of four Miles, enca nred near a Rive . Here he stayed about four Days, ar & then returned 'o . his former Camp at Agar. d.d the same, and exreated to his old Quarters. LXV. MEAN-Ii 2

LXV. MEAN-TIME the Thavenenses, a Nation situated in the extreme Confines of Juka's Kingdom, along the Sta-coast, and who had been accustomed to live in Subjection to that Monarch; having massacred the Garrison left there by the King, sent Deputies to Casar to inform him of what they had done, and to beg he would take under his Protection a City which deserved so well of the Roman People. Casar approving their Condust sent M. Crispus the Tribune, with a Cohort, a Party of Archers, and a great Number of warlike Engines, to charge himself with the Desence of Thabena.

LXVI. At the same Time the legionary Soldiers, who either on account of Sickness, or for other Reasons, had not been able to come over into Africa with the rest, to the Number of sour thousand Foot, sour hundred Horse, and a thousand Archers and Slingers, now arrived all together. With these, and his sormer Troops, he advanced into a Plain eight Miles distant from his own Camp, and sour from that of Scipio, where he waited the Enemy in Order of Battle.

LXVII. THE Town of Tegil was below Scipio's Camp, where he had a Garrison f four hundred Horse. These he drew up on the right and left of the Town; and bringing forth his Legions, formed them in Order of Battle upon a Hill fomewhat lower than his Camp, and which was about a thousand Paces distant from it. After he had continued a considerable Time in this Posture, without offering to make any Attempt; Cafar fent fome Squadrons of Horse, supported by his light-armed Infantry, Archers, and Slingers, to charge the Enemy's Cavalry, who were posted before the Town. Our Men advancing upon the Spur, Pacidius bogan to extend his Front, that he might at once furround and give us a warm Reception. Upo., this Cafar detached three vundred Legionaries to our Assistance, while at the 1 me Time Labienus was continually sending fresh Reinfo cements, to replace those that were wounded or fatigu-Our Cavalry, who were only four hundred it Nun not being able to sustain the Charge of rour thousan and being besides greatly incommoder by the light-aim id Numidians, began at last to give ground: Which Capt observing, detached the other Wing to their Assistance;

who joining those that were like to be overpowered, they fell in a Body upon the Enemy, put them to Flight, slew or wounded great Numbers, pursued them three Miles quite to the Mountains, and then returned to cheir own Men. Casar continued in Order of Battle till sour in the Asternoon, and then retreated to his Camp without the Loss of a Man. In this Action Pacidius received a dangerous Wound in the Head, and had many of his best Officers either killed or wounded.

LXVIII. WHEN he found that the Enemy were by no means to be prevailed with to fight him upon equal Terms, and that he could not encamp nearer them for want of Water, in confideration of which alone, and not from any Confidence in their Numbers, the Africans had dared to despise him; he decamped the fourteenth of April at Midnight, marched fixteen Miles beyond Agar to Thapfus, where Vergilius commanded with a strong Garrison, and there fixed his Camp. The very first Day he began the Circumvallation, and raised Redoubts in proper Plazes, as well for his own Security, as to prevent any Succeur from entering the Town. This Step reduced Scip to tile Necessity of fighting, to avoid the Difgrace or aban oning Vergilous and the Thatswani, who had all along r mained firm to his Party: and therefore sollowing Cafir without Delay, he posted himself in two Camps, eigh Miles from Thapfus.

LXIX. BETWEEN a Morafs and the Sea was a narrow Pass of about fifteen hundred Paces, by which Scipio hoped to throw Succours into the Place. But Cafar from a Forefight of what might happen, had the Day before raised a very strong Fort at the Entrance of it, where he left a triple Garrison; and encamping with the rest of his Troops in Form of a Half-moon, carried his Works round the Town. Scipio, difappointed of his Design, affed the Day and Night ollowing a little above the Morass; but early next Morning advanced within a Small Distance of our Fort, where he began to intrench himself about fifteen hundred Paces from the Sea. Cafar being informed of this, drew off his Men from the Works, and leaving Apprenas the Proconful with awo Legions to guard the Camp and Baggage, marched all the Rest of his Forces with the utmost Expedition to

the Place where the Enemy were posted. He lest Part of the Fleet before Thapsus, and ordered the Rest to make as near the Shore as possible towards the Enemy's Rear, observing the Signal he should give them, upon which they were to raise a sudden Shout, that the Enemy, alarmed and disturbed by the Noise behind them, might be forced to face about.

LXX. WHEN Cæsar came to the Place, he found Scipio's Army in Order of Battle before the Intrenchments, the Elephants posted in the two Wings, and Part of the Soldiers employed in fortifying the Camp. Upon Sight of this Disposition, he drew up his Army in three Lines, placed the fecond and tenth Legions in the right Wing, the eighth and ninth in the Left, five Legions in the Center, covered his Flanks with five Cohorts posted over-against the Elephants, disposed the Archers and Slingers in the two Wings, and intermingled the light-armed Troops with his Cavalry. He himself on foot went from Rank to Rank, to rouse the Courage of the Veterans, putting them in mind of their former Bravery, and animating them by his foo ig Address. He exhorted the new Levies to emu ate Bravery of the Veterans, and endeavour by a Victory to attain the fame Degree of Glory and Renown!

LXXI. As he ran from Rank to Rank, he observed the Enemy very uneasy, hurrying from Place to Place, one while retiring behind the Rampart, another coming out again in great Tumult and Confusion. fame was observed by many others in the Army, his Lieutenants and Volunteers begged him to give the Sign of Battle, as the immortal Gods promised him a certain Victory. While he hefitated with himfelf, and strove to repress their Eagerness and Desires, as being unwilling to yield to the Importunity of Men, whose Duty it was to wait his Orders; on a Sudden a Tre. pet in the right Wing, without his Leave, and compelle! by the Soldiers, founded a Charge. Upon this all 12; Cohorts ran to Battle, in spite of the Endeavours of the Centurions, who fireve to restrain them by Force, bu to no Purpose. Cassar perceiving that the Ardor of his Soldiers would admit of no Restrairt, giving Goodfortune for the Word, spurred on his Horse, and charged the the Enemy's Front. On the right Wing the Archers and Slingers poured their Javelins without Intermission upon the Elephants, and by the Noise of their Shings and Stones, so terrified these unruly Animals, that turning upon their own Men, they trod them down in Heaps, and rushed through the Gates of the Camp, that were but half finished. At the same Time the Mauritanian Horse, who were in the same Wing with the Elephants, seeing themselves deprived of their Assistance, betook themselves to Flight. Whereupon the Legions wheeling round the Elephants, soon mastered the Enemy's Intrenchments. Some sew that made Resistance were slain: the Rest sled with all Expedition to the Camp they had quitted the Day before.

LXXII. And here we nust not omit taking notice of the Bravery of a veteran Soldier of the fifth Legion. For when an Elephant which had been wounded in the left Wing, and roused to Fury by the Pain, run against an unarmed Sutler, threw him under his Feet, and leaning on n with his whole Weight, brandishing his Trunk, as raifir g hideous Cries, crushed him to death; the Sudier ould not refrain from attacking the Animal. The Elephant seeing him advance with his Javelin in his Hand, quitted the dead Body of the Sutler, and feizing him with his Trunk, wheeled him round in the Air. But the soldier amidst all the Danger, losing nothing of his Courage, ceased not with his Sword to strike at the Elephant's Trunk, who at last overcome with the Pain, quitted his Prey, and fled to the Rest with hideous Cries.

LXXIII. MEAN-WHILE the Garrison of Thapfus, either defigning to affish their Friends, or abandon the Town, fallied by the Gate next the Sea, and wading navel-deep in the Water, endeavoured to reach the Land. I at the Servants and Follow rs of the Camp, attacking 1em with Darts and Stones, obliged them to return again to the Town. Scipio's Camp Mean-while being reed, and his Men flying on all Sides, the Legions 1 stantly began the Pursuit, that they might have no Time to raily When they arrived at their former Camp, by Means of which they hoped to defend themselves, they began to think of choosing a Commander,

to whose Authority and Orders they might submit: but finding none on whom they could rely, they threw down their Arms, and fled to Juba's Quarter. This being like wife possessed by our Men, they retired to a Hill; where despairing of Safety, they endeavoured to roften their Enemies, faluting them by the Name of Brethren. But this stood them in little stead: for the Veterans, transported with Rage and Anger, were not only deaf to the Cries of their Enemies, but even killed or wounded feveral Citizens of Distinction in their own Army, whom they upbraided as Authors of the War. Of this Number was Tailins Rufus the Quæstor, whom a Soldier knowingly ram through with a Javelin; and Pompeius Rufus, who was wounded with a Sword in the Arm, and would doubtless have been flain, had he not speedily fled to Cafar for Protection. This made several Roman Knights and Senators retire from the Battle, left the Soldiers, who after so signal a Victory assumed an unbounded Licence, should be induced by the Hopes of Impunity to wreck their Fury on them likewife. In Thort, all Scipio's Soldiers, though they in plored the Protection of Casar, were yet in the very ght of that General, and amidit his Intreaties to his en to spare them univerfally, and without Exception, put to the Sword.

LXXIV. CESAR having made hi nfelf Mafter of the Enemy's three Camps, killed ten Thousand of them, and put the Rest to Flight, retreated to his own Quarters with the Loss of no more than fifty Men, and a few wounded. In his Way he appeared before Thapfus, and ranged all the Elephants he had taken in the Battle, amounting to fixty-four, with their Ornaments, Trappings, and Castles, in full View of the Place. He was in hopes by this Evidence of his Success, to induce Vergilius to a Surrender. He even called and invited him to fubmit, reminding him of his Clemency and Mic. ness; but no Answer being given, he retired from before the Town. Next Day, after returning Thank. to the Gods, he affembled his Army before. Thapfus praised his Soldiers in presence of the Inhabitants, nwarded the Victorious, and from his Tribanal extended his Bounty to every one, according to their Merit and Services. Setting out thence immediately, he left the Procuntul Proconsul C. Rebellius with three Legions to continue the Siege, and sent Cn. Domitius with two to invest Tisdra, where Considius commanded. Then ordering M. Messala to go before with the Cavalry, he began his March to Utica.

LXXV. Scipio's Cavalry, who had escaped out of the Battle, taking the Road of Utica, arrived at Parada: but being refused Admittance by the Inhabitants, who heard of Cæsur's Victory, they forced the Gates, lighted a great Fire in the Middle of the Forum, and threw all the Inhabitants into it, without Distinction of Age or Sex, with their Effects: avenging in this Manner by an unlicard-of Cruelty, the Affront they had received. Thence they marched directly to Utica. M. Cato, fome Time before, distrusting the Inhabitants of that City, because of the Privileges granted them by the Julian Law, had difarmed and expelled the Populace, obliging them to dwell without the warlike Gate, in a small Camp environed with a slight Intrenchment, round which he had planted Guards, while at the same Time he held to Senators under Confinement. The Cavalry attacked t ir (amp, as knowing them to be Wellwishers to Cæsar, and to avenge, by their Destruction, the Shame of their own Defeat. But the People animated by Casar's Victory, repulsed them with Stones and They therefore threw themselves into the Town, killed many of the Inhabitants, and pillaged their Houses. Cato, unable to prevail with them to abstain from Rapine and Slaughter, and undertake the Defence of the Town, as he was not ignorant what they aimed at, gave each a hundred Sesterces to make them quiet. Sylla Faustus did the same out of his own Money; and marching with them from Utica, advanced into the Kingdom of Juba.

LXXVI. A GREAT many others that had escaped out of the Battle, fled to Utica. These Cato assembled, with three Hundred more who had furnished Scipio with Money for carrying on the War, and exhorted them to set their Slaves free, and in conjunction with them defend the Town. But finding that though Part assembled, the Rest were terrified and determined to fly, he gave over the Attempt, and furnished them with Ships to fa-

cilitate

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ciliate their Escape. He himself having settled all his Affairs with the utmost Care, and commended his Children to L. Cafar his Quæster; without the least Indication which might give Cause of Suspicion, or any Change in his Countenance and Behaviour, privately carried a Sword into his Chamber when he went to fleep, and stabbed himself with it. But the Wound not proving mortal, and the Noise of his Fall creating a a Physician with some Friends broke into his Chamber, and endeavoured to bind up the Wound: which he no sooner was sensible of, than tearing it open again with his own Hands, he expired with undaunted Resolution and Presence of Mind. The Uticans, though they hated his Party, yet in confideration of his fingular Integrity, his Behaviour so different from that of the other Chiefs, and the wonderfed Fortifications he had erected to defend their Town, interred him honourably. L. Cæsar, that he might procure some Advantages by his Death, affembled the People, and after haranguing them, exhorted them to open their Gates, and throw themselves upon Cæsar's Clemency, from which they had the greatest Reason to hope the best. This A ice being followed, he came forth to meet Cæfar Me, ala having reached Utica according to his Order, placed Guards at all the Gates.

LXXVII. MEAN-WHILE Cafar leaving Thapfus, came to Usceta, where Scipio had laid up great Store of Corn, Arms, Darts, and other warlike Provisions, under a small Guard. He soon made himself Master of the Place, and marched directly to Adrumetum, which he entered without Opposition. He took an Account of the Arms, Provisions, and Money in the Town; pardoned Q. Ligarius and C. Considius; and leaving Livineius Regulus there with one Legion, set out the same Day for Utica. L. Cæsar meeting him by the Way, threw himself at his Feet, and only begged for his Life. Cæsar, according to his wonted Clemency, eatily pardoned him; as he did likewise Cæcina, C. Ateius, P. Atrius, L. Colla Father and Son, M. Eppius, M. Aquinius, Cato's Son, and the Children of Damasippus. He arrived at Utica in the Evening by torch-light, and continued all that Night without the Town.

LXXVIII. NEXT Morning early he entered the Place, summoned an Assembly of the People, and thanked them for the Affection they had shewn to his Cause. At the same Time he consured severely, and enlarged upon the Crime of the Roman Citizens and Merchants, and the Rest of the three Hundred, who had furnished Scipio and Varus with Money; but concluded with telling them that they might show themselves without Fear, as he was determined to grant them their Lives, and content himself with exposing their Effects to sale; yet so, that he would give them notice when their Goods were to be fold, and the Liberty of redeeming them upon payment of a certain Fine. The Merchants, half dead with Fear, and conscious that they merited Death, hearing upon what Terms Life was offered them, greedily accepted the Condition, and intreated Caefar that he would impose a certain Sum in gross upon all the three Hundred. Accordingly he amerced them in two hundred thousand Sesterces, to be paid to the Republick at fix equal Payments, within the Space of three Years. They all accested the Condition, and confidering that Day as a set 1 Nativity, joyfully returned Thanks to Cæfar.

LXXIX. ME: N-WHILE King Juba, who had escaped from the B: ttle with Petreius, hiding himself all Day in the Villages, and travelling only by Night, arrived at last in Numidia. When he came to Zama, his ordinary Place of Residence, where were his Wives and Children, with all his Treasures, and whatever he held most valuable, and which he had strongly fortified at the Beginning of the War; the Inhabitants having heard of Cæsar's Victory, refused him Entrance, because upon declaring War against the Romans, he had raised a mighty Pile of Wood in the Middle of the Forum, defigning, if unfuccefsful, to maffocre all the Citizens, hing their Bodies and Effects upon the Pile, then fetting fire to the Mass, and throwing himself upon it, destroy all without Exception, Wives, Children, Citizens, and Treasures, in one general Conflagration. After continuing a confiderable Tine before the Gates, finding that neither Threats nor Intreaties would avail, he at last desired them to deliver him his Wives and Children, that he might carry them along with him. But receiving

ceiving no Answer, and seeing them determined to grant him nothing, he quitted the Place, and retired to one of his Country-seats with Petreius and a few Horse.

LXXX. MEAN-TIME the Zamians sent Ambassadors to Cæsar at Utica, to inform him what they had done, and to request his Assistance against Juba, who was drawing his Forces together to attack them. They affured him of their Submission, and Resolution to defend the Town for him. Cæfar commended the Ambassadors, and sent them back to acquaint their Fellowcitizens, that he was coming himself to their Relief. Accordingly setting out the next Day from Utica with his Cavalry, he directed his March towards Numidia. Many of the King's Generals met him on the Way, and fued for Pardon: To all whom having given a favourable Hearing, they attended him to Zama. The Report of his Clemency and Mildness spreading into all Parts, the whole Numidian Cavalry flocked to him at Zama, and were there delivered of their Fears.

LXXXI. DURING these Transactions, sidius who commanded at Tisdra, with his own Rec. ue, a Garrison of Getulians, and a Company of Gladiators; hearing of the Defeat of his Party, and errified at the Arrival of Domitius and the Legions, abandoned the Town; and privately withdrawing with a few of the Barbarians, and all his Money, took his way towards Numidia. The Getulians, to render themselves Masters of his Treasure, murdered him by the way, and fled every Man where he Mean-time C. Vergilius, seeing himself shut up by Sea and Land, without Power of making a Defence; his Followers all slain or put to Flight; M. Cato dead by his own Hands at Utica; Juba despised and deserted by his own Subjects; Sabura and his Forces defeated by Sitius; Cafar received without Opposition at Utica; and that of so vast an Army, nothing re named capable of screening him or his Children; thought it his most prudent Course to furrender himself and the City to the Proconful Ca ninius, by whom he was befreged.

LXXXII. Ar the fame Time King Juha, seeing himself excluded from all the Cities of his Kingdom, and that there remained no Hopes of Sasety; having supped

supped with Petreius, proposed an Engagement Swordin-hand, that they might die honourably. Juba, as being the stronger, early got the better of his Adversary,
and laid him dead at his Feet: But endeavouring afterwards to run himself through the Body, and wanting
Strength to accomplish it, he was obliged to have Recourse to one of his Slaves, and by his Intreaties prevailed upon him to perform that mournful Office.

LXXXIII. In the Mean-time P. Sitius, having defeated the Army of Sabura, Juba's Lieutenant, and slain the General, and marching with a few Troops through Mauritania to join Cæsar, chanced to fall in with Faustus and Afranius, who were at the Head of the Party that had plundered Utica, amounting in all to about fifteen hundred Men, and defigning to make the best of their Way to Spain. Having expeditiously placed himfelf in Ambuscade during the Night, and attacking them by Day-break, he either killed or made them all Prifoners, except a few that escaped from the Van. nius an . Faustus were taken among the rest, with their Children: But some few Days after, a Mutiny ariting among the Soldiers, Faustus and Afranius were flain. Cafe pardoned Pompeia, the Wife of Faustus, with her Childr n, and permitted her the free Enjoyment of all her Effects.

and Torquatus, and Plætorius Rustianus, having embarked on board some Gallies, with a Design to make for the Coast of Spain; and being long and severely tossed by contrary Win is, were at last obliged to put into the Port of Hippo, where the Fleet commanded by P. Setius chanced at that Time to be. Scipio's Vessels, which were but small, and sew in Number, were easily surrounded and sunk by the larger and more numerous Ships of Sitius; on which Occasion Scipio, and all those whore we have mentioned above, as having embarked with him, perished.

LXXXV. MEAN-WHILE Caefar having exposed the King's Effects to publick Sale at Zama, and confiscated the Estates of those, who though Roman Citizens, had orne Arms avainst the Republick: After conferring Rewards

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Rewards upon such of the Zamians as had been concerned in the Design of excluding the King, he abolished all the moyal Tributes, converted the Kingdom into a Province; and appointed Crispus Sallustius to take charge of it with the Title of Proconsul, returned again to Utica. There he fold the Estates of the Officers that had served under Juba and Petreius, fined the People of Thapfus twenty thousand Sesterces, and the Company of Roman Merchants there thirty thousand; fined likewise the Inhabitants of Adrumetum in thirty thousand, and their Company in fifty thousand, but preserved the Cities and their Territories from Infult and Plunder. Those of Leptis, whom Juba had pillaged some Time before, and who upon Complaint made to the Senate by their Deputies, had obtained Arbitrators and Restitution, were enjoined to pay yearly three hundred thousand Pounds. of Oil; because from the Beginning of the War, in consequence of a Diffension among their Chiefs, they had made an Alliance with the King of Numidia, and supplied him with Arms, Soldiers and Money The People of Tisdra, because of their extreme Poverty, we e only condemned to pay annually a certain Quantity f. Corn.

LXXXVI. THESE Things fettled, ne embarked at Utica on the thirteenth of June, and three Days after arrived at Carales in Sardinia. Here he condemned the Suicitani in a Fine of one hundred thousand Sesterces, for receiving and aiding Nasidius's Fleet; and instead of a Tenth, which was their former Assessment, ordered them now to pay an Eighth to the publick Treasury. He likewise consistented the Estates of some who had been more active than the rest, and weighing from Carales on the twenty-ninth of June, coasted along the Shore, and after a Voyage of twenty-eight Days, during which he was several Times obliged to put into Port by contrary Winds, arrived safe at Rome.

A. HIRTIUS PANSA's

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

SPANISH WAR.

THE ARGUMENT.

I. The Commencement of the Spanish War. II. Cæsar marches to attack Cordova. III. At the same Time throws Succours into Ulia, besieged by Pompey. IV. The Attempt upon Cordova obliges Pompey to raise the Siege of Ulia. V. Pompey advancing to the Relief of Cordova Cæsar attacks Ategua, whither he is followed by Pompey. VII. Both intrench themselves in moun-tuinous Places, of difficult Access. IX. Pompey attacking a Fort belonging to Cæsar, is repulsed. X. Cæsar continues the Siege of Ategua. XI. Repulses a Sally from the Town. XIII. Various Skirmishes between the two Armies. XV. Cruelty of the Townsmen. XVI. Cæsar repulses them in a second Sally. XVII. Tullius treats with Cæsar about a Surrender. XVIII. Continuation of the Siege. XIX. The Town surrenders. XX. Pompey removes his Camp' towards Ucubis. XXII. Behaviour of the Bursavolenses. XXIII. Cæ-Skirmishes happen. XXV. Single Combat of Turpio and Nig XXVI. Great Numbers of the Enemy desert to Cafar. Some of Pompey's Letters intercepted. XXVII. Both Parties encamp in the Plain of Munda. XXVIII. A great Battle ensues. XXXI. In which Pompey is totally defeated. XXXIII. Cæsar besteges the Runazvays in Munda. XX VIII. Ettacks and makes himself Master of Cordova & XV. Likewise of Hispalis; whence he is explicit, and gain recovers it. The Mundenses, under a Freene of a hurrender, preparing to attack our Men, en themplies put to the Sword. XXXVII. Carteia forrenders to Cæsar. Pompey makes his Escape. XXXIX Fompey & Pain. XL. Some of Cælar's Ships burn. It. Calir's Troops take possession of Munda, and afterwards vest Ursao. XLII. Cæser's Speech to the France Hispalis.

A. HIRTIUS PANSA's COMMENTARIES

OF THE

SPANISH WAR.

I. DHARNACES being vanquished, and Africa reduced, those who escaped fled into Spain to young C- Pompey; who having got possession of the farther Province, whilst Cafar was employed in distributing Rewards in Italy, endeavoured to itrenguin himfelf by engaging the several States to join him: And partly by Intreaty, partly by Force, foon drew together a considerable Army, with which he began to lay waste the Country. In this Situation of Things, some States. voluntarily tent him Supplies, others that the Gates of their Towns against him: Of which, if any chanced to fall into his Hands by Assault; how well soever a Citizen might have deserved of his Father, yet if he was known to be rich, some Ground of Complaint was never. wanting, under pretence of which to destroy him, that his Estate might fall a Prev to the Soldiers. Thus the Enemy, ence maged by the Spoils of the Vanquished, increafed dail in Number and Strength: Infomuch that the State. in Cafar's Interest were continually tending Messeng, s into Italy, to press his immediate March to their Reger.

I. ESAR now a third Time Dictator, and nominal place of the fame Dignity, haltening I had Diligence into Spain, to put an end to the War, since upon the Way by the Ambassadors of Cordova; K k

who had deferted from the Camp of Cn. Pompey. They informed him that it would be an easy Matter to make himself Master of the Town by Night, because the Enemy as yet knew nothing of his Arrival in the Province, the Scouts sent out by Cn. Pompey to inform him of Cafar's Approach, having been all made Prisoners. They alleged besides many other very probable Reasons; all which so far wrought upon him, that he sent immediate Advice of his Arrival to Q. Pedius, and Q. Fabius Maximus his Lieutenants, to whom he had left the Command of the Troops in the Province; ordering them to send him all the Cavairy they had been able to raise. He came up with them much sooner than they expected, and was joined by the Cavairy according to his Desire.

III. SEXTUS POMPEY, the Brother of Cneas, commanded at this Time at Cordova, which was accounted the Capital of the Province. Young Cneus Pompey himfelf was employed in the Siege of Ulia, which had now lasted some Months. The Besieged having Notice of Cæsar's Arrival, sent Deputies to him, who passed unobferved dirough Pompey's Camp, and requested with great Earnestness, that he would come speedily to their Relief. Casar, who was no Stranger to the Merit of that People, and their constant Attachment to the Romans, detached about Nine at Night el ven Cohorts, with a like Number of Horse, under the Command. L. Fulius Paciecus, a good Officer, weth works in the Province, and who was besides perfective and with the Country. When he arrived . Many of Charters, a dreadful. Tempest arising, attended which wolcat Wind; so great a Darkness ensued, that it wolcat Wind; so distinguish even the Person next you. When Accident proved of great Advantage to Paciecus: I'm coing a richt at Pompey's Camp, he ordered the Cava. The advicte two by two, and march directly though the Carry Quarters to the Town. Some of their Guarc. . ' to know who passed; one of our Troopers bia han he silent w for they were just then endeavouring by week's proach the Wall, in order to get possession . wn and partly by this Answer, partly by Favour of pest, which hindered the Centinels from es Things diligently, they were fuffered to pass Diftui

Disturbance. When they reached the Gates, upon a Signal given they were admitted; and both Horse and Foot raising a mighty Shout, after leaving some Troops to guard the Town, sallied in a Body upon the Energy's Camp; who having no Apprehension of such an Attack, were almost all like to have been made Prisoners.

IV. ULIA being relieved, Cafar, to draw Pempey from the Siege, marched towards Cordova; fending the Cavalry before, with a felect Body of heavy-arm-d Foot; who as foon as they came within Sight of the Place, got up behind the Troopers, without being perceived by those of Cordova. Upon their Approach to the Walls, the Enemy fallied in great Numbers, to attack our Cavalry; when the Infantry leaping down, fell upon them with fuch Fury, that our of an almost infinite Multitude of Men, very few returned to the Town. This so alarmed Sextus Pointey, that he immediately sent Letters to his Brother, requesting him to come speedily to his Relief, left Cafur should make himself Maiter of Cordsva before his Arrival. Thus Cn. Pompey, moved by his Brother's Letters, quitted the Siege of Ulia, which was upon the Point of furrendering, and began his March towards Cordova.

V. CÆSAR arriving at the River Bætis, which he found too deep to be forded, funk several Baskets of Stones raising a Bridge upon them, supported by double Beams, carried over his Forces in three Bodies. Pempey arriving foon after with his Troops, encamped directly over-against him. Cafar, to cut off his Provifions and Communication with the Town, ran a Line from his Camp to the Bridge. Pompey did the same; infomuch that a Struggle arose between the two Generals, which the aid first get possession of the Bridge; and this daily I aght on finall Skirmiihes, in which fometimes the cie, iometimes the other Party had the better. At last ... Dispute becoming more general, they came to a close Fight, though upon very disadvantageous Ground: For both Sides striving carneslly to obtain the .rid; :, acy found themselves as they approached itraitner' i want of Room, and extending themselves to-". 's . River-fide, many fell headlong from the Banks. us the Lois was pretty equal; for on either Side lay Kk 2 Heaps Heaps of Slain: And Cafar, for many Days, used all possible Endeavours to bring th Enemy to an Engagement on equal Terms, that he might bring the War to a Conclusion as soon as possible.

VI. Bur finding that they carefully avoided a Battle, with a View to which chiefly he had quitted the Route of Ulia; he caused great Fires to be lighted in the Night, repailed the River with all his Forces, and marched towards Ategua, one of their strongest Garrisons. Pompey having Notice of this from the Deferters, retreated the same Day to Cordova, by a very narrow and difficult Road, with a great Number of Carriages and Machines of War. Cæsar began his Attack upon Ategua, and carried Lines quite round the Town; of which Pompey having Intelligence, fet out upon his March the fame Day. But Cafar had taken care before-hand to fecure all the advantageous Posts, and possess himself of the Forts; partly to thelter his Cavalry, partly to post Guards of Infantry for the Defence of his Camp. The Morning of Pompey's Arrival was so foggy, that he found Means, with some Cohorts and Troops of Cavalry, to hem in a Party of Corjar's Horse, and fell upon them in such. Manner that very few escaped Slaughter.

VII. THE following Night Pompey let fire to his Camp, passed the River Salfus, and marching through the Valleys, encamped on a Ring-ground, between the two Towns of Ategua and white Cafar mean-while continued his Approach and his allount, and brought forward his Machine . The there all around is mountainous, and feer formed for War. The River Solfus runs through the Mannes, and I when them from the Mountains, which all it was the of Ategua, at about two Miles Distance have the Ve Pompey's Camp was upon these Mountains, within we of both the Towns, but nearer to Atogua, to when he would however fend no Relief, though his Army we is it of Unirteen Legions. Of these he chiefly reme of tour : two Spanish ones, which had deferted from Ironnier, one formed out of the Reman Colonies in the it and a fourth which he had brought with he arou-The rest were for the most part made up c and Deferters. As to light-armed Foot and

we far exceeded him both in the Number and Goodnes of the Troops.

VIII. BUT what proved principally ferviceable to Pempey's Design of drawing out the War into Length, was the Nature of the Country, full of Mountains, and extremely well adapted to Encampments. For almost the whole Province of Farther Spain, though of an extremely fertile Soil, and abounding in Springs, is nevertheless very difficult of Arceis. Here too, on account of the frequent Incursions of the Natives, all the Places remote from great Towns are fortified with Towers and Castles, covered, as in Africa, not with Tiles, but with Earth. On these they place Centinels, whose high Situation commands an extensive View of the Country on all Sides. Nay, the greatest Part of the Towns of this Province are built on Mountains, and Places exceedingly strong by Nature, the Approaches to which are extremely difficult. Thus Sieges are rare and hazardous in Spain, it not being easy to reduce their Towns by Force; as happened in the present War. For Pompey having established his Camp between Argua and Ucubis, as related above, and within View of both "cwns, Cæsar found Mears to possess himself of an Eminence very conveniently fituated, and only about four Miles from his own Camp, on which he built a Fortreis.

IX. POMPEY, who from the Nature of the Ground was covered by the same Eminence, and besides at a sufficient Distance from Cæsar's Quarters, soon became sensible of the Importance of this Post: And as Casar was separated from it by the River Salfus, he imagined that the Difficulty of fending Relief would prevent his attempting any Thing of that Kind in its Defence. Relying on 's Persuation, he set out about Alidnight, and attacked the Fort, which had been very troublesome to the Liemy, upon their Approach, a Shout, discharged their Javelins in great Numbers, and wounded Multitudes of our Men: But the Fort making a vigorous Relitance, and difn' ' ng Messengers to the greater Camp, to inform of what had happened, he hattened to their Relief vit . three Legions. His Approach struck the Enemy ith Terror: Many were flain, and a greater Number K & 3 made

made Prisoners; nay, Multitudes in their Flight threw away their Arms; insomuch that above fourscore Shields were found, which they had left behind them:

X. THE Day after Arguetius arrived from Italy with the Cavalry, and five Standards taken from the Saguntines; but was forced to quit his Post by Asprenas, who likewise brought a Reinforcement from huly to Cafar. The same Night Pompey set fire to his Camp, and drew towards Cordova. A King named Indus, who was bringing some Troops to Cæsar with a Party of Cavalry, following the Familia of the Enemy too briskly, was made Prisoner and slain by the Spanish Legionaries. Next Day our Cavalry purfued those who were employed in carrying Provisions from the Town to Pompey's Camp, almost to the very Walls of Cordova, and took fifty Priioners, besides Horses. The same Day 2. Marcius, a military Tribune, in Pompey's Army, deferted to us. At Midnight the Befieged fell furiously upon our Works, and by all the Methods they could devite, threw Fire and combustible Matter into the Treaches. When the Attack was ended, C. Fundanius, a Roman Knight, quitted the Enemy, and came over to us.

XI. NEXT Day two Spanish Legionaries, who pretended they were Slaves, were made Prisoners by a Party of our Horse: But being brought to the Camp, they were known by the Soldiers who he formerly served under Fak us and Pedius, and deser 7 Trebonius, who them immewould grant no Quarter, h diately. At the same Ti s sent from Cordova to Pompey, entering Take, were feized, had their Hands cut 'ismissed. About Nine at Night the Besie histom, spent a considerable Time in cast. noq our Soldiers, and wounded a great At Day-break they fallied upon the fixt. bufy at the Works, and began a sharp however our Men got the better, though . the Advantage of the higher Ground; and Horse, who had begun the Attack, being vig posed on our Side, notwithstanding all the 1 encies we fought under, were at length obliged into the Town with many Wounds. XII. N.

XII. NEXT Day Pompey began a Line from the Camp to the River Salfus; and a small Party of our Horse, being attacked by a much greater Body of the Enemy, were driven from their Post, with the Loss of three of their Number The same Day A. Nalgius, the Son of a Senator, whose Brother was in Pompey's Camp, mounted his Horse and went over to the Enemy, leaving all his Baggage behind him. A Spy belonging to Pempev's second Legion was taken and flain. At the fame Time a Bullet was shot into the Town with this Inscription: That Notice flould be given by the Signal of a Buckler, when Cafar advanced to storm the Town. This encouraging some to hope that they might scale the Walls and possess themselves of the Town without Danger, they fell the next Day to sapping them, and threw down a confiderable Part of the outward Wall. They then endeavoured to mount the Breach, but were made Prisoners, and afterwards employed by the Garri-Son to make an Offer of furrendering the Town to Cafar, upon condition he would suffer them to march out with their Baggage. The Answer was, That it had been always his Custom to give, not accept of Corditions; which being reported to the Garmin, they fet up a Shout, and began to pour their Darts upon our Men from the whole Circuit of the Wall; which gave reason to believe that the Garrison intended that Day to make a vigorous Sally. Wherefore furrounding the Town with our Troops, the Conflict was for some Time maintained with great Violence, and one of our Batteries threw down a Tower belonging to the Enemy, in which were five of their Men, and a Boy, whose Office it was to observe the Battery.

XIII. AFTER this Pompey erected a Fort on the other Side of the lalfus, in which he met with no Interruption from our titen, and gloried not a little in the Imagination of h ving possessed himself of a Post so near us. Also the soil and Day, extending himself in like Manner still farther, he came up with our Out-guard of Cavalry; the riging them briskly, obliged several Squadrons, as it is light-armed Foot to give ground; many of whom,

of any vigorous Opposition, were trod down by the Enemy's Horse. This passed within View of both K k 4. Camps.

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Camps, and not a little animated the Pompeians, to see our Men pushed so far: but being afterwards reinforced by a Party from our Camp, they faced about with Design to renew the Fight.

XIV. In all Battles of the Horse this is found to. hold, that when the Troopers dismount with Design to charge the Infantry, the Match evermore proves unequal, as happened on the present Occasion. For a select Body of the Enemy's light-armed Foot, coming unexpectedly upon our Horse, they alighted to sustain the Charge. Thus in a very little Time, from a Horse it became a Foot-skirmish, and again from a Foot changed to a Horse-encounter, in which our Men were driven back to their very Lines: but being there reinforced, about a hundred and twenty-three of the Enemy were flain, several forced to throw down their Arms, many wounded, and the Rest pursued quite to their Camp. On our Side a hundred and eleven Men were flain, besides twelve Foot-soldiers and five Troopers wounded.

XV. TOWARDS the Evening of the same Day, the Fight as usual, was renewed before the Walls; and the Enemy having thrown many Darts, and a great Quantity of Fire from the Battlements, proceeded afterwards to an Action of unexampled Cruelty and Barbarity: for in the very Sight of our Troops they for murdering the Citizens, and tumbling them her an Instance of Inhumanity on Parallel is to be found in the History avage Nations.

XVI. When Night came o.

ger unknown to us, to exhort the G.

vigorous Sally about Midnight,

Towers and Mount. Accordingly

us a great Quantity of Darts and Fin

confiderable Part of the Rampart, they

which lay over-against and within Viev

Camp, and sallied out with all their For

with them Fascines to fill up the Ditch;

Fire to destroy and reduce to Ashes the Barrac,

the Soldiers had built mostly of Reeds to desc.

from the Winter; and some Silver and rich Apparel to scatter among the Tenis, that while our Men should be employed in fecuring the Plunder, they might fight their Way through and efc. ne to Pompey; who in Expectation that they would be able to effect their Defign, had croffed the Salfus with his Army, where he continued all Night in Order of Battle, to favour their Retreat. But though our Men had no Apprehension of this Design, their Valour enabled them to frustrate the Attempt, and repulse the Enemy with many Wounds. They even made themselves Masters of the Spoil, their Arms, and some Prisoners, who were put to death next Day. At the same Time a Deserter from the Town informed us, that Junius, who was employed in the Mine when the Citizens were mailiacred, exclaimed against it as a cruel and barbarous Action, which ill fuited the kind Treatment they had received, and was a direct Violation of the Laws of Hospitality. He added many Things besides, which made such an Impression upon the Garrison, that they desisted from the Masfacre.

XVII. THE next Day Tullius, a Lieutenant-Cereral accompanied by C. Antonius of Lustania, came to Cafar and addressed him to this Effect. "Would to Heaven I 46 had rather been one of your Soldiers, than a Folle ver of C. Pompey, and given those Proofs of Valour and " Constancy in obtaining Victories for you, rather than " in fuffering for him. The only Advantage we reap " from following his Banners are doleful Applauses, " being reduced to the Condition of indigent Citizens, " and by the melancholy Fate of our Country ranked 66 among its Enemies; who having never shared with " Pompey in his good Fortune, find ourselves yet involved in 1 is Difgrace; and after fustaining the Attack of of any armed Legions, employing ourselves Day " A N sht in Works of Defence, exposed to the Darts e and words of our Fellow-citizens; vanquished, deferted by Pompey, and compelled to give way to the enf perior Valour of your Troops, find ourselves at last of ged to have recourse to your Clemency, and imopl .e that you will not show yourselves less placable to Fellow-citizens, than you have so often been to foreign Nations." "I am ready, returned Ca" far, to show the same Favour to Citizens, which vanquished Nations have always received at my "Hands."

XVIII. THE Ambassadors being dismissed, when they arrived at the Gate of the Town, Tiberius Tullius .observing that C. Antony did not follow him, returned to the Gate and laid hold of him, upon which drawing a Poniard from his Breast, he wounded him in the Hand, and in this Condition they both fled to Cafar. At the fame Time the Standard-bearer of the first Legion came over to our Camp, and reported that the Day when the Skirmish happened between the Horse, no less than thirty-five of his Company fell; but it was not allowed to mention it in Pompey's Camp, or so much as own the Loss of one Man. A Slave, whose Master was in Cafar's Camp, and who had left his Wife and Son in the City, cut his Master's Throat, and deceiving the Guards, escaped privately to Pompey's Camp; whence by Means of a Bullet, on which he inscribed is Intelligence, he gave us Notice of the Preparations made for the Defence of the Place. When we had read the Inscription, those who were employed to throw the Bullet returning to the City, two Lusitanian Brothers descried, and informed us, that Pompey, in a Speech made to his Soldiers, had faid; that as he found it impossible to relieve the Town, he was ed to withdraw privately in the Night, and re 's the Sea: to which one made answer, the hazard a Battle, than take refuge in 1 he was immediately killed. At the fa f his Couriers were intercepted, who · to get into the Town. Cafar fent the 1habitants, and one of the Messengers he granted it with Promise of furthe. would fet fire to the Enemy's wooden Enterprise was not without Difficulty; he however, but was flain in the Attempt. Night a Deferter informed us that Pompe hienus were greatly offended at the Maffaci Citizens.

XIX. ABOUT nine at Night, one of our we Towers, which had been severely battered by Fnemy

Enemy's Engines, gave way as far as the third Story At the same Time a sharp Action happened near the Walls; and the Besieged, assisted by a favourable Wind, burnt the remaining Part of that Tower and another. Next Morning a Matrow threw herself from the Wall, and came over to our Camp, reporting, that the Rest of her Family had intended the same, but were apprehended and put to death; likewise a Letter was thrown over, in which was written; " L. Minutius co Casar: Pompey has abandoned me; if you will grant me my "Life, I promise to serve you with the same Fidelity and Attachment I have hitherto man faled towards. " him." At the same Time the Deputies who had been sent before to Cæsar by the Garrison, now waited on him a second Time, offering to deliver up the Town next Day, upon a bare Grant of their Lives: to which he replied, That he was Cæsar, and would perform his Word. Thus having made himself Master of the Place the nineteenth of February, he was faluted Emperor by the Armv.

XX. Pompey being informed by forme Deferters that the Town had furrendered, removed his Camp 'owards Ucubis, where he began to build Redoubts, and secure himself with Lines. Cæsar also decamped and drew At the same Time a Spanish legionary Soldier deserting to our Camp, informed us; that Pompey had affembled the People of Ucubis, and given it them in charge to enquire diligently who favoured his Party, who that of the Enemy. Some Time after, the Slave, who, as we have related above, had murdered his Master, was taken in a Mine and burnt alive. About the same Time eight Spanish Centurions came over to Cafar: and in a Skirmish between our Cavalry and that of the En my, we were repulsed, and some of our lightarms F ot wounded. The same Night we took four of namy's Spies. One, as being a legionary Soldier, was beheaded, but the other three, who were Slaves, were crucified.

XXI. THE Day following some of the Enemy's avalry and light-armed infantry deserted to us; and about eleven of their Horse, falling upon a Party of our in that were sent to setch Water, killed some, and

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Troopers, Next Day Pompey beheaded seventy-four Persons as Favourers of Casar's Cause, ordering the Rest who lay under the same Suspicion to be carried back to the Town, of whom all hundred and twenty escaped to Casar.

XXII. Some Time after, the Deputies of Burfavola, whom Cæsar had taken Prisoners in Ategua, and sent along with his own Ambassadors to their City, to inform them of the Massacre of the Ateguans, and what they had to apprehend from Pompey, who fuffered his Soldiers to murder their Hosts, and commit all Manner of Crimes with Impunity, arriving in the Town; none of our Deputies, except fuch as were Natives of the Place, durst enter the City, though they were all Roman Knights and Senators. But after many Messages backward and forward, when the Deputies were upon their Return, the Garrison pursued and put them all to the Sword, except two who escaped to Casar, and informed im of what had happened. Some Time after, the Burfavel uf fending Spies to Ategua, to know the Truth of what had happened, and finding the Report of our Deputies confirmed, were for stoning to death him who had been the Cause of the Murder of the Deputies, and were with Difficulty restrained from laying violent Hands upon him, which in the End proved the Occafion of their own Destruction. For having obtained Leave of the Inhabitants to go in person to Cæsar, and justify himself, he privately drew together some Troops, and when he thought himself strong enough, returned in the Night, and was treacherously admitted into the Town; where he made a dreadful Maffacre of the Inhabitants, slew all the Leaders of the opposite Party, and reduced the Place under his Obedience. Soon after. some Slaves who had deferted informed us, the he had fold all the Goods of the Citizens, and tha Tompey suffered none of his Soldiers to quit the Camp but unarmed, because fince the Taking of Ategua, many despairing of Success, fled into Bethuria, having given over all Expectation of Victory; and that if any deferred from our Camp, they were put among the light-armed Infantry, whose Pay was only fixteen Asses a Day.

XXIII. THE Day following Cafar removed his Camp nearer to Pomsey's, and began to draw a Line to the River Salfus. Iere while our Men were employed in the Work, some of the Enemy fell upon us from the higher Ground, and as we were in no Condition to make Resistance, wounded great Numbers, obliging us, contrary to Custom.. to retreat. This being perceived; two Centurions of the fifth Legion pessed the River, and restored the Battle; when urging the Enemy with aftonishing Bravery, one of them fell, overwhelmed by the Multitude of Darts discharged from above. other continued the Combat for some Time; but seeing himself in danger of being surrounded, as he was endea couring to make good his Retreat, he stumbled and His Death being known, the Enemy flocked together in still greater Numbers, upon which our Cavalry passed the River, and drove them quite back to their Intrenchments; but pursuing them with two much Heat, were surrounded by their Cavalry and light-armed Foot; where but for the most astonishing Efforts of Bravery, they must all unavoidably have been mad Prifoners: for they were fo hemmed in by the Enem: Lines, that they wanted Room to defend themselves. Many were wounded on our Side in these two Encounters, and among the rest Clodius Aquitius; but as the Fight was carried on mostly at a Distance, only the two Centurions, of whom Mention has been already made, and whom the Defire of Glory rendered regardless of their own Safety, were killed.

XXIV. NEXT Day both Parties withdrawing from Scricaria, we continued our Works. But Pompey obferving that our Fort had cut off his Communication with Aspavia, which is about five Miles distant from Ucubis, judged it necessary to come to a Battle. Yet he did not offer it upon equal Terms, but chose to draw up his Men upon a Hill, that he might have the Advange of the higher Ground. Mean-while both Sides endeavouring to possess themselves of an Eminence that lay extremely convenient, we at last got the better of the Pompeians, and drove them from the Plain. The Slaughter was very great, and would have been still greater, had they not been protected by the Mountain rather than their Valour. Night came on very opportunctly

tunely to favour their Escape; without which our Men; though sew in Number, would have entirely cut off their Retreat. Pempey lost on this Occasion three hundred and twenty-four light-armed Foot, and about a hundred and thirty-eight legionary Soldiers, besides those whose Armour and Spoils we carried off. Thus the Death of the two Centurions, which happened the Day before, was fully revenged.

XXV. THE Day after, Pompey's Horse advanced ac. cording to their usual Custom to our Lines; for only the Cavalry dorst venture to draw up on equal Ground. They therefore began to skirmish with our Men who were at work, the Legionaries calling out to us at the same Time to choose our Field of Battle, with Design to make us believe that they defired nothing fo much as to come to Blows. Upon this Invitation our Men quitted the Eminence where they were encamped, and advanced a great way into the Plain, desiring no Advanage of Ground. But none of the Enemy had the Boldis to present themselves, Antistius Turpio excepted; who presuming on his Strength, and fancying no one on our Side a March for him, offered us Defiance. Upon this enfued a Combat not unlike that recorded of Memnon and Achilles. For Q. Pompeius Niger, a Roman Knight born in Italy, quitting his Rank, advanced to the Encounter. The fierce Air of Antistius having engaged the Attention of all, the two Armies drew up to be Spectators of the Issue of this Challenge, and expressed no less Impatience than if the whole Fortune of the War had depended upon it; and the Wishes on both Sides for Success, were equal to the Anxiety and Concern each felt for his own Combatant. They advanced into the Plain with great Courage, having each a resplendent Bueller of curious Workmanship. And doubtless the Combat would have been foon decided, had not fome light-armed Foot, drawn up near the Lines, to serve. s a Guard to the Camp, because of the Approach of the Enemy's Horse. * * * Our Horse in retreating to their Camp, being warmly purfued by the Enemy, fuddenly

faced about with great Cries; which so terrified the

Pompeians, that they immediately betook themselves to

Flight, and retreated to their Camp with the Loss of

many of their Men.

XXVI. CÆSAR,

XXVI. CESAR, to reward the Valour of the Caffian Troop, presented them with thirteen thousand Sesterces, distributed ten thousand more among the light-armed Foot, and give Cashus himself two golden Chains. The fame Day, A. Bebius, C. Flavin: and A. Trebellius, Roman Knights of Afti, with their horses richly caparisoned and adorned with Silver, came over to Cæsar, and informed him; that all the rest of the Roman Knights in Pempey's Camp, had like them conspired to some and join him, but that a Discovery being made of their Defign by a Slave, they had been all seized, themselves excepted, who during the Confusion found Means to escape. The same Day Letters were intercepted, fent by Pompey to Urjas, importing, "That hitherto he had all the " Succeis against the Enemy he could defire, and would " have ended the War much fooner than was expected, " could he have brought them to fight him upon equal" "Terms: That he did not think it adviseable to ven-" ture new-levied Troops on a Plain: That the Enemy " defending themselves with their Lines, seemed in-" clinable to draw out the War to Length, investing "City after City, and thence supplying themselves with "Provisions: That he would therefore enue vour to or protect the Towns of his Party, and bring the War to as speedy an Issue as possible: That he would send " them a Reinforcement of some Cohorts, and made no-"doubt of forcing Cafar in a short Time to an Engage-" ment, by cutting off his Provisions."

XXVII. Some Time after, as our Men were carelessly dispersed about the Works, a few Horse were killed, who had gone to a Forest of Olives to setch Wood. Several Slaves deferted at this Time, and informed us, that ever fince the Action at Seritia on the feventh of March, the Enemy had been under continual Alarins, and appointed Attius Varus to guard the Lines. The fame Day Pompey decamped, and posted himself in an Olive-Wood over-against Hilbalis. Carfar, before he removed, waited till Midnight, when the Moon began to appear. At his Departure he ordered him to be let to the Fort of Ucubis, which the Enemy had abandoned, and that the whole Army should rendezvous in the greater Camp. He afterwards laid fiege to Ventiffente, which furgendered; and marching thence to Carnea, encamped

encamped over-a sainst Pompey, who had burnt the City; because the Gari son refused to open the Gates to him. A Soldier who had murdered his Brother in the Camp; being intercepted by our Men, was scourged and put to death. Cæsar still pursuing his March, arrived in the Plains of Munda, and picched his Camp opposite to that of Pompey.

XXVIII. Next Day, as Cafar was preparing to fet out with his Army, Notice was fent him by his Spies. that Pompey had been in Order of Battle ever fince M.dnight. Upon this Intelligence he ordered the Standard to be erected. Pemper had taken this Resolution in confequence of his Letter to the Inhabitants of Urfao, who were his firm Adherents, in which he told them that Cafar refused to come down into the Plain, because his Army confifted mostly of new-levied Troops. This had greatly confirmed the City in its Allegiance, which therefore ferving as a fure Resource behind him, he thought he might hazard a Battle without Danger; and the rather, as he was very advantageously encamped: For as e observed before, this Country is full of Hills, wnich run in a continued Chain, without any considerable Breaks or Hollows.

XXIX. Bur we must by no Means omit an Accident which fell out about this Time. The two Camps were divided from one another by a Plain about five Miles in Extent, infomuch that Pompey by his Situation enjoyed a double Desence. .. On one Side, the Town, seated on an Eminence. On the other, the Nature of the Ground where the Camp stood; for across this Valley ran a Rivulet, which rendered the Approach of the Mountain extramely difficult, because it formed a deep Morais on the Right. Cofar made no doubt but the Enemy would different into the Plain and come to a Battle, and his whole Army were of the fame Mind; the rather because the Plain would give their Caulry full Room to 21, and the Day was to terene and clear, that the Gods feemed to have fent it on purpose to bring on an Engagement. On Men rejoiced at the favourable Opportunity: Some however were not altogether exempt from Fear, when they confidered that their All was at stake, and the Uncontainty of what might be their Fate an Hour afterHe advanced however to the Field of I attle, fully perfuaded that the Enerry would do the fame; but they durst not venture above a Mile from the Town, being determined to shelter themselves under its Walls. Our Men still continued before them in Order of Battle, but although the Equality of the Ground sometimes tempted them to come and dispute the Victory, they nevertheless still kept their Post on the Mountain, in the Neighbourhood of the Town. We doubled our Speed to reach the Rivulet, without their stirring from the Place where they stood.

XXX. THEIR Army consisted of thirteen Legions: The Cavalry was drawn up upon the Wings, with fix thousand light-armed Infantry, and about the same Number of Auxiliaries. 'We had only eighty heavyarmed Cohorts, and eight thousand Horse. When we came to the Extremity of the Plain, as the Ground was very difadvantageous, it would have been dangerous for us to advance farther, because the Enemy were ready to charg? us from the Eminences; and therefore, that we might not rashly entangle ourselves, Gesar had taken care to mark beforehand how far we might advance with Safety. The Army when commanded to halt, murmured greatly, as if they had been kept back from a certain Victory. The Delay however ferved to enliver the Enemy, who fancied that our Troops were afraid of recoming to Blows. They therefore had the Boldness to advance a little Way, yet without quitting the Advantage of their Post, the Approach to which was extremely dangerous. The tenth Legion, as usual, was on the Right; the third and fifth on the Left, with the auxiliary Troops and Cavalry. At length the Battle began with a Shout.

XYXI. But though our Men were superior to the Ene ov in Courage, they nevertheless defended themselves so well by the Advantage of the higher Ground, the Shouts were so loud, and the Discharge of Darts on both Sides so great, that we almost began to despair of Victory. For the first Onset and Clambur, with which an Enemy is most apt to be dismayed, were pretty equal in the present Encounter. All sought with equal Valour, the Place was covered with Arrows and Darts, and great L 1

Numbers of the Enemy fell. We have already observed that the tenth Legion was on the Right, which though not considerable for the Number o. Men, was nevertheless formidable on account of its Courage; and so pressed the Enemy on that Side, that they were obliged to draw a Legion from the right Wing to reinforce the left, and prevent its being taken in Flank. Upon this Motion, our Cavalry on the left fell upon Pompey's right Wing, weakened by the Departure of the Legion: But they defended themselves with so much Bravery and Resolution as to stand in need of no new Troops to support them. Mean-while the Clashing of Armour, mingled with the Shouts of the Combatants and the Greans of the Dying and Wounded, terrified the new-raifed Soldiers: For, as Ennius fays, they fought Hand to Hand, Foot to Foot, and Shield to Shield. But though the Enemy fought with the utmost Vigour, they were obliged to give ground, and retire towards the Town. The Battle was fought on the Feast of Bacchus, and the Pompeians were entirely routed and put to Flight; infomuch that not a Man could have escaped, had they not sheltered themselves in he Place whence they advanced to the Charge. Enemy lost en unis Occasion upwards of thirty thousand Men, and among the rest Labienus and Attius Varus, whose funeral Obsequies were performed upon the Field They had likewise three thousand Reman Knights killed, partly of Italy, partly of the Province. About a Thousand were flain on our Side, partly, Foot, partly Horse; and five hundred wounded. We gained thirteen Eagles and Standards, and made seventeen Officers Prisoners. Such was the Issue of this Action.

XXII. THE Remains of Pompey's Army retreating to Munda, with Design to desend themselves in that Town, it became necessary to invest it. The dead Bodies of the Enemy, heaped together, served instead of a Rampart, and their Javelins and Darts were fixed up by way of Palisades. Upon these we hung their Bucklers to supply the Place of a Breast-work, and fixing the Heads of the Deceased upon Swords and Lances, planted them all around the Works, to strike the greater Terror into the Besieged, and keep awake in them a Sense of our Bravery. Amidst these mournful Objects did they

find themselves shut in, when our Nen began the Attack, which was ma aged chiefly by the Gauls. Young Valerius, who had escaped to Cordova, with some Horse, informed Sextus Pompey of what had happened; who upon Receipt of the mournfu! News, distributing what Money he had about him to the Troopers, left the Town about Nine at Night, under Pretence of going to find out Cæsar, to treat of an Accommodation. the other Side, Cn. Pompey, attended by a few Horse and Foot, took the Road of Carteia, where his Fleet lay, and which was about an hundred and seventy Miles distant from Cordova. When ne was arrived within eight Miles of the Place, he sent P. Calvitius his Camp-marshal before, to fetch a Litter to carry him to the Town, because he found himself out of Order The Litter came, and when he entered the Town, those of his Party waited on him privately, to receive his Orders about the Management of the War. As they affembled round the Place in great Crowds, Pompey quitting his Litter, put himself under their Protection.

XXXIII. CÆSAR, after the Battle, feeing the Circumvallation of Munda completed, marched to Cordaya. Those of the Enemy who had escaped the Slaughter possessing themselves of a Bridge, upon the Approach of cur Men, called out to them with an Air of Derision, What? we are no more than a Handful of Men escaped from the Battle, and shall we be allowed no Place of Retreat? Immediately they prepared to defend the Bridge. Cæsar passed the River, and encamped on the other Side. Scapula, who had stirred up the Freedmen to a Revolt, escaping after the Battle to Cordova; when he found himself besieged, assembled all his Followers, ordered a funeral Pile to be erected, and a magnificent Supper served up; when putting on his richest Dress, he distribut it his Plate and ready Money among his Domesticks, supped cheerfully, anointed himself once and again, and lait of ail, ordered or, of his Freedmen to dispatch him, and another to fet f re to the Pile.

the Place, than a Division arose among the inhabitants, between those who favoured Casar, and those who were ir the Interest of Pompey, attended with so de a Cla-Ll2 mour,

Togions, composed, partly of Fugitives, partly of Slaves manumitted by Pempey, came and surrendered themselves to Casar. So, the thirteenth Legion prepared to defend the Place, and with that View possessed themselves of the Walls and some Towers, in spite of all the Opposition they met with; which obliged the other Party to send Deputies to Casar for Aid. Upon this those who had escaped out of the Battle set fire to the Place, and our Men entering at the same Time, slew about twenty-two thousand of them, besides those who were slain without the Walls; and thus became Masters of the Town. Whilst Casar was employed in this Siege, those who were blocked up at Munda made a Sally, but were driven back into the Town with considerable Loss.

XXXV. THENCE Cæfar marched to Hispalis, which fent Deputies to sue for Pardon, and obtained it. Though the Citizens assured him that they were able to defend he Town with their own Forces, he nevertheless thought proper to send Caninius his Lieutenant thither with some I foops, and encamped himself before the Place. There was in the Town a strong Party of Pompeians, who displeased to see Cæsar's Troops received within the Walks, deputed secretly one Philo, a zealous Partizan of Pompe, and well known in Lustunia, to beg Assistance of Cecilius Niger, strnamed the Barbarous, who lay encamped near Lenius, with a strong Army of Lustunians. These approaching the Town towards Night, got over the Walls, surprised the Centinels and Garrison, shut the Gates, and began to defend the Place.

XXXVI. DURING these Transactions, Deputies arrived from Carteia, with Accounts of their having secured Pempey; hoping by this Service to atone for their former Fault of shutting the Gates against Cæsar. Meantime the Lusitanians in Hispalis, still continued pillaging the Town, which though known to Cæsar, did not yet determine him to press it too hard, lest they should in Despair set sire to the Town, and destroy the Walls. It was resolved in Council to suffer the Lusitanians to escape in the Night by a Sally, yet so that the Thing might not appear designed. In this Sally, they set fire to the Ships that were in the River Bætis, and while our Men

were employed in extinguishing the Flumes, endeavoured to get off; but being overtaken by the Cavalry were mostly out to pieces. Thence he marched to Asla, which submitted. Munda having been now a long while besieged, many of those who had scaped out of the Battle despairing of Sasety, surrendered to us; and being formed into a Legion, conspired among themselves, that upon a Signal given, the Garrison should fally out in the Night, while they at the same Time should begin Massacre in the Camp. But the Plot being discovered, they were next Night, at the changing of the third Watch, all put to death without the Rampart.

XXXVII. THE Carteians, while Cafar was employed in reducing the other Towns upon his Route, fell into a Diffension about young Pompey. There were two Partes in the Town, one that had fent the Deputies to Cafar, and another in the Pompeian Interest: These last prevailing, feized the Gates, and made a dreadful Slaughter of their Adversaries. Pompey himself was wounder'. in the Fray, but escuping to his Ships, fled with about thirty Gallies. Didius, who was at Cadiz with Cafar's Fleet, hearing of what had happened, immediately failed in pursuit of them; stationing at the same Time some Cavalry and Infantry along the Coast, to prevent his getting off by Land. Pompey had departed with fo much Precipitation from Carteia, that he took no Time to furnish himself with Water, which obliging him to stop by the Way, Didins came up with him after four Days failing, took some of his Ships, and burnt the Rest.

XXXVIII. Pompey, with a few Followers, escaped to a Place strongly fortisted by Nature; of which the Troops sent in pursuit of him having certain Intelligence by their Scouts, sollowed Day and Night. He was wounded in the Shoulder and left Leg, and had besides strained his Ancle, all which greatly retarded his Fright, and obliged him to nake use of a Litter. A Lustanian having discovered the Place of his Retreat, he was quickly surrounded by our Cavalry and Cohorts. Seeing himself betrayed, he took resuge in a Post naturally strong, and which could easily be defended by a tew Men, because the Approach to it was extremely difficult.

We attempted to storm it, but were repulsed, and vigorously pursued by the Enemy and meeting with no better Success after several Trials, we at length resolved to lay she to the Place, it seeming too hazardous to force it. Accordingly a Terrass was raised, and Lines drawn round the Place; which the Enemy perceiving, thought proper to betake themselves to slight.

being lame and wounded, was in no Condition to make a speedy Retreat; and the rather, because the Place was such that he could ase neither Horse nor Litter. He saw his People driven from the Fort, massacred on all Sides, and himself left without Resource. In this Extremity he sted to a Cave, where he could not easily be discovered, unless he was betrayed by the Prisoners. Here he was slain, and his Head brought to Casar the twelstn of April, just as he was setting out for Hispalis, and afterwards exposed to the View of the cople.

XL. AFTEE the Death of young Pompey, Didius, proud of his Success, hauled some of his Vessels ashore to be refitted, and retired himself to a neighbouring Fort. The Luftanians who had escaped from the Battle of Munda, rallying in great Bodies, found themselves strong enough to make head against him. Though the Preservation of the I leet was what principally engaged his Attention, he was yet necessitated to make frequent Sallies to check the Infolence of the Enemy. These daily Skirmishes gave them an Opportunity of projecting an Ambuscade; for which Purpose they divided their Troops into three Bodies. Didius fallied according to Custom; when upon a Signal given, one of the Parties advanced to fet fire to the Fleet; and another counterfeiting a Retreat, drew him infenfibly into the Ambuscade, where he was furrounded and flain with most of his Followers fighting valiantly. 5 me escaped in Boats which they found upon the Coast'; others made for the Gallies by swimming; and weighing Anchor, stood out to Sca. A great many faved themselves in this Manner, but the Lusitanians got all the Baggage. Cafar mean-while returned from Gales to Hispalis. XLI. FABIUS

XIII. FABIUS MAXIMUS, whom he had left to continue the Siege of Munda, carried on the Approaches with great Success; infomuch that the 'nemy feeing themselves shut up on all Sides, resolved to attempt a Sally: but were repulfed with great Lois. Our Men seized this Opportunity to get possession of the Town, and made all the rest Pritoners. Thence they drew towards Urfao, a Town exceedingly ftrong both by Nature and Art, and capaple of refifting an Enemy. For there is not so much as a Rivulet within eight Miles of the Place, nor any Spring, but that which supplies the Town. Add to all this, that the Wood necessary for building Towers and other Machines, was to be fetched from a Distance of fix Miles; because young Pompey, to render th Siege more difficult, had cut down all the Wood round the Place; which obliged our Men to bring all the Materials for carrying on the Siege from Munda.

XLII. DURING these Transactions at Munda a d Disao, Casar, who was returned from Cales to Histalaffembled the Citzens, and made the following Speech: "That when he was advanced to the Quæstorship, he 44 had chosen their Province preferably to all others, and during his Continuance in that Office, done them " every Service in his Power: That during his Prætor-" ship, he had obtained for them of the Senate the " Abolition of the Taxes imposed by Metellus, declared " himself their Patron, procured their Deputies a " Hearing at Rome, and made himself many Enemies by undertaking the Defence both of their private and publick Rights. In fine, that when he was Conful, "he had, though abfent, rendered the Province all the "Services in his Power: That instead of making a " fuitable Return for fo many Favours, they had always " uiscovered the utmost Ingratitude, both towards him and the People of Rome, as well in this last War as "the Preceding. You, fays he, though no Strangers " to the Law of Nations, and the Rights of Roman " Citizens, have yet like Barbarians often violated the " facred Persons of Roman Magistrates. You attempted in 66 open Day, in the publick Square to affaffinate Caffins. "You have been always fuch Enemies to Peace, that the Sanate could never suffer the Province to be without Lese gions. LI4

520 PANSA'S COMMENTARIES.

Benefits, are infolent and restless in Peace, and cowardly and esseminate in War. Young Pompey, though only a privat Citizen, nay, a Fugitive, was yet received among you, and suffered to anume the Ensigns of Magistracy. After putting many Citizens to death, you still surnished him with Forces, and even urged him to lay waste the Country and Province. Against whom do you hope to be victorious? Can you be ignorant that upon the Supposition of my Overthrow, the People of Rome have still ten Legions, capable not only of making head against you, but of bringing the whole Earth under Subjection." * * * * * *



INDEX

OF

Ancient and modern Geography to Cæsar's Commentaries.

N. B. The Words in Roman Letters denote in ancient Names, and those in Italick the Modern.

A

Carnania, a Region of Epirus, Carnia.

Achaia, sometimes taken for all Greece; but most commonly for a Part of it only, in Peloponnesus, Romania alta.

Acilla, or Acholla, a City of

Africa, unknown.

Actium, a Promontory of Epirus, now called the Cape of Tigalo, famous for a naval Victory gained near it, by Augustus, over M. Antony.

Addua, the Adda, a River that arites in the Alps, and parting the Dutchy of Milan, from the State of Venice, falls into the Po, above Cremona.

Adduaidubis, a River of Burgundy, the Doux. Adriatick Sea, the Gulph of Venice, at the Bottom of which that City is fituate.

Adrumetum, a Town in Africa.

Mahometta.

Ædui, the Autuneis, a People of Gaul, near Autun, in the Country now called Lower Burgundy.

Ægean Sea, the Archipelage, a Part of the Mediterranean, which lies between Greece, Afia Minor, and the Isle of Crete.

Ægimurus, an Island in the Af-

rican Sea, Galetta.

Æginium, a Town of Thef-

faly.

Ægyptus, Egypt, one of the most ancient, tertite, and celebrated Kingdoms in Africa.

Æmilia Via, a Roman Road in Italy, from Rimini to Aquileia, and from Pita to Dertona.

Ætolia,

Etolia, a Country of Greece,

Desporato.

Africa, one of the four great Continents into which the Earth is divided

Agar, a Town in Africa un-

Agendicum, a City of the Senones, Sens.

Alba, a Town of Latium in

Italy, Albano.

Albici, a People of Gaul unknown, some make them the

fame with the Vivarois.

Albis, the Elbe, a large and noble River in Germany, which has its Source in the Giants Mountains in Silefia, on the Confines of Bohemia, and passing through Bohemia, upper and lower Saxony, falls into the North Sea at Rizbuttle, about fixty Miles believed.

Alemanni, a People of ancient Germany, who inhabited between the Maine, the Rhine, and the Danube, and from whom the French still give this Name to all

the Germans.

Alemannia, the Country inhabited by the Alemanni.

Alefia, or Alexia, a Town of

the Mandubians, dife.

Alexandria, a City of Egypt, Scanderia. It was built by Alexander the Great, 330 Years before Christ.

Alifo, by fome supposed to be the Town now called *Ifelburg*; or, according to Junius, Wesel, in the Dutchy of Cleves; but more probably Elsen.

Allobroges, an ancient People of Gallia Trantalpina, who inhabited that Country which is now called Dauphiny, Savey, and

Predmont.

Alps, a Ridge of high Mountains, which separate France and Germany from Italy. That Part of them which separate Dauphiny from Piedmont, had the Name of the Cottian Alps.

Alfatia, a Province of Germany, in the upper Circle of the

Rhine, Aiface.

Amagetobria, a City of Gaul.

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Ambrones, an ancient People, who lived in that Country, which is now called the Canton of Bern, in Switzerland.

Amphilochia, a Region of Epirus, Anfilocha.

Amphipolis, a City of Mace-

donia, Cristopoli, or Embeli.

Amartes, a People of Germany, Walachians, Servians, or Bulgarians.

Anas, a River of Spain, the

Guadiana, or Rio Royaira.

Ancalites, a People of Britain, of the Hundred of Heyley, in Oxfordihire.

Anchiblos

Anchialos, a City of Thrace, near the Euxine Sea, now called Kenkis.

Ancona, a City of Italy, An-

Andes, Angers, in France, the Capital of the Dutchy of Anjou.

Andes a People of Gaul, the ancient habitants of the Dutchy of Anjou.

Andomadunum Lingonum, a large and ancient City of Champagn, at the Source of the River M. Inc., Langres.

Angrivarii, an ancient People of lower Germany, who dwelt between the Ems and the Wefer, below the Lippe.

An ibarii, or Ansivarii, an ancien People of lower Germany, of and about the Town of Ansetaet, or Amslin.

Antioch, Antachia, an ancient and famous City, once the Capital of Syria, or rather of the East: It is fituate on two Rivers, the Orontes and the Phaspar, not far from the Mediterranean.

Apamea, Apami, a City of Bythinia, built by Nicomedes, the Son of Prufias.

Apennine Alps, part of the Alps so called, which run from the other Alps through the Middle of Italy.

Apollonia, a City of Mace-

donia, Piergo.

Aponiana, an Island near the Promonts y of Lilybæum in Sicily.

Appia Via, the Appian Highway, which led from Rome into Campania, and from the Sea to Brundusium.

Apfus, a River of Macedonia, the Afpro.

Apulia, a Region of Italy, la Puglia.

Aquilaria, a Town of Afric

near Clupea.

Aquileia, formerly a famous and confiderable City of Italy, not far from the Adriatick, now little more than a Heap of Ruins, Aqui-legia.

Aquitain, the third Part of an-

enne, Gascony, &c.

Aquitani, the People inhabiting Aquitain.

Arar, or Araris, a River of

Gaul, the Saone.

Arduenna silva, the Forest of Ardenne in France, reaching from the Rhine, to the City of Tournay, in the Low Countries.

Arelate, or Arelatum, a City

of Gaul, Arles.

Argentuaria, the Castle of Hore burg, near the City of Colmar. in

upper Alface.

Argentoratum, Strasburg, a City of Germany, anciently the Capital of the Tribocci, on the Rhine, now the chief City of Alface, belonging to the French.

Argos, a noted City of Peloponnesus, of which Juno was tu-

telar Goddess, Argo.

Ariminum, a City of Italy, Rimini.

Armenia, a Country of Afia, divided into the greater and leffer, and now called Turcomania.

Armorici, the ancient People of Armorica, a Part of Gallia Celtica, now Bretagne.

Arretium, a City of Hetruria

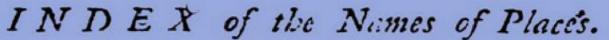
in Italy, Arezo.

Artesia, a Province of the

Spanish Netherlands, Artois.

Arverni, an ancient People of France, on the Loire, whose chief City was Arvernum, now Clermont, the Capital of Auvergne.

Asciburgum, a City of ancient Germany,



Germany, between Vetera and Gelduba. The present. City of Alchaienburg, 'n Franconia, is fo called; but, by the Situation, does not feem to be this.

Asculum, a Town of Italy, Alcoli.

Aicurum, a maritime City of Mauritania, unknown.

Alparagium, a Town in Macedonia, unknown.

Aspavia, a Town in Hispania

Bætica, Elpejo.

Assona, a River of Champagne, in France, which runs into the Oife, near Compeigne, now called the Aifne.

Atta, a Town in Hispania

Batica, Maffa de Afta.

Aita, Ajti, the Capital of the Country of the same Name, on the River Tanaro, in Piedmont.

Aitigi, or Altingi, a People of

Andaluna, in Spain.

Athens, one of the most ancient and noble Cities of Greece, the

Capital of Attica.

Athos, a Mountain in Macedonia, in the Province of Jamboli, which runs into the Ægean Sea, like a Peninfula, and is ninety Miles in compais.

Ategua, a Town in Hispania

Bætica, Tebala Veja.

Atrebates, an ancient People of Gaul, who lived in that Part of the Netherlands, which is now called Artois.

Attica, a Country of Greece, between Achara and Macedonia, famous on account of its Capital, Athens.

Attuarii, a People of ancient "Germany, who inhabited between the Macre and the Rhine, whose Country is now a Part of the Dutchy of Guildres.

Atuatica, the Capital of the Eburones, now Torgres in Brabant.

Atuatici, the Inhabitants of those Parts, the Remains of the Cimbri.

Avaricum, a City of Aquitain,

the Ca Bourge.

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Bounds of the Palatinate, free and Imperial, on the Western Bank of the Rhine.

Augusta Vindelicorum, burg, a famous City of Germany, and a Place of great Trade, a free Imperial City, the Capital of Suabia, on the Lech, not far from the Danube; famous for the Augustan Confession.

Augustodunum, Autun, a very ancient City of Burgundy, on the

River Arroux.

Aulerci Eburovices, a People of Gaul. the Country of Evreux. in Normandy.

Aulerci Brannovices, a I cople

of Gaul, Mericane.

Aulerci Cenomanni a People of Gaul, the Country of Mar y. " "leter

Auterci Diablintes, a People of Faul, le Perche.

Ausci, a People of Gaul, those of Auchs or Aux, in Gascony.

Ausetani, a People of Spain, under the Pyrenæan Mountains.

Auximum, a Town in Italy,

Ofimo or O .10.

Axona a River o. Belgic Gaul,

B

Baceris, a Forest of ancient Cer rany, which parted the Suevi from the Cherusci, by some sup-

red to be the Forests of Thu-

graphy about a third Part of Spair containing Andalusia, and a Part of Granada.

Bætis, a River of Spain, now

'called the Guadalquivir.

Bagandæ, ar ancient People of Gaul, who e revolted from the Romans, and were both times defeated.

Bagrada, a River of Africa,

near Utica; the Megrada.

Baleares Infulæ, several Islands in the Mediterranean Sea, formerly so called, of which Majort and Minorca are the chief.

Bathea, Basil, a City of ancient Germany, now the principal City of all Switzerland, on the Rhine.

Batavi, the ancient Inhabitants

of the Island of Batavia.

Batavia, or Batavorum Infula, Holland, a part of which still re-

tains the Name of Betwee.

Belga, the Inhabitants of Gallia Belgica. The original Belgae were supposed to be of Cerman Extraction; but passing the Rhine, settled themselves in Gaul:

Belgia, Belgium, or Gallia Belgica, the Low Countries, or

Fetherlands.

Bellecassi, or Velocasses, People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of Bayeus in Normandy.

Bellovaci, an ancient renowned People among the Belgæ, inhabiting the Country now called Beauvais in France.

Bergea, a City of Macedonia

now called Veria.

Bessi, a People of Thrace, Bessian.

Bethuria, a Region of Hispania

Lusitanica, Estremadura.

Betones, or Berones, a People of Hispania Tarraconensis, Bi-

Bibracte, a Town of Burgundy, now called Autun, the Capital of the Ædui.

Bibrax, a Town of Rheims,

Braine, or Brefne.

Bibroci, a People of Britain, according to Cambden, the Hundred of Bray, in Berkshire.

Bigerriones, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country now cal-

led Bigorre, in Gascony.

Bithynia, a Country of Asia Minor, adjoining to Treas, overagainst Thrace, Becsangial.

Bituriges, a People of Guienne, in France, of the Country of

Berry.

Bœotia, a Country in Greece; parted from Attica, by Mount Citheron. It had formerly several other Names, and was famous for its Capital, Thebes; but is now called Stramulipa.

Boii, an ancient People of Germany, who passing the Rhine, settled in Gaul, the Bourbonneis.

Borani, an ancient People of Germany, supposed by some to be the same as the Burii.

Bosphorani, a People bordering upon the Euxine Sca, the Tartars.

Bosphorus, two Straits of the Sea, so called; one Bosphorus Thracius.

Thracius, now the Straits of Conmople; the other Bosphorus Cimmerius, now the Straits of Caffa.

Brannovices, the People of

Morienne, in France.

Bratuspantium, a City of Gaul, belonging to the Bellovaci, Beau-

Britannia, Pritain, an Island containing England, Scotland, and Wales.

Brueteri, an ancient People of the Netherlands, in East-Friefland, afterwards called Broeckmoreland.

Brundusium, a City-of Italy, Brindisi.

Brutii, a People of Italy, the Calabrians.

Bucinobantes, an ancient People of Germany, who lived opofite to Menta.

Bulgaria, a Part of the Lower Mœsia, between Mount Hæmus and the Danube.

Bullis, a Town in Macedonia, unknown.

Burii, an ancient People of Germany, who inhabited the Island of Bornbolm.

Bursavolenses, a People of Hispania Bætica, thought to be the same with the Ursaonenses.

Buthrotum, a City of Epirus,

Butrinto, or Botronto.

Byzantium, an ancient City of Thrace, called at several times Ligos, Nova Roma, and now Constantinople.

Byzazyna, a City and Province of Africa, within the Kingdom

of Tunis.

C

Cabillonum, a City of ancient Gaul, Chalons sur Saone.

Cadetes, a People of Gaul, un-known.

Cadurci, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of Quercy.

Cæcinus, a River of I ocris, in

ancient Greece.

Cæresi, a People of Belgic Gaul,

round

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Naples, now came. etre as e :-

Campi Canini, a Place in the Milaneze, in Italy, not far from Belizona.

Campi Catalaunici, supposed to be the large Plain, which begins about two Miles from Chalons sur Marne.

Candavia, a Country of Mace-

donia, Canovia.

Caninefates, an ancient People of the lower Part of Germany, near Batavia, about where Gorckum, on the Ma se, in South Holland, now is.

Cannæ, a poor Village in Apu-

li,

ia, famous only for a great Overthrow of the Romans there by Hannibal.

Canopus, Bochir, a famous City of Egypt, whence the Canopic Branch of the Nile derived its Name.

People f Sp.in, rope 'y of the soving's of Suipi scoa and Biscay

Car in- a Part of Lugland,

the County of Ke

Carafium, a Lity of Apulia in

Ita'g, Canosa.

Capitol, one of the feven Hills and ent Rome, on which the oman: " a famous Fortress, bunded by Tarquinius Priscus, and perfected by Tarquinius Superb s.

Cappadocia, a large Country in Asia Minor, upon the Euxine

Sca.

Caprea, Copreæ, an Island on

the Coast of apania.

Capua, Capca, a City in the Kingdom of Naples, in the Province di Lavoro.

Carales, a City of Sardinia,

Caralitani, the People of Cag-

Liari, in Sardinia.

Carbillo, a City of Spain, near

Cordaba.

Carcaso, a City of Gaul, Car-

Carmona, a Town of Hispania

Bætica, Carmone.

Carni, an ancient People, who inhabited a Part of Noricum, whose Country is yet called Carniola.

Carnutes, an ancient People of France, inhabiting the Territory yet called Chartrain.

Carpi, an ancient People near

the Danube.

Carrucca, a Town in Spain, ancertain.

Carteia, a Town in Spain, Al-

geviau, or Tariffa.

Carthago, once the most famous City of Africa he Rival of
Rome, built by Queen Dido,
about seventy Years after Rome,
according to some; but Justin
will have it built before Rome;
Appian before the Destruction of
Troy; and Vosius before Tyre
itself.

Carthago nova; Carthagena, a City of Murcia, in Spain, built by Afdrubai, General of the Carthaginians.

Cafilinum, a Town in Italy,

Castelluzzo.

Caspian Sea, a vast Lake between Persia, Great Tartary, Muscovy and Georgia, said to be six hundred Miles long and near as broad.

Cassandrea, a City of Mace-

donia, Caffandria.

Cassi, a People of ancient Britain, the Hundred of Caishow, in Hertfordshire.

Castellum Menapiorum, Kessel, a Town in Brabant, or the River Neerse, not far from the Maese.

Castra Posthumiana, a Town in Hispania Bætica, Castro el Rio.

Castra Vetera, an ancient City in Lower Germany, in the Dutchy of Cleves; some say where Santon, others where Byrthen now is.

Castulonensis Saltus, a City of Hispania Tarraconensis, Castona

la Vicja.

Catti, an ancient People of Germany, who inhabited Part of the Country now called Hesse, and Thuringia; from the Mountains of Hartz, to the Weser and the Rhine.

from Atuatici. Some make them the same with the People of Douay, in France.

Caturiges, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of Embrun or Ambrun, alias Charges.

Cebenna Mons, the Mountains of the Cevennes, in Gaul, separating the Helvians from Auverge.

Celeja, a City of Noricum Mediterraneum, now Cilley.

Celetæ, a People of Thrace, about the Mountains of Rhodope and Hæmus.

Celtæ, an ancient People of Gaul, in that Part called Gallia Comata, between the Garumna and Sequana, from whom that Country was likewise called Gallia Celtica.

Celtiberi, an ancient People of Spain, descended from the Celtæ, who settled about the River Ibefus, or Ebro, from whom the Country was called Celtiberia,
now Arragon.

Cenimagni, or Iceni, an ancient People of Britain, inhabiting the Councies & Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdon-Eire.

Cenis Mons, that Part of the Alps which separate: Savoy from Piedmont.

Cenni, an ancient People of Celtic Extraction.

Cenomani, a People of Gallia Celtica, in the Country now called Le Blanforn, next adjoining to that of the Insubres.

of Flunder, about the City of Courtrey, dependent on the Ner-

of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of Tarantaite.

Cerauni Montes, Mountains of Epirus, Monti di Chimera.

Cercina, an Island on the Coast of Africa, Chercara, Cercare.

Cherronesus, a Peninsula of Africa near Alexandria.

Cher infula land, P and Sle,

Cher People tween about Mansfie Brunja

Countr River I in Swi

Chri

Cim ancien habite Cin

near t

or Senga.

Cingulum, a Town of Pice num in Italy, Cingoli.

Cirta, a Town in Africa, Constantina, or Consantina, al. Tado':

Clupea, a maritime Cir of Africa, Quipia.

Cocasates, a People of Gaul, according to some the Bazadois.

Coimbra, an ancient City of Portugal, once destroyed, but now rebuilt, on the Kiver Mendego.

Colchis, a Country in Asia, near Pontus, including the present Mingralia, and Georgia.

Com: na Pontica, a City of Asia Minor, Com, or Tabachzan.

Comana of Cappadocia, Arminacha.

Compfa, a City of Ivaly, Conza. or Confa.

Concording,

Concordia, an ancient City of the Province of Triuli, in Italy, now in Ruins.

Condrust, or C5nes, an ancient People of Belgium, dependent on the Treviri, whose Country is yet called Condrotz,

ini C

ini, Cob-

of Epirus,

i Hispania

belonging St. Pelino,

drich City he Middie into Pelo-

Corneliana Castra, a City of Africa, between Ca. thage and Utica.

Corfica, a rside able Island. in the Media renean Sea, near ardinla; which still retains its ame, and at present belongs to ie Genoese.

Cosanum, a City of Calabria

in Italy, Cassano.

Cremona, an ancient City of Callia Cifalpina, which retains its Name to this Day, and is the Metropolis of the Cremone je in Italy.

Crete, one of the noblest Islands in the Mediterranean Sea, now

called Candia.

Ctefiphon, a Town of Affyria,

over-agaimt Seleucia.

Curiosolitæ, a People of Gaul, inhabiting Carnoualle in Bretagne.

Cyclades, Islands in the Ægean Sea, L' Isole dell' Archipele 50.

Cyprus, an Island in th: Mediterranean Sea, between S ria and Cilicia, Cipro.

Cyrene, an ancient and once a fine City of Africa, situate over-

against Matapan, the most southern

Cape of Morca, Cairean.

Cyzicuso Chizico, formerly one of the largest Cities of Asra Minor, in an Island of the same Name, on the White Sea.

D

Dacia, an ancient Country of Scythia, beyond the Danub, containing Part of Hungary, Tranjylvania, Walachia and Moldavia.

Dalmatia, a Part of Illyricum, now called Eclavonia, lying betwe v Croatia, Bosnia, Servia, and

the Adriatick Gulph.

Danube, the largest River in Europe, which has its rise in Suabia, and after flowing thro' that Country, Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, Servia, Bulgaria, Moldavia, Bessarabia, and part of Tartary, taking in its Course a great Number of noted Rivers, some for fixty, falls into the Black or Euxine Sea, in two Arms.

Dardania, the ancient Name of a Country in upper 1œha, which became afterwards a part of Dacia; Rajcia, and part of Servia.

Decetia, a Town in Gaul,

Decise on the Loire.

Delphi, a City of Achaia, Del-

pho, al Salona.

Delta, a very confiderable Province of Egypt, at the Mouth of the Nile, Errif.

Diablintes, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country

called Le Perche; al. Diableres in Bretagne; al. Lintes of Brabant; al. Lendoul, over-against Britain.

Dubis, a River of Burgundy,

Le Doux.

Duratium, commonly supposed to be a City of Gaui, in the Province of Poitou; but in fact Carsar uses Duratius for the Name of a Nobleman of considerable Rank.

M m

Durge

Durocortorum, a City of Gaul, Rheims.

Dyrrhachium, a City of Macedonia, Durazzo, Drazzi.

E

Eburones, an ancient People of Germany, inhabiting Part of the Country now the Bishoprick of Liege, and the County of Namur.

Eburovices, a People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of Evreux,

in Normandy.

Egypt, one of the most ancient, fertile, and celebrated Kingdoms in Africa.

Elaver, a River of Gaul, the Allier.

Eleutheri, a People of Celtic Gaul, la Rouergue.

Elis, a City of Peloponnesus,

Belvidere.

Elusates, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of Euse, in Gascony.

Ephesus, an ancient and celebrated City of Asia Minor, Efeso.

Epidaurus, a maritime City of

Dalmatia, Ragufa.

Epirus, a Country in Greece, between Macedonia, Achaia, and the Ionian Sea, by some now called Albania inferior.

Essui, a People of Gaul, those of Secz, but the Word seems rather a corruption from Ædui.

Eusubii, corrupted from Unelli or Lexovii, properly the People of Lisieux, in Normandy.

F

Fanum, a City of Umbria in

Italy, Fano.

Fesole, an ancient City of Italy, in the Dutchy of Florence, anciently one of the twelve considerable Cities of Hetruria. Finni, an ancient People of Prussia.

Fla easters called out o North For

bria, yet ca

cient .

by C. the C Sea in

lia Na Morte Fre

Italy, Fri of Fr

Gaul, mnaumy and country or Givandan.

Gades, Cadiz, an ancient an confiderable City of Spain.

Gaditani, the People of Gades,

or Cadiz, in Spain.

Galatia, a Country of Asia Minor, lying between Cappad tia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia; now called Chiangare.

Galli, the People of ancient

Gaul, now the French.

Gallia, the ancient and renowned. Country of Gaul, now France, it was divided by the Romans into,

Gallia Cifalpina, Tonfa, or Togata, now Lombardy, between the Alps a. d the River Rubicon: And

Gall a Transalpina, or Comata, comprehending France, Holland, the Netherlands, and farther subdivided into,

Galli u'

Gallia Belgica, now a Part of Loaver Germany, and the Nether-lands, with Picardy; civided by Augustus, into Belgica and Germania; and the latter into prima

ivided by Aunenfis, and Ro-

Augustus, into d tertia. And fis, or Bracca-Dauphiny, and

once a Kingending old Ca-

ftie, but now a Part of the King-dom of Leon.

Gallogræcia, a Country of Asia Minor, the same as Galetia.

Garites, Leople of Gaul, inhabiting Country now called Gaure, or Favardan.

Garoceli, or Graioc ii, an ancient People of Gaul, about Mount Cenis, or Mount Genewre; others place them in the Val de Morienne.

Garumna, the Garonne, one of the largest Rivers of France, which rising in the Pyrenees, slows thro' Guienne, forms the vast Bay of Garonne, and falls, by two Mouths, into the British Seas.

Garumni, an ancient People of Gaul, in the Neighbourhood of the Garonne.

Gebenna Mons, the Mountains of the Cevennes, which separated the Helvians from the Arverni.

Geldura, a Fortress of the Ubii, on the Rhine, not improbably the present Village of Gelb, on that River, eleven German Miles from Neus.

Genabum, Orleans, an ancient Town in Gaul, famous for the

Massacre of the Roman Citizen committed there by the C nutes.

Geneva, a City of Savoy, row a free Republick the Borders of Helvetia, at the going out of the Rhone from the Lake Lemanus, anciently a City of the Allobroges.

Gunufus, a River of Macedo-

nia, uncertain:

Gepida:, or Gepidi, an ancient northern People, supposed to have dwelt about the Mouth of the Vistala.

Gergovia, the Name of two Cities in ancient Gaul, the one belonging to the Boii, the other to the Arverni. Their situation is not certainly known.

Germania, Germany, one of the largest Countries of Europe, and the Mother of those Nations willch, in the Fall of the Roman Empire, conquered all the rest.

Gesatæ, a kind of Militie amara

the ancient Germans.

Getæ, an ancient People of Scythia, who inhabited betwixt Mæsia and Dacia, on each Side of the Danube. Some think their Country the same with the present Wallackia, or Moldavia.

Getulia, a Province of the Kingdom of Morocco, in Barbary.

Gomphi, a Town in Theffaly,

Gonfi.

Gorduni, a People of Belgium, the ancient Inhabitants of Ghent according to others, of Courtray.

Gotini, an ancient People of Germany, who were driven out of their Country by Marobouuus.

Græcia, Griece, a large Part of Europe, called by the Tunks Remelio, containing many Countries. Province, and Islands, once the Nursery of Arts, Learning, and Sciences.

Graioceli, the ancient Inhabi-M 12 2 tants

tan is of Mount Cenis, see Garoceli.

about Levelin, or, according to fome, about P. ges.

Gugern, a People of ancient Germany who dwelt on the right Banks of the Rhine, between the Ubii and the Batavi.

Guttones, or Gythones, an ancient People of Germany inhabiting about the Vistula.

H

Hæmus, a Mountain dividing Mæfia and Thrace, Argentaro.

Haliacmon, a River of Macedonia, uncertain.

Harades, or Haradi, a People of Gallia Celtica, supposed to have been originally Germans; and by some to have inhabited about Constance.

Heliespont, Straits of Gallipoli, the famous straits by Constantinople dividing Europe from Asia, between Propontis, and the Ægean Sea.

Helvetia, Switzerland, now divided into therteen Cantons.

Helvetii, the Switzers, ancient Inhabitants of the Country of Switzerland.

Helvii, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country now possessed by the Vivarcis.

Heraclea, a City of Thrace, on the Euxine Sea, Pantiro.

Heraclea Sentica, a Town in

Macedonia, Chefia.

Forest, the largest Forest of ancient Germany, being reckoned by Cæsar to have been sixty Days Journey in length, and nine in breadth. Many Parts, of it have been since cut down, and many are yet remaining; of which, among others, is that called the Black Forest.

Hermanduri, an ap of Germany, parti Country now call per Saxony; much larger cording to

Hermir of Lufita cording Strella.

Heruli
People, v
davia b
the Coun
burg in le
Baltick.

Hibera able Islan Britain.

Hippo Province Kingdon apon the Hispa

Bætica, Seville.

Hispania, Spain, one of the most considerable Kingdoms in Europe, divided by the Ancients into Tarraconensis, Bætica, and Lusitania.

Hyrcania, a Country of Asia, bordering on the Caspian Sea, Tabaristan, Gorgian.

1

Jacetani, or Lacetani, a People of Spain, near the Pyrenæan Mountains.

Jadertini, a People so called, from their capital Jadera, a City of Illyricum, Zara.

Jazygæ, or Jazyges, a People of Sarmae a Europea, inhabiting about the Countr'es now called Livoqia and Pruffia.

Iberu:, a River of Hispania

Tarraconenfis, the Elro.

Iccius, or Itius Portus, a Sca-

port-Town of ancient Gaul; Boulogne, or, according to others, Calais.

Igilium, an Island in the Tufcan Sca, il Giglio, L' Isle du Lys.

Iguvium, a City of Ombria in

Italy, Guhin.

Spain now calle! Lerida, on the

Hispania Tor Conensis, near the

iberus.

Illyricum. formerly the Count vbrtweer Pannonia to the North, and the Adriatic Sea to the South, divided into Liburnia and Dalmatia. It is now chiefly comprehented under Dalmatia and Sclawonia, and bordered by Pannonia, Idria, Macedonia, and the Adriatic Gulph; almost wholly under the respective Dominion of the Venetians a take Turks.

Illurgis Town of Hi pania

Bærica, Ille. a:

Insubria, a Country of Gallia Cisalpina, now the Dutchies of Milau, Mantua, Brescia.

Ionia, a Country of Asia Minor, anciently inhabited by a Colony from Greece, Sarchan.

Issa, an Island of the Adriatic

Sea, Lissa.

Ister, that Part of the Danube

which passed by Illyricum.

Istria, a Country now in Italy, under the Venetians, bordering on Illyricum, so called from the River Ister.

Istropolis, a City of lower Mœfia, near the South Entrance of

the Danube, Prostraviza.

Isara, the *Isere*, a River of France, which arises in Savoy, and falls into the Rhone above Valence.

of Asia Minor, now a Part of Ca-

rammi and subject to the Turks.

Itelia, Italy, one of the most famous Countries in Europe, once the Seat of the Pon ar Empire, now under several Princes, and free Commonwealths.

Italica, a City of Hispania Bætica, Sevila la Veja; according to

others, Acala del Rio.

Ituræa, a Country of Paleiline,

Bacar.

Jura, a Mountain in Gallia Belgica, which separated the Sequani from the Helvetians, most of which is now called Mount St. Claude.

Juvavia, formerly the Capital of Noricum Mediterraneum. now Saltzburg.

L

Lacetani, a People of Spain,

near the Pyrenaun Hills.

Lacus Benacus, Lago di Guardo, a Lake now belonging to the Venetians, between Verena, Brescia, and Trent.

Larinates, the People of Larinum, a City of Italy, Larino.

Larissa, the principal City of Thessaly, a Province of Maccdonia, on the River Peneo.

Latini, the Inhabitants of Latium, an ancient Part of Italy, whence the Latin Tongue is so called.

Latobriges, a People of Gallia Belgica, between the Allobroges and Helvetii, in the Country now

called Lausane.

Lazi, an ancient People of Sarmatia Europea, according to tom; on the Banks of the Palus Maotis; but, according to others, to wards the Catpia Porta, near the Iberi.

on which Geneva itands, made by the River Rhone, because M m 3

Savoy a the South, c rangaly called the Lake of Geneva.

Lemnos and unnd in the Æg; an

Sea, new caffed Scalinane.

Lemovices, an ancient People of Gaul, le Limofin.

I provices Americi, the People of St. Poul de Leon.

Lenium, a Town in Lusitania, unknown.

Lepontii, a People of the Alps, near the Valley of Leventina.

Leptis, a Town in Africa, Le-

beda, or Lajeda.

Levaci, a People of Brabant, not far from Louvain, whose chief Town is now called Lecav.

Leuci, a People of Gal.ia Belgica, where now Lorrain is, well skilled in darting. Their chief City is now called Toul.

Lexovii, an ancient People of

Gaul, Lifieux in Normandy.

Liburni, an ancient People of Illyricum, inhabiting Part of the present Creatio.

Ligeris, the Loire, one of the greatest and most celebrated Rivers of France, said to take one hundred and twelve Rivers in its Course; it rises in Velay, and falls into the Bay of Aquitain, below Natz.

Liguria, a Part of ancient Italy, extending from the Appendings to the Tustan Sea, containing Ferrara, and the Territories of Genoa.

Lilybeum, the most western Promontory of the Island of Sicily, where slood a City of the same Name, now Care base.

Limo, or Limomum, a City of

ancient Gaul, Poiturs.

Lingoner, a Perple of Gallia Belgica, inhabiting in and about Langres, in Champagne.

Liffin, an ancient City of Ma-

cedonia, Alafo.

Lucani, an ancient People of Italy, inhabiting the Country now called Basilicate.

Luceria, an ancient City of Ita-

ly, Luc. ra.

Lusitania, P on the West of Part of it.

Latetia, Pan farnous City, France, on th

Afia Minor, for the famous Cr last King of it

Lygii, an an per Germany, Country now c

the Borders of a council.

M

Macedonia, a large Country, of great Artiquity and Fame, in Greece, containing several Province now under the Turks.

Mæotis Palus, a yast Lake in the North Part of Scythia, i.ow called Marbianco, or Mare della Tana. It is about six hundred Miles in Compass, and the River Tanais disembogues itself into it.

Magetobria, or Amagetobria, a

City o Gaul, uncertain,

Malaca, a City of Hispania Bætica. Malaga.

Mandubii, an ancient People of Gaul; l' duxois, in Burgundy.

Marcomanni, a Nation of the Suevi, whom Cluverius places between the Rhine, the Danube, and the Neckar; who fettled, however, under Morobodius, in Bobemia and Moravia.

Marruel ni, an ancient People of Italy, inha siting the Country now

cailed Abrazza.

Marsi, an ancient People of Italy, inhabiting the Country now called Bucate de Marsi.

Mafiilia.

Massilia, Marseilles, a large and shourishing City of Provence, in France, on the Mediterranean; said to be very ancient, and, according to some, built by the Phænicians; but, as Justin will have it, by the Phocians, in the time of Tarquinius. Kin of Come.

Natisco an ancient City of

Ga I, Majcor.

Marne, a River in Gaul, the

Mauritania, Borbary, an ancient large Region of Africa, diviinto Cæfariensis, Tingitatana,

and Sitorenfis.

Mazaca, a City of Cappadocia,

T. Jaria.

Mediomatrices, a People of Lorrain, on the Mosel, about the

City of Metz.

Mediterranear Sea, the first discovered Sea in the World, still very famous, and much frequented, which breaks in from the Atlanic Ocean, between Spain and Africa, by the Straits of Gibraltar, or Hercules' Pillars, the ne plus ultra of the Ancients.

Medobrega, a City of Lusita-

nia, Armenna.

Meldæ, according to some the People of Meaux; but more probably corrupted from Belgæ.

Melodunum, an ancient Gity of Gaul, upon the Seine, above Paris,

Melun.

Menapii, an ancient People of Ga!lia Belgica, who inhabited on both Sides of the Rhine. Some take them for the Inhabitants of Cleves; and others of Antwerp, Ghent, &c.

Mesopotamia, a la ge Country in the Middle of A.ia, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, Diarbeck.

brated City of Sicily, still known by the Name of McJina.

Metaurus, a River of Umbria, now colled Metoro, in the Dutchy of Urbino.

Metiosedum, an micient City of Gaul on the Seine, below Paris, Corbeil.

Metropolis, a City of Thessaly, between Pharsalus and Gomphi.

Mitylene, a City of Lesbos, Metelin.

Mæsia, a Country of Europe, and a Province of the ancient Illy-ricum, bordering on Pannonia, divided into the Upper, containing Bosnia and Servia, and the Lower, called Bulgaria.

Mona, in Cæsar, the Isle of

Man; in Ptolemy, Anglejey.

Morini, an ancient People of the Low Countries, who probably inhabited on the present Coast of Bologne, on the Confines of Picardy and Artois, because Cæsar observes, that from their Country was the nearest Passage to Britain.

Mosa, the Maese, or Meuse, a large River of Gallia Belgica, which falls into the German Ocean

below the Briel.

Mosella, the Moselle, a River which running through Lorrain, passes by Triers, and falls into the Rhine at Coblentz, famous for the Vines growing in the Neighbourhood of it.

Munda, an ancient City of Spain, Munda; al. Ronda la Veja.

Mursa, a Town and Castle, in Sclavonia, at the Conflux of the Draw and Danube, now called Esseek, famous for a Bridge three Miles over.

Mysia, a Country of Asia Minor, not far from the Hellespont, divided into Major and Minor.

N

Nabathæi, an ancient People of Arabia, uncertain.

M m 4 Nannetes

Nannetes, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about Nan es.

Nantuates, an ancient Deople of the North Part of Savoy, whole Country is now called Le Chatlais.

Narbo, Rarbonne, an ancient Roman City, in Languedoc, in France, faid to be built an hundred and thirty-eight Years before the Birth of Christ.

Narisci, the ancient People of the Country now call d Nortgow, in Germany, the Capital of which is the famous City of Nuremburg.

Naupactus, an ancient and confiderable City of Atolia, now called Lepanto.

Neapolis, a City of Italy, which fill retains the Name of Nuples.

Neapolis, a City of Arrica, between Clupea and Adrametum, now called Napoli.

Nemetes, a People of ancient German,, about the City of spire, on the Rhine.

Nemetocesna, a Town of Bed-. gium, notcertainly known; according to iome, Arras.

Neocælarea, the Capital of Pontus, on the River Licus, now called Tocat.

Nervii, an ancient People of Gullia Belgica, thought to have dwelt in the now Diocese of Cambray.

Nessus, or Nestus, a River in

Thrace, Nefto.

Nicæa, a City of Bithynia, now called Unick, famous for the first general Council, Anno 324, against Arianitm.

Nicomedia, a City of Bithynia, where Constantine the Great died,

Comidia.

Nicopolis, a City of Armenia the less, Gianich; likewise of Bulgaria, at the Confluence of the Isacar and the Danube, commonly called Nigeboli.

INDEX of the Names of Places. Nilus, the Nile, a River of Egypt, famous for its annual Overnow.

> Nitiobriges, an afficient People of Gaul, I Joenois.

Noreiz, a the Horcers of Illyricum, Eine ALTABLEO Miles from A

of the Noricæ Al Alps, which mular or ing upon Nation.

·· Noricum, netente Country, now containing invend, as a great Par of Buttera, Street, Carinthia, Put or Tires, Rose ria, Co. and extract the two cum Mediterraneum, 200 Papenfe

Noviodunum Ecigarum, an ancient City of Beign Gand, how

called Noyon.

Noviodunum Biturigum, Neuwy or Neufwy.

Novioduni

WAYS.

Povioduni e wanum, or

Sons, al. Noi

Noviomag. 11, april. 21 . C. ent City of Garmany, upper Circle to the internation that River.

Numantia ancient Spai. lant Relistar mans, in :. Years; Alme

Numidia,

brated Kingdom of Africa, bordering on Mauritania; Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Sc.

Numicus, the Numico, a River

of ancient Latium in Italy.

Nymphæum, a Promontory of Macedonia, in the Confines of Sclavonia

O

Obucula, a Town in Hispania Bætica, uncertain.

Ocelum,

Ocelum, a Town situated among the Alps in Gaul, Exilles.

Octodurus, a Town belonging to the Véragians, Martinae.

Octogesa, a City of Hispania Tarraconensis, Mequinenza.

Orchomenus, a Town in Bœo-

tia, Orcornene.

Cricura, a Town in Epirus,

Or o, or Orc'a.

ofcenses, the People of Osca, a Town in Hispania Tarracononfis, now Huescar.

Osssmii, an ancient People of

Goul, uncertain.

P

Padus, the Po, the largest River in Italy, which arises in Piedmont, and dividing Lombardy into two Parts, falls into the Adriatick Sea, by many Mouths.

Pæmani, an ancient People of Gallia Belgica; according to fome, those of Luxer jurg; acording to others, the People of Pemont, near the Black Forest.

Palæste, a Town in Epirus.

near Cricum

Pannonia, a very large Country, in the ancient Division of Europe, divided into the Upper and Lower, and c mprchended betwixt Illyricum, the Danube, and the Mountains Cethi.

Parada, a Town in Airica, not

far from Utica.

Paretonium, a maritime City

of Africa, Alberton.

Parisi, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country now called the Isle of France.

Parthia, a Country in Afia, lying between Media Caramania, and the Hircanian Sca.

Parthini, "a People of Mace-

donia

Peligni, a People of-Italy in Apruzzo.

Peloponnesus, the Morea, a fi mous, large and fruit. of Penin-sula of Greece, now belonging to the Venetians.

Pelusium, an ancient and celebrated City of Egypt, Belbais.

Pergamus, an ancient and famous City of Mysia, Pergamo.

Perinthus, a City of Thrace, about a Day's Journey West of Constintinople, now in a decaying Condition, and called Heraclea.

Persia, one of the largest, most ancient, and celebrate! King-doms of Asia. It anciently contained many Countries, and now many Provinces.

Petra, an ancient City of Ma-

cedonia, uncertain.

Petrogorii, a Country in Gaul,

Perigord.

Peucini, the Inhabitants of the Island of Peuce, in one of the Mouths of the Danube.

Pharsalia, a Pan of Thessaly, famous for the Battle between Cz-far and Pompey, which decided the Fate of the Roman Common-wealth.

Pharus, an Isle facing the Port of Alexandria in ancient Egypt; Farion.

Phasis, a large River in Colchis, now called Fasse, which slows into the Euxine Sea.

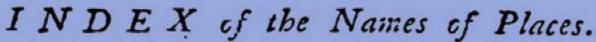
Philippi, a City of Macedonia, on the Confines of Thrace, Fi-lippo.

Philippopolis, a City of Thrace, near the River Hebrus, Filip-popoli.

Phrygia, two Countries in Afia Minor, one called Major, -the other Minor.

Picenum, an ancient District of Italy, lying Eastward of Umbria; the Murch of Ancona, according to others Pijcara.

Picti,



Picti Pies, an ancient harbarous northern People, who by Intermarriages became, in couse of Time, one Nation with the Scots; but are originally supposed to have come out of Denmark or Scythia, to the Isles of Orkney, and from thence into Scotland.

Pictones, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country of

Poitou.

Pirustæ, an ancient People of Illyricum, Albanesi.

Pisaurum, a City of Umbria in

Italy, Pifaro.

Placentia, an ancient City of Gallia Cifalpina, near the Po, now the Metropolis of the Dutchy of Piacenza, which Name it also bears.

Pleumosii, an ancient People of.
Gallia Belgica, subject to the
Nervians, and inhabiting near
Tournay.

Polentia, ancient City near the Alps, though the learned disagree as to the particular Situation

of it.

Pontus, an ancient Kingdom of Asia Minor, between Bithynia and Paphlagonia upon the Euxine Sea.

Pontus Euxinus, the Euxine, or Black Sea, from the Ægean along the Hellespont, to the Mæotic Lake, between Europe and Afia.

Posthumiana Castra, an ancient Town in Hispania Bætica, now called Castro el Rio.

Præciani, an ancient People of

Gaul, Precins.

Provincia Romana, or Romanarum, one of the southern Provinces of France, the sirst the Romans conquered and brought into the Form of a Province, whence it obtained its Name; which it still in some Degree re-

tains, being called at this Day Provence.

Prusa or Prusas, Bursa, a City of Bithynia, at the Foot of Olympus, built by r.

Ptolemais, at Africa, S. Jea

Pyrenæi Mon or Pyrenæan I the largest Ch in Europe, wh from France, r to West eight length.

Ravenna, a
of Italy, near the Coast of the
Adriatick Gulph, which still retains its ancient Name. In the
Decline of the Roman Empire, it
was sometime
perors of the
likewise, of
Kingdon.,

Rauraci, a Germany, ne who innabited Switzerland no

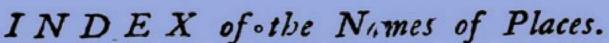
Rhedones, a Gaul, inhabiti Bretagne.

Rhætia, the Grijons, on the Hercynian For

Rhemi, the People of Rheims, a very ancient, fine, and populous City of France, in the Province of Champagne, on the River Vesle.

Rhenus, the Rhine, a great and famous River in Germany, which formerly divided it from Gaul. It sp ingsout of the Rhætian Alps, in the western Borders of Switzerland, and the northern of the Gritons, from two Sprin which unite near Coire, and fams

inte



into the Maese and the German Ocean, by two Mouths, whence Virgil calls it Rhenus bicornis.

Rhodan's, the Rhone, one of the most celebrated Rivers of France, which arises from a double Spring in Mont de la Fourchee, a Part of the Alps, on the Borders of Switzerland, near the Springs of the Rhine, and after a vast Circuit through France, falls into the Mediterranean, by five Moutns.

Rhodope, a famous Mountain of Thrace, now called Valiza.

Rhodus, Rhodes, a celebrated island in the Mediterranean, upon the Coast of Asia Minor, overagainst Caria.

Rhyndagus, a River of Mysia in Asia, which falls into the Pro-

pontis.

Roma, Rome, once the Seat of the Roman Empire, and the Capital of the then known World, now the immediate Capital of Camagna di Roma only, on the River Tiber, and the Papal Seat; enerally supposed to have been built by Romulus, in the first Year of the seventh Olympiad.

Roxclani, a People of Scythia Europæa, bordering upon the Alani: Their Country, anciently called Roxolania, is now Red Rusia, belonging to the Crown

of Poland.

Ruspina, an ancient maritime

City of Africa, Soufe.

Rutheni, an ancient People of Gaul, la Rouergue.

S

Sabis, the Sambre, a River of the Low Countries, which arises in Picardy, and falls into the Maese at Namur.

Sag intini, the People of Sagunm, a noble City of ancient Spain, th Memory of which is recorded with Honour, for the Fidelity fir wn to its Allies the Romans, Mirvedre.

Salassii, an ancient People of Riedmont, whose chief Town was where now Aosta is situate.

Salluvii, Sallyes, a People of Gallia Narbonensis, about where Aix now is.

Salona, an ancient City of Dalmatia, and a Roman Colony; the Place where Dioclesian was born, and whither he retreated, after he had resigned the Imperial Dignity.

Salfum, a River of Hispania Beetica, Rio Salado, or Guadajos.

Samarobriva, Amiens, an ancient City of Gallia Belgica, enlarged and beautified by the Emperor Antoninus Pius, now chechief City of Picardy, on the River Somme.

Santones, the ancient Inhabitants of Guienne or Xantoigne.

Sardinia, a great Island in the Mediterranean, which in the Time of the Romans had forty two Cities, now belonging to the Duke of Savoy, with the Title of King.

Sarmatia, a very large northern Country, divided into Sarmatia Afiatica, containing Tartary, Petigera, Circassia, and the Country of the Morduitæ: And Sarmatia Europæa, containing Russia, Part of Poland, Prussia, and Liebuania.

Sartura, a Town in Africa, unknown.

Savus, the Save, a large River, which arises in upper Carnisla, and falls into the Danube at Belgrade.

Scaldis, the Scheld, a noted River in the Low Countries, which arises in Picardy, and wathing fe-

veral

cal of the principal Cities of and and Brabant, in its Course, falls into the Germin Ocean by two Mouths, one 12-taining its own Name, and the other called the Honte.

Scandavia, anciently a vast northern Peninsula, containing what is yet called Schonen, anciently Scania, belonging to Denmark; and Part of Sweden, Norway and

Lapland.

Scythia, a large Country, properly Crim-Tartary; but in Hiflory and Geography, greatly extended, and particularly divided into Scythia Afiatica, on either fide of Mount Imaus: And Scythia Europæa, about the Euxine Sea, and the Mæotic Lake.

Seduni, an ancient People of

Switzerland, Sion.

Sedusii, an ancient People of Germany, on the Borders of Suabia

Segni, an ancient German Nation, Neighbours of the Condruss, Zulpich.

Segontiaci, a People of ancient Britain, inhabiting about Holfhot, in Hampshire.

Segovia, a City of Hispania

Bætica, Sagovia la menes.

Segusiani, a People of Gallia Celtica, about where now Lionois Forest is situate.

Senones, an ancient Nation of the Celtæ, inhabiting about the

Senonois, in Gaul.

Sequana, the Seine, one of the principal Rivers of France, arising in the Dutchy of Burgundy, not far from a Town or the same Name, and running through Paris, and by Roan, forms at Candebec a great Arm of the Sea.

Sequani, an ancient People of Gallia Belgica, inhabiting the Country now called the Franche Comté or the Upper Burgandy.

Sesuvii, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about Seez.

Sibutzates, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting the Country

of Buck.

Sicilia, Sicily, a large Island in the tyrrhene Sea, at the fouthwest Point of Italy, formerly called the Store-house of the Roman Empire, and the first Province the-Romans possessed out of Italy.

Sicoris, a River in Catalonia,

the Segre.

Sigambri, of Sicambri, an ancient People of Lower Germany, between the Maese and the Rhine, where Guelderland is; though by some placed on the Banks of the Maine.

Silicenfis, a River of Hispania Bætica, Rio de las Algamidas. Others think it a Corruption from

Singuli.

Sinuesia, a C not far from the Roman Colony, Condition; Rai

Spain, unknow

Spain, unknow

Sotiates, or le ent People of the Country abo

Sparta, a Cinow called Min fo ancient as the triarch Jacob.

Spoletum, Spoleto, a City of great Antiquity, of Umbria, in Italy, the Capital of a Dutchy of the same Name, on the River Tesino, where are yet some stately Ruins of ancient Roman and Gothick Edifices.

Sueffiones, an ancient People of

Gaul, le Soifonnois.

Suevi, an arcient, great and warlike People of Germany, wh possessed

possessed the greatest Part of it, from the Rhine to the Elbe, but afterwards removed from the northern Parts and settled about the Danube, and some marched into Spain, where they established a Kingdom.

Sulcitani, an ancient People of

Sardinia, unknown.

Sulmo, an ancient City of Italy, Sulmona.

Sunici, an ancient People of the Dutchy of Limburg, where there is yet a Place called Sunich, a Name probably borrowed from them.

Syracusæ, Saragusa, once one of the noblest Cities of Sicily, said to be built by Archias, a Corinthian, above seven hundred Years before Christ. The Romans besieged and took it during the second Punic War, on which Occasion the great Archimedes was killed. It has been so entirely destroyed, that it has no Remains to shew of its Antiquity.

Syria, a large Country of Asia, containing several Provinces, now

called Souristan.

Syrtes, the Defarts of Earbary; also two dangerous fandy Gulphs, in the Mediterranean, upon the Coast of Barbary, in Africa, called the one Syrtis magna, now the Gulph of Sidra, the other Syrtis parva, now the Gulph of Capes.

T

Tamesis, the Thames, a celebrated and well known River of Great Britain.

Tanais, the Don, a very large River in Scythia, dividing Afia from Europe. It rifes in the Province of Resan, in Muscovy, and flowing through the Crim-Tartay, runs into the Mæotick-Lake, ne r a City of the same Name no in Ruins, and in the Hands of the Turks.

Gaul, near the Pyrenees, inhabiting about Ays and Bayonne, in the Country of Labourd.

Tarracina, an ancient Gity of Italy, which still retains the same

Name.

Tarraco, Tarragona, a City of Spain, which in ancient time, gave Name to that Part of it called Hispania Tarraconensis; by some said to be built by the Scipios, though others say before the Roman Conquest, and that they only enlarged it. It stands on the Mouth of the River Tulcis, now el Fracoli, with a small Haven on the Mediterranean.

Tarsus, Tarso, the Metropolis of Cilicia, famous for being the

Birth-Place of St. Paul.

Tarusates, an ancient People of Gaul, uncertain; according to some, le Teursan.

Tauris, an Island in the Adri-

atick Sca, unknown

Taurois, the Name of a Castle

near Marieilles.

Taurus Mons, the greatest Mountain in all Asia, extending from the Indian to the Egean Sea, called by different Names in different Countries, viz. Imaus, Caucasus, Caspius, Cerausius, and in Scripture, Ararat. Herbert says it is sifty English Miles over, and sifteen hundred long.

Tectofages, see Volcæ.

Tegea, a City of Africa, unknown.

Tenchtheri, a People of ancient Germany, bordering on the

Rhine, near Overvfel.

Tergestini, an ancient People inhabiting about Trieste, in the Confines of Istria and the Carni.

I cini,

Ĭ

Terni, an ancient Roman Co-Iony, on the River Nare, twe ve

Mile from Spoletum.

Teutones, or Teutoni, an ancient People bordering on the Cimbri, the common ancient Name for all the Germans, whence they yet call themselves Teutiche, and their Country Teutschland.

Thabena, a City of Africa, un-

known.

Thapfus, a maritime City of

Africa, uncertain.

Thebæ, a City of Bæotia, in Greece, said to have been built by Cadmus, destroyed by Alexander the Great, but rebuilt, and now known by the Name of Stives.

Thermopylæ, a famous Pass on the great Mountain Oeta, leading into Phocis, in Achaia, now called.

Bocca di Lupo.

Thessaly, a Country of Greece, formerly a great Part of Macedonia, now called Janna.

Thessalonica, the chief City of Macedonia, now called Salonichi.

Thracia, a large Country of Europe, eastward from Macedonia, commonly called Romania, bounded by the Euxine and Ægean Seas.

Thurii, or Turii, an ancient People of Italy, Torre Bredogneto.

Tigurinus Pagus, a Nation of the Helvetians, the ancient Inhabitants of the Canton of Zurich, in Switzerland.

Tistira, er Tistirus, an ancient

City of Africa, Caircan.

Tolora, Thoulouge, a City of Aquitain, of great Antiquity, the Capital of Languedoc, on the Garonne.

Toxandri, an ancient People of the Low Countrie, about Breda, and Gertruydenburg; but according to some of the D.ocete of Luge. Tralles, an ancient People of Lydia in Asia Minor, Chora.

Treviri, the People of Treves, or Triers, a very neight City of Lower Germany, on the Moselle, said to have been built by Trebetas, the Brother of Ninus. It was made a Romar Colony in the time of Augustus, and became afterwards the most famous City of Gallia Belgica. It was for some time the Seat of the western Empire, but it is now only the Seat of the Ecclesiastical Elector named from it.

Tribocci, or Triboces, a People of ancient Germany, inhabiting the Country of Aljace.

Trinobantes, a People of ancient Britain, Inhabitants of the Counties of Middlesex, and Hert-fordsbire.

Troja. Troy, City of Phrygia,

in Asia Minor, destroyed by t ten Years Siego

Tubantes, a Germany, abo

Tugium, a Helvetia, or called Zug.

Tulingi, an Germany, wh where now St. land is.

habiting about where rongers, ...

Liege, now is.

Turches an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about Tours.

Tuscia, Tuscany, a very large and considerable Region of Italy, anciently called Tyrrhenia, and Etruria.

Tyber, one of the most noted, tho' not largest Rivers of Italy which arises in one of the Appennines, and, among othe Places, pass g

passing thro' Rome, falls into the Tyrrhenian S:a at Offia.

Tygris, a rapid River of Asia, which, in its Course, unites with

the Euph. ates.

Tyrus, Tyre, an ancient City of Phænicia, upon the Mediterranean, famous for its 'Frassick and Riches

V

Vacca, a Town in Africa, un-

Vahalis, the Waal, the middle Branch of the Rhine, which, paffing by Nimeguen, falls into the

Maeie, above Gorcum.

Valencia, a City of Spain, which gives Name to a whole Kingdom, about a Mile from the Mediterranean, supposed to be built by Junius Brutus.

Valentia, alence, a City of Gallia Nachonensis, now in Dauphiny, on the Rivers Rhone and

Here.

Varus, the Var, a River in Gaul, that flows into the Ligurian Sea.

Ubii, an ancient People of Lower Germany, who inhabited about where Cologn, and the Dutchy of Juliers now are.

Ucubis, a Town in Hispania

Bætica, Lucubi.

Velauni, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about Velai.

Vellaunodunum, a Town in Gaul, about which Geographers are much divided; some making it Auxerre, others Chasteau Landon, others Villeneuve in Lorrain, others, Veron.

Velccasses, an ancient People of Niemandy, about Rouan.

Veneti, this Name was anciently given as well to the Venetiass, as to the People of Vannes, is Bretagne, in Gaul, for which last it stands in Cæsar.

Venetiæ, Venice, a noble City of Italy, built upon fixty Islands, joined together by five hundred Bridges, at the Top of the Adriatic Gulph, the Cap tal of a powerful Commonwealth.

Ventisponte, a Town in Spain,

unknown.

Veragri, a People of Gallia Lugdunensis, whose chief Town was Aguanum, now St. Maurice.

Verbigenus, or Urbigenus Pagus, a Nation or Canton of the Helvetians, inhabiting the Country in the Neighbourhood of Orbe.

Vercelli Campi, the Plains of Vercellæ, famous for a Victory the Romans obtained there over the Cimbri. The City of that Name is in Piedmont, on the River Sesia, on the Borders of the Dutchy of Milan.

Veromandui, a People of Ga.lia Belgica, whose Country, now 2. Part of Picardy, is still called Ver-

mandois.

Verona, a City of Lombardy, the Capital of a Province of the fame Name, on the River Adige, faid to be built by the Gauls two hundred and eighty-two Year, before Christ. It has yet several Remains of Antiquity.

vefontio, Bijançon, the Capital of the Sequani, now the chief

City of Burgundy.

Vettones, a People of Spain, inhabiting the Province of Edra-madara.

Vibo, a Town in Italy, not far from the Sicilian Straits, B.A. v.a.

Vienna, a City of Narbonete Gaul. Vienne in Dauphing.

Vir lelier, an ancient People of

Germane,

Germany, Inhabitants of the Country of Vindelicia, otherwise calle Letia secunda.

Vistula, the Weichsel, a famou liver of Poland, which arises in the Carpathian Mountains, in Upper Silesia, and falls into the Baltick, not far from Dantzic, by three Mouths.

Visurgis, the Weser, a River of Lower Germany, which arises in Franconia, and, among other Maces of Note, passing by Bremen, salls into the German Ocean, not far from the Mouth of the Elbe, between that and the Ems.

Ulla, or Ulia, a Town in Hispania Bætica, in regard to whose Situation Geographers are not agreed; some making it Monte major, other;, Vaena, others, Vilia.

Umbria, a large Country of Italy, on both Sides of the Appennines.

Unelli, an ancient People of Gaul, uncertain.

Vocates a People

Vocates, a People of Gaul, on the Confines of the Lapurdenses.

Vocontii, an ancient People of Gaul, inhabiting about Die, in Dauphiny, and Vaijon in the County of Venisse.

Vogesus Mons, the Mountain of Vauge in Lorrain, or, according to others, de Faucilles.

Volcæ Arecomici, and Tecto-

fages, an ancient People of Gaus, inhabiting the Upper and Lower Languedoc.

Ursao, a Town of Hispania

Bætica, Ossuna.

Usæta, a Town of Africa, whose Situation is not certainly known.

Usipetes, an anci at People of Germany, who frequently changed their Habitation.

Utica, a City of Africa, famons for the Death of Cato;

Biserte.

Uxellodunum, a Town in Gaul, whose Situation is not known; according to some Usfoldun.

Uzita, a Town unknown.

X

Xantones, the same with the Santones, or Pec

Zama; a Tow mous for the Des there by Scipio, mora.

Zetta, a mari ca, now Zerbi.

Ziela, or Zeltus, Arzila.

Zingitana, a Africa, now i Kingdom of Algiers.

AN

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OF

PERSONS and THINGS.

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Achillas, Captain of Ptolemy's Guards, fent to kill Pompey, C. iii. 85. Appointed by Pothinus Commander of all the Egyptian Forces, ibid. 89. Heads an A say of twenty thousand veteran Troops, ibid. 91. Variance between him and Arsinoc, Ptolemy's Sister, Al. 3.

· Jeilla, lemands a Garrison from Cartar, Ast. 30. Besieged in vain by Considius, 30, 40.

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at the Head of a chosen Body of Troops, G. iii. 23.

Adrumetum, held by Considius Longus, with a Garrison of one Legion, C. ii. 21. Cæsar makes himself Master of it, Af. 77.

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Agimarus, a Trirem belongaing to Calar taken there by Varus and Octavius, Af. 41.

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Eginium, Domitius joins Clanear that Place, C. iii. 56

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ple, Af. 9. Their Manner of concealing their Corn, ibid. 57.

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Alba, Domitius levies Troops n that Neighbourhood, C. i. 13.

Albici, a Kind of Mountaineers taken into the Service of the Marseillians, C. i. 32.

Alces, a Species of Animals refembling in some Respects a Goat, to be found in the Hercynian Fo-

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